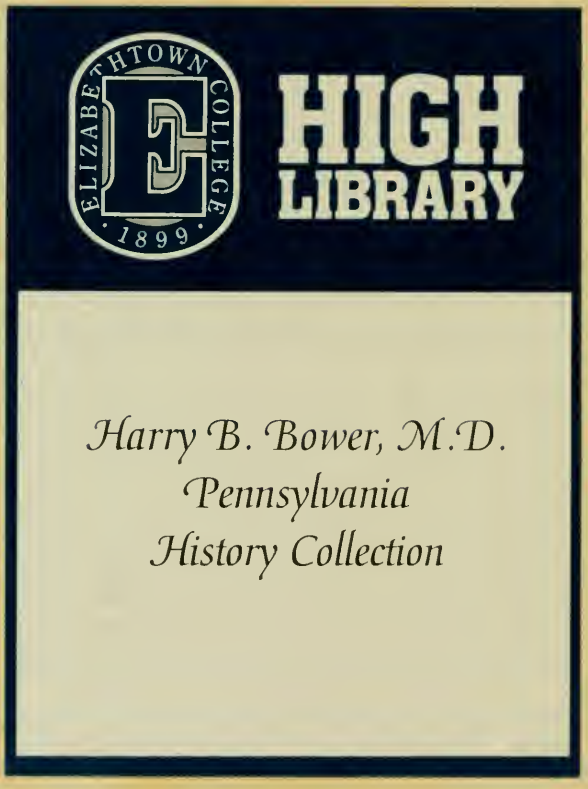
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LANCASTER COUNTY INDIANS

ANNALS OF THE SUSQUEHANNOCKS AND OTHER INDIAN TRIBES OF THE SUSQUEHANNA TERRITORY FROM ABOUT THE YEAR 1500 TO 1763, THE DATE OF THEIR EXTINCTION

AN EXHAUSTIVE AND INTERESTING SERIES OF HISTORICAL PAPERS DESCRIPTIVE OF LANCASTER COUNTY'S INDIANS PRIOR TO AND DURING THE ADVENT OF THE PALEFACE

BY

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, B.E., M.E., LL.B.

MEMBER OF THE LANCASTER BAR; MEMBER OF LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY; MEMBER OF PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA; MEMBER OF PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

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LITITZ, PA.

ANNALS OF THE SUSQUEHANNOCKS AND OTHER LANCASTER COUNTY INDIANS.

PART I.

Earliest Established Appearance of Indians on Susquehanna—Where They Came From.

Gordon in his history of Pennsylvania page 44 says, "After many ages, the enterprising hunters of the Lenape crossed the Allegheny mountains, and discovered the great rivers, Susquehanna and Delaware, and their bays." They came from the west. Nearly all writers agree that all the Indians between Canada and Virginia came from the Lenape and the Menqui or Mengwe. Heckwelder says in his "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations," page 50: "For a long period of time, some say hundreds of years, the two Indian nations Lenape and Mengwe resided peaceably about the great Lakes and Allegheny, and they came down and discovered first the Susquehanna and then the Delaware." Gordon, page 43 says, (giving credit to Heckewelder) that the Indians themselves, "relate that many centuries past, their ancestors dwelt in the far western wilds of the American continent"—that after many years they arrived at the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Mengwe, who were also on this river nearer its source. The spies of the Lenape, reported the country on the east of the Mississippi to be inhabited by a powerful nation living in towns on the great rivers." This people, tall and stout, some of gigantic mould, were called Allegewi, and their own towns were defended by fortifications. The Lenape asked permission to settle among them. This was refused but they were allowed to pass and go farther east. But while they were passing there being so many of them, the Allegewi stopped them. Then the Lenape and the Mengwe went together and whipped the Allegewi and took all the country east of the Mississippi and north of Virginia, after a war of many years. The Mengwe then took the northern part of the conquered country and the Lenape the southern. This is the story the Lenape tell as related by Gordon and Heckewelder.

These Lenape, according to their own story then say after they became established in the east they divided themselves into three tribes—the Turtle—the Turkey Tribe and the Wolf Tribe. The first settled on the coast from Hudson to Potomac Rivers. The other, the Wolf tribe settled inland on the Susquehanna, because they were warlike and formed a barrier between the coast tribes of the Lenape and the Mengwe on the west who had become enemies of all Lenape by this time. Gordon says, page

45, that the Wolf tribe of the Lenape called by the English Minsi or Moncey Indians, extended as far west as the hills known as the Lehigh and Conewago Hills in Pennsylvania, (p. 45). This migration according to the authorities and the Indians' own story extended over many centuries, so that they reached and discovered the Susquehanna likely before the discovery of America. The Susquehannocks, Nanticokes, the Shackamaxons, the Shawnese, and several other tribes, Gordon says, came from this Wolf tribe of the Lenape. (p. 56.)

The committee of archaeology of the Dauphin Historical Society in a pamphlet on the Lower Susquehanna called "Contributions to Indian History of the Lower Susquehanna Valley," in 1898 made a report to that Society full of interesting matter on the origin of our Indians, and in it, page 39, they say, "Prior to 1600 but how long before is not known, the Susquehannocks were seated upon that river, from which they have derived their name." The pamphlet also sets forth that before the Susquehannocks settled on the river, "they came into collision with the Mohawks the most easterly of the Iroquois, and in a war lasting ten years nearly exterminated them." The same pamphlet says that John Smith found them in war with the Mohawks when he met them in 1608 (p. 39.) The Jesuit Fathers, the minutes and records of whose discoveries in America are now collected and compiled into a work of seventy-two volumes, called the "Jesuit Relations," also give accounts of the wars these, now Susquehannocks, went through before they settled on Susquehanna River in the dim past. The Dauphin County pamphlet also speaks of this (page 39,) but the exact quotations themselves from the Jesuits will be given later.

These earliest Susquehannock Indians were cannibals to some extent. Heckewelder tells us, page 55, "At one time they did eat human flesh. And at one time they ate up a whole body of the French King's soldiers; and they said human flesh tastes like bear's meat." They say the human hand is bitter meat and not good to eat, like the other parts of a person. The Susquehannocks remained more or less cannibal up to 1666, when Geo. Alsop writes that at that date he knew of them eating their enemies whom they took in war.

Thus much for the earliest accounts of our Susquehanna country Indians. This description is more or less vague, from the misty knowledge of them at this date; but all following discussions will be supported by definite citation.

1600—Ancient Indian Rock Pictures.

Very early in the history of the Indians on the Susquehanna, perhaps before the year 1600, or may be before the discovery of America, the Indians living on that river, cut a lot of strange and grotesque pictures upon the rocks in the river, near Safe Harbor and also near Washington borough. They seem to have been cut, during the same age or epoch; and all of them seem to represent the same system of ideas. Some of them are much deeper than others, but that seems to be because they have been less exposed to wasting forces. The lines of some are nearly a quarter of an inch deep, while others are scarcely visible. The main rocks in the river so decorated are "Big Indian Rock" and "Little Indian Rock," both a few hundred yards below Safe Harbor. There are many rocks so carved however. The pictures chisseled in these rocks are birds with elaborate wings, called the 'thunder bird,' quadruped—animals, sinuous

snakes, rude outlines of trees, coiled and star shaped representations, and also individual men, some seated, some standing, some thin and one or two very fat. The thin and the fat men are seated, but there are no masses or groups of men, in military array, or representations of battle that I remember. Those pictures were there before Penn's time, and the Indians of Penn's time, seem not to have any knowledge of their origin. All antiquarians seem to be at a loss to interpret these pictures, while those on rocks in the central and western states are to a great extent deciphered. However it has been supposed that the jolly looking, fat and contented Indian, pictured sitting on the end of the Indian rock nearest Lancaster side, pointing up the valley of the Conestoga, is meant to represent that up that valley is a land of great plenty, while the thin, starved and bony savage pictured sitting on the end of the rock nearest York county toward which this Indian is pointing, is meant to represent that a very scant living is to be found there. This of course is not fair to York county today, with her hustling city fast taking her place next to Pittsburg. Thus it is supposed the purpose of the pictures was to be guides and a system of information to allied tribes, rather than the perpetuation of history.

The United States reports on Ethnology for the year 1882 to 1883, page 47, tell us that these Lancaster county Indian rock-pictures are of Algonquin origin, and not Iroquois, and therefore they may have been made by Indians from the south, who perhaps were in this region and fled out of it, when these hardy ancestors of the Susquehannocks, of whom we spoke in the preceding pages, came pouring down from the Mississippi and Lake Region and Northwest generally. Powhatan's Indians we shall see were Algonquins, in Virginia; and Capt. Smith, as we shall notice in later discussions says, they were mortally afraid of the Susquehannocks, who were of the Iroquois stock, and also received the white men in entirely different fashion. The best authority on these rock pictures of Susquehanna whom I know, is Mr. D. H. Landis, of Manor township, who has given much study to the subject.

1600—Earliest Known Trading of the Susquehanna Indians.

In a phamphlet, called "Early Indian History of Susquehanna," by A. L. Guss, found in the library of the Historical Society at Philadelphia the author says at page 12, "The Susquehannocks were one of the Minqua tribes, and they had treated with the French about New York Bay. A sale of Staten Island to the Dutch contains the signature of one of the Minqua Sachemachs (or chieftains).

1603—Susquehannock Trade on St. Lawrence.

About 1603 the French were active in the fur trade about St. Lawrence. Further proving this early intercourse and trade between the French and Susquehannocks, Mr. Guss says on the same page, "The iron hatchets which Smith (in 1608) found in the possession of the Tockwocks (that is Nanticokes) they informed him they had received from the Susquehannocks; and they in turn, Smith says, informed him that 'from the French they had their hatchets.' Thus some years before 1608 the Susquehannocks were in commercial intercourse with the French." And again this same author at the same page says, "The Susquehannocks were a ruling tribe and forced trade privileges from other Indian tribes. Powhatan gave this fierce and mighty nation the name of the Pocoughtronack Indians.

Therefore it seems clear from the evidences now found that these mighty Susquehannocks, were seated or roaming about and between the Susquehanna and Hudson rivers, and indeed up to the St. Lawrence, several scores of years before the first settlement at Jamestown; that they some years before that settlement, were in trade relations with the discoverers and explorers, the French and others who were navigating along these northern Atlantic Coasts. These Susquehannocks also mention the early Dutch and it is not unlikely that they met and dealt with those Dutch navigators, who as we are told, page 1, of Hazard's Annals, "first frequented the coast of New Netherlands, situate in America, between Virginia and New England, in the year 1598." This will suffice to show, upon definite historical proofs, that over 300 years ago, the mighty Susquehannocks dominated the coast lands and inlands, from the Susquehanna at least to the Hudson river; that they were numerous and powerful; and exerted both military and commercial supremacy.

1607—Captain John Smith's Historical Works Touching Susquehanna.

John Smith wrote several historical works, covering several parts of America. The first was "A True Relation" (Narration)—then a "Map of Virginia"—then a "Description of New England"—then the "General History of Virginia"—then "New England Trials"—then "True Travels" and later several others. The three which concern our Susquehanna country are the True Relation—the Map of Virginia and the General History of Virginia.

"The True Relation of Occurrences."

The complete title of this book is "A True Relation of such occurrences and Accidents of Note as has Happened in Virginia since the first Planting of the Colony which is now Resident in the South part Thereof." A. L. Guss whom I have mentioned before, in discussing this book says, page 4, "The True Relation was written and sent to England the very day Smith set sail up the Chesapeake on his trip. It contains no information of what was learned during the two Chesapeake voyages; yet it contains passages of great interest relating to Susquehanna Indian affairs as given by Powhatan the year previous." Also page 9, he says the same. Mr. Guss also says page 9, "What Smith wrote in the True Relation was never incorporated into Smith's later writings, though it is the most reliable of all the historical matter published over the name of Smith."

In this book the "True Relation" Smith tells of a conference he had with King Powhatan, and the King asked Smith why he went so far with his boats; (Smith had gone up the Potomac River without consent) and Smith said those Monocan Indians, had killed a relation of his (Smith's) and he knew they were Powhatan's enemies, and he was after them. This he did to induce Powhatan to tell him more about the various tribes (True Relation p. 35).

This brought the result Smith desired, and in the same book he says, "After great deliberation he began to discourse and describe to me the country beyond the Falls with many of the rest not only what another Indian before had told me but of a country which he said some called it five days, some six and some eight where the waters dashed among many stones and rocks which caused oftimes ye head of ye river to be brackish. He also described upon the same sea or river a mighty nation

called Pacoughtronack (Susquehannocks, see p. 5), a fierce nation which did eat men and warred with the people of Moyaoncer and Paterомerke nations upon the top or the head of the bay under his territories where the year before they had slain an hundred. He signified ther crowns were shaven, long hair in the neck, tied in a knoe, (knot), with swords like poll axes.

Guss page 11 of his pamphlet says (and he is undoubtedly right) "this last tribe was the Susquehannocks, whom Smith at this time had not yet met." Mr.Guss also says they were reported to be cannibals, which charge is often made against them in common with the Iroquois tribes. This is about all there is in the True Relation, touching on the Susquehannocks. What Smith learned from Powhatan was of more value to him than to historians of our day.

1608—The General Historie of Virginia.

I have copied from this work of Smith all that in any way bears upon our Susquehanna Indians. And that in the whole is only a few pages. Therefore, I shall give it in full and verbatim in these annals. Smith made two journeys up the Chesapeake and about Lower Susquehania to learn of this country and its wild inhabitants. The general history consists of two volumes.

Vol. 1, page 114 he says of this Chesapeake and Susquehanna country. "It has prerogative over the most pleasant places known, for large and pleasant navigable rivers and heaven and earth never better agreed to frame a place for man's habitation. From the head of the bay to the Northwest the land is mountainous; at the head of the bay the rocks are of a composition like mill stones—some of marble," etc.

Then page 118 he says, "At the end of the bay where it is isx or seven miles in width it divides itself into four branches, the best cometh northwest, from among the mountains; but though canoes may go a day or two journey up it we could not get up it two myles with our boat for rocks. Upon it is seated the Susquehannocks —near it the north and by west runneth a creek a mile and a half wide —at the head whereof the ebbe (ebb) left us on shore where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde, keeping the shore to seek for some savages (for within 30 leagues sayling we saw not any being a barren country) we went up another small river—like a creek six or seven myles. From thence returning we met 6 or 7 canoes of Massawokes (Mohawks) with whom we had signs. The next day we discovered the small river and people of Tockwock trending eastward."

Concerning this Tockwock country page 120 he says, "On the east side of the bay is the river Tockwock and upon it a people that can make one hundred men seated some seven myles within the river where they have a fort very well palisaded and mantelled with bark of trees."

Also page 121 concernig his Mappe of Virginia, of which we shall speak later he says, "Observe that as far as you see little crosses on the rivers, mountains or other places have been discovered; the rest was had by information of the savages and are set down according to their instructions."

1608—Smith Stranded in the Susquehanna.

Captain Smith, page 119 of Vol. 1, General History, says, "Having lost our grapnell among the rocks of Susquehanna, we were then two hundred miles from home and our barge about two tons, had in it about 12 men to perform this discovery where in we

lay about 12 weeks upon those great waters. What I did with these small means I leave to the reader to judge and the map I made of the country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof.

"But to proceed, sixty of those Susquehannocks came to visit us, with bows, arrows, targets, beads, swords and tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldom seen; they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbors; yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adieu restrained from adoring us as gods. Those are the strangest peoples of all those countries, both in language and attire; for their language may well beseem their proportions, it sounding from them as a voice in a vault. Their attire is the skins of bears and wolves, some have cassocks made of bear's head and skin that a man's head goes through, the skin's neck and ears of the bear fastened to his shoulders and the nose and teeth hanging down his breast; another bear's face split behind him and at the end of the nose hung a paw.

"The half sleeves coming to the elbows, were the necks of bears; and the arms through the mouth, with paws hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolf hanging in a chain for a jewel; his tobacco pipe three-quarters of a yard long prettily carved with a bird, a deer or some such device, at a great end, sufficient enough to beat out one's brains; with bows, arrows and clubs suitable to their greatness. These are scarce known to Powhatan."

Page 120 he says, "They can make neare 600 able men and are pallisaded in their towns to defend them from the Massawomekes, their mortal enemies. Five of their chief werowances came aboard us and crossed the bay in our barge. The picture of the greatness of them is signified on the map; the calves of whose legs were three-quarters yard round and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hair on the one side was long, the other shore close, with a ridge over his crown like a cock's comb. His arrows were five quarters yard long headed with splinters of a white crystal-like stone in form of a heart an inch broad and an inch and a half or more long. These he wore in wolves' skins at his back for his quiver, his bow in one hand and his club in the other as described in the picture." (In G. Hills and Co.'s book "Events in Indian History," published in Lancaster in 1841, page 82 tells us that "Werowance" is a Powhatan term of the same significance as 'Sachem' or 'Chief' of the northern tribes)."

Page 129 Smith says of the Indian tribes in this neighborhood, "The land is not populous, for the men are few. Within sixty miles of Jamestown, there are some 5,000 people, but of able men fit for their warre scarce 1,500. The people differ very much in stature, some very great as the Susquehannocks, others very little as the Wichcocomocoes. The Indians are of a brown color when they are of any age; but they are born white. Their hair generally is black; but very few have any beards. The men wear half their heads shaven, the other half long. For barbers they use their women, who with two shells will grate away the hair of any fashion they please. The women's are cut in any fashion agreeable to them but ever some part remaineth long. In each ear they commonly have three great holes whereat they hang chains, bracelets

or copper. Some of the men wear in these holes a small green and yellow colored snake, near half a yard in length, which crawling and lapping herself about his neck ofttimes would familiarly kiss his lips. Others wear a dead rat tied by the tail. Some wear in their heads, the wings of a bird, or the tail of a rattlesnake. Some wear the hands of their enemies, dried. Their heads and shoulders are painted with roots mixed with oil. (Page 130)."

As to those Massawomekes, who were the dreaded enemies of the Sushannocks, Smith gives us the best information as to why they were and where they lived. Page 134 he says, "Beyond the mountains from where is the head of the Potowmock, the savages report, inhabit their most mortal enemies the Massawomekes, upon a great salt water which by likelihood is either some part of Canada,—some great lake of some inlet of some sea, that falleth into the South Sea ("South Sea" means Pacific Ocean, which was its ancient name. It must be remembered that all people thought America only a few hundred miles wide). These Massawomekes are a great nation and very populous, for the heads of the rivers are all held by them, of whose cruelty the Susquehannocks and the Tockwocks generally complain; and very importunate they were with me and my company to free them from those tormentors; to this purpose they offered food, conduct and continual subjection, which I concluded to effect. But then the council would not think fit to hazard 40 men in these unknown regions. So the opportunity was lost. Seven boats full of these Massawomekes we encountered at the head of the bay, whose targets, baskets, swords, tobacco pipes, platters, bows and everything showed, they much exceeded them of our parts. Against all these enemies the Powahatans too are sometimes constrained to fight." In Vol., 1, page 183, Smith says the "Susquehannocks made us many descriptions of the Massawomekes, and said they live on a great water beyond the mountains, which we understood to be Canada."

Thus it seems clear that the Massawomekes were an Iroquois tribe—the Mohawks. The Jesuit Relations are full of descriptions of the Iroquois incursions down the Susquehanna River from its source. This will be discussed later. Thus it seems that the Evans and Ellis History is mistaken in saying page 10 and 12, the Massawomekes lived on Bush River.

1608—Smith's Second Voyage Up to Susquehanna.

At page 181, Vol. 1 of Smith's Historie of Virginia, Smith tells "What happened on the second voyage in discovering the Bay." The 24th of July 1608, Capt. Smith set forward to finish the discovery with 12 men, He says he went "purposely" so he informed King Powhatan to be revenged of the Massawomekes; the King feasted us. We went to see the bay divided into two heads, but arriving we found it divided into four all which were searched as far as we could saile them. Two of them we found inhabited but in crossing the bay we encountered 7 or 8 canoes full of Massawomekes; we seeing them prepared to assult us left our canoes and made way with our sayle (sail) to encounter them. Yet were we but 5 that could stand. The rest were sick. We put our hats upon sticks at the barge's side and betwixt two hats a man to make us seem many. They fled. We landed; then two of them came to us. We thought to meet them next morning, but they had left."

Page 182 he says. "Entering the river Tockwock (This is a little stream flowing into the east side of the Bay), the savages all armed, in a fleet of boats, around invironed us;' so it chanced one of them could speak Powhatan, and soon all were friendly. But when they saw us furnished with Massawomeke weapons, and we faining we took them by force, they conducted us to their palisaded town mantelled with bark of trees. Their men, women and children with dances and song welcomed us. Many hatchets of iron, knives and pieces of brass we saw amongst them, which they reported to have from the Susquehannocks, a mighty people and the mortal enemies of the Massawomekes. The Susquehannocks inhabit upon the chief springs of these four branches of the bay's head, two days' journey higher than our barge could pass for rocks. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter to persuade the Susquehannocks to come and visit us for their language is different. Three or four days we expected their return then sixty of those gyant people came down with presents of venison, tobacco pipes three-foot in length, baskets, targets, bows and arrows. Five of their chief werowances came boldly abroad us to cross the bay for Tockwock, leaving their men and canoes. The wind being so high, they durst not passe."

Further on about the same page he says, these "Susquehannocks held up their hands to the sunne with a most fearful song then embracing our captain they began to adore him in like manner though he rebuked them; yet they proceeded till their song was finished; which done with a most strange furious action and a hellish voyce, began an oration of their loves. That ended, with a great painted bear's skinne, they covered him; then one ready with a great chaine of white beads weighing at least six or seven pounds hung it about his neck; the others had 18 mantels made of divers sort of skinnes sewed together. All these with many other toyes they laid at his feet, stroking their ceremonious hands about his neck for his creation to be their governor and protector, promising their aid, victuals or what they had to be his if he would stay with them to defend and revenge them of the Massawomekes. Many descriptions they made us of the Massowomekes, and said the Massawomekes got heir hatchets from the French and also other commodities of trade. The highest mountains we saw northward we called Perigrines mount, and a rocky river where the Massawomekes went up, Willowby's river in honor of the town our captain was born in. The Susquehannock's river we called Smith's Falles." (See page 183)."

This River Tockwock, is what is now called Sassafras River, and it forms the boundary between Cecil and Kent counties in Maryland.

Page 183 Smith further says "Having thus sought all the rivers and inlets worth noting, we returned to discover the River Patuxuent."

Page 218 he says. "In the way between, Werewoccamo and the Fort near Jamestown, we met four or five Dutchmen, confederates going to Powhatan the which to excuse these gentlemen's suspicions of their running to the savages returned to the fort and remained there." And again p. 223 he says "At this time the Dutchmen remaining with Powhatan (who kindly entertaining them to instruct the savages in the use of

our arms) and their consorts not following them as they expected to know the cause, they took Francis, their companion, disguised like a savage to the glasse house, a place in the woods a mile from Jamestown. Forty men they procured to lie in ambush for Capt. Smith who no sooner heard of this Dutchman than he sent to apprehend him; but he escaped."

This last item I append (and only parts of it are direct quotation) for the purpose of showing that there were Hollanders, at this time, in this neghborhood, bearing out the truth of the alleged Dutch document, in Holland setting forth that in 1698 Dutch discoverers were about these parts. It also shows that they were actively in communication with the Indians. We are to notice also that here we have direct evidence of these Indians having iron and copper implements long before Penn's time, and indeed long before the Swede's time.

And this is all there is to be found in Smith's History of Virginia touching on our Susquehanna country Indians. There is nothing on the subject at all in Vol. 2.

In our next item we shall take up and discuss, Smith's Mappe and fix the location of the different Indian towns which he found here, some by actual observation, and the others by information given by the Indians. Fixing the location of the earliest known homes of these mighty first inhabitants of what is now our county, should be full of genuine historcal and patriotic interest.

1608—Early Susquehannock Indian Towns

The only authority, upon the location of the Indian towns, on the Susquehanna River as early as 1608, is Capt. John Smith. Their dwelling places at later dates are known by many writers; but Smith is the only person who at the beginning of the century, says anything about their location. Smith has not in the form of descriptions told us particularly anything about these towns, and all that he has said we have already discussed. But in his 'mappe' as he calls it, he has given us while imited, very definite information. He is moreover fair in his statements. Of the map he says that as far as one sees the line of little crosses placed on mountains, houses, rivers and so forth, he has actually discovered; but all north of that he has set down in the map from information given him by the Indians. The point furthest north so marked by him is on the Susquehanna River, on the west side, and on the south slope of a hill. It is about three-fourths the way from the mouth of the river to the first great branch of the river flowing into it from the west. That branch flowing into it from the west is likely Muddy Creek, York County, and it enters the river opposite Fite's Eddy, which on the P. R. R. Map is (Fites Eddy) 21 miles from the Bay (Perryville). The spot marked by Smith is thus about 15 miles from the Bay, or less, and thus is just about the Pennsylvania line, because Haines station, the last station in Pennsylvania is 15 miles by railroad from Perryvile. Passing eastward the farthest point north, which Smith says he discovered personally is marked by him on Northeast River, the second branch of the Bay. This is a few miles below the Pennsylvania line. A little southeast of this he marks Peregrin Mount, which we spoke of in a former item. This Mount, page 185, he says is "the highest mountain we saw northward." This point is north of the Elk River; but in Maryland. West of the Sus-

quehanna the highest point as shown by the map which Smith saw is a point about five miles from the mouth of Gunpowder River about 20 or 25 miles south of the Pennsylvania line a river forming the boundary between Hartford and Baltimore counties. Smith called it the Willoby. This is the river which in a former item Smith said he saw the "Massowomekes go up," on their departure. West of this mark there are four other crosses in an irregular southwest line in the direction of the Shenandoah Valley.

Now as to the towns, the A. L. Guss work before referred to, page 4, says "The principal town, Susquehannock, is laid down 22 miles from the Bay but the book speaks of them being two days' journey higher than our barge could pass for the rocks. Two days' journey was more than 22 miles and they waited 3 or 4 days for return of interpreters—they probably went 30 or 40 miles. It is claimed the chief town was near the mouth of Conestoga." This town Smith in his map calls Susquehannough; and places it on the east side of the River, about 5 miles above the mouth of Muddy Creek which creek mouth we have said is opposite Fite's Eddy. Fite's Eddy is marked 21 miles from the Bay, and three miles above that point would be McCall's Ferry which is marked 25 miles from the Bay—or ten miles above the Pennsylvania line. There are no marked indications, such as arrow heads in great quantity or blackened earth at the McCall's or Fite's Eddy points on the river indicating a town there as there are in Manor township. It is likely that Mr. Guss is right in saying the chief town or the one on the east side is marked "Susquehannough" by Smith was higher up, and 40 miles as he says, likely was the distance would bring it about Washington boro., a mile or two below, which are strong marks of a village or town. On the railroad maps Washington boro., is marked 40 and ½ miles from the Bay. It must be remembered this location is fixed by Smith from what the Indians told him; and that he did not see Susquehannough himself. It is by the map about 10 miles farther up the river than the marks. he personally explored.

Mr. Guss also says page 5. "There was a Susquehanna 'New Town' where some falls below hindered the navigation about 1648; and that the Susquehanna Fort of 1670 was on the south side below 'the greatest Falls' now known as Conewago." He also says same page that "they also had a fort at the mouth of Octoraro as early as 1662, as it is impossible to locate the town of Smith's description.

Smith learned of five other towns from the Indians, located on the map, These are:

ATTAOCK; and Guss tells us page 5. "It is at the head of a stream emptying into Susquehanna on the west side below the chief town." It is really about the same latitude as the chief town. This may be in the neighborhood of York.

About 20 miles above the chief town on the east side is QUODROQUE. This is just below the river fork. Guss says Quodroque is near Middletown. According to the map it seems to be on the Conewago.

TISINICH is another town on a branch from the northwest: and says Guss, it is about Lebanon.

UCHOWIG is a town on the other branch coming from the west. Both this town and Tisinich are about 60 miles from the Bay." (Guss p. 5.,) It is opposite Harrisburg.

ATQUANACHUKE is a town marked on the map as high up the river as the last two named and seems by

location to be off in northeastern Berks County.

CEPOWIG is away off to the west at the head of Willowby's River and is a town likely in Maryland, but it may be barely over the line in Pennsylvania; it is among the hills.

Thus it is not true, and so says Guss also, that Smith's towns were in Lancaster County as some writers state. Not more than Susquehannough and may be Quadroque were in our county, at it now is limited. But the new late town at the 'Falls' perhaps was in the county.

1608—Early War Customs of the Susquehannocks.

We must notice here a few other minor notes before going on with the thread of the series. Mombert tells us that the early ancestors of our Indians left their club before any one they killed so that any one who discovered the dead might know what tribe did it. (Page 11). This mighty tribe therefore did not try to hide their murders, but instead left their name and token to warn inferior tribes.

1608—Early Wanderers Among the Susquehannocks.

Jenkins, in his history of Pennsylvania, page 30, says "At the height of the summer of 1608 the Susquehannocks, at their town within Lancaster county, received a message that two strangers had come in their boats to see them." This was the Captain Smith visit. He also says, page 47, that about the same time "three white men reached the head-waters of the Susquehanna, fell into the hands of the Susquehannocks and were afterwards found by Hendrickson on the Delaware and ransomed, at or near the place Wilmington now stands."

1608—Dr. Shea on Susquehannock Origin.

A note is found p. 117 of Alsop's history of Maryland, and in it among other things Dr. Shea says:

"From the Dutch, Virginians, Swedes and French we can thus give their history—When the region now called Canada from Lake Superior and the Mississippi to the mouth of St. Lawrence and Chesapeake Bay was discovered by Europeans, it was found occupied by two tribes, Algonquins and Huron Iroquois. The Algonquins included all the new England tribes, and many more; also those south of the lakes and the Andastagoes or Susquehannocks.

"The Iroquois at first inferior to the Algonquins were driven out of the valleys of the St. Lawrence into the Lake Region of New York where by greater cultivation, valor and union they became superior to the Algonquins of Canada and New York —as the Susquehannocks who settled on the Susquehanna did over the tribes in New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia "And on this he cites Du-Ponceau's Translation of Campanius p. 158.

He proceeds, "Prior to 1600 the Susquehannocks and the Mohawks, the most eastern Iroquois tribe, came into collision and the Susquehannocks nearly exterminated the Mohawks in a war which lasted ten years." This he bases on the Jesuit Relations of 1659 and '60 p. 28. We have noticed this before. However it may not have been made clear that this war began prior to 1600.

He then tells of Captain Smith's meeting sixty of these Susquehannocks and that they were at war with the Massawomekes, which he calls Mohawks and cites on this De Laet's Novis Orbis p. 73. This we have fully discussed.

1608—Susquehannocks' War with the Mohawks.

Here is a subject which is very often referred to, but there is very lit-

tle history to be found about it. Captain Smith refers to it many times about years 1608 and later, and states that the Susquehannocks were in mortal dread of them. Dr. Shea, in his "Identity of Andastes, Conestogas, Minquas and Susquehannocks" found in Vol. 2 of Historical Magazine, pp. 294 to 297, says the Mohawk war was in 1608; but Vol. 45, Jesuit Relations, pp. 203 to 5, puts it as late as 1629. This we have partly discussed on page 6. But the Jesuit Relations are not very clear as to the date, saying also, in page and book just indicated, that the Mohawks have within sixty years been both at the top and the bottom of the wheel. Truly warlike they had to fight with all their neighbors, with tribes on the east and on the south with the Andaste (Susquehannocks). Toward the end of the last century they were reduced so low that scarcely any of them were left; nevertheless, like a noble germ they increasd in a few yars and reduced the Algonquins in turn; but this condition did not last long, for the Andaste (Susquehannocks) waged such energetic war on them during ten years that they were overthrown for the second time and their nation rendered almost extinct, or at least so humiliated that the name Algonquin made them tremble." This account was written in 1659, and referring to "the last century" of course means before 1600; and the "few years after" would bring the Mohawk - Susquehannock contest about the first decade of the next century or about 1608 or 1610; and this conincides with Captain John Smith. It is a pity that no history is extant of the campaigns of this war, or any knowledge of the size of the savage armies, etc.; for the fact of its lasting ten years, and the Susquehannocks being in those days so mighty, point out that it was a royal and strenuous warfre. It is noticeable that in after years whenever the Susquehannocks wished to awe the Mohawks they simply threatened to resume the war against them. And yet these Mohawks, fifty or more years later, were the father nation of the Five Nations, and the moving tribe to effect the confederacy of the Five Nations.

1608—Susquehannocks at War With All Tribes.

Campanius (who wrote in 1693 a history of New Sweden, now Pennsylvania, whom we have before quoted) who says that much that he wrote about, his grandfather told him, says p. 137 of his book, that the Indians of the province were often at war with the Minquas (Susquehannocks) and that these Minquas and others "have skirmished with the English, as Samuel Purchas's relates in his 9th Book, Chap. 6th." As Samuel Purchase's book was published in 1626, the time referred to by Campanius was prior to that date.

1609—Samuel Argoll Takes Possession and Attornment for Susquehannock Kings.

At least one historian says that contemporaneous with Smith certain other Englishmen were interested in the trade and lands of the Susquehannock Indians. This historian, whoever he was, wrote about 1648, a work called a "Descrption of New Albion" which may be found in the Historical Society Library at Philadelphia, and also an extract of it in Proud's History of Pennsylvania, page 111. This author says, tracing the history of the Chesapeak country back to the Cabots, that they (Cabots) took possession of the Chesapeak; and that from him it afterward fell to Baron Delaware, then governor of Virginia, who through Sir Thomas

Dale and Samuel Argoll, 40 years since, took possession and atturnment of the Indian kings. That is, an arrangement was made between these Susquehannock and Chesapeak Indians on the one hand and the English on the other about 1608.

1613—Susquehannock Indian Trade to Be Opened Into Delaware Bay By a Canal.

At this date the Susquehannocks were of some commercial importance to the English and for the purpose of getting their furs and other commodities more easily to the lower Delaware settlement where some of the Dutch lived, Samuel Argoll contemplated cutting a canal to connect the Chesapeak and Delaware. Nicholas Biddle in 1830 in an address at the opening of the Chesapeak and Delaware canal said, "More than two centuries have passed since this work was contemplated by the earliest adventurers to the Chesapeak, one of whom Sir James (Samuel) Argoll wrote to England in 1613 that he hoped to make a cut between Chesapeak Bay and the Delaware." (4 Haz. Reg. 270 and Acrelius History of New Sweden p. 19).

1615—Trading Posts.

Clayborn is usually given credit for establishing the first trading posts about 1625 below the mouth of the Susquehanna, but Johnson in his History of Maryland, page 7, gives John Pory several years priority as follows: "Kent Island, before Clayborne established there may have been the seat of a trading post. The letters of John Pory, secretary of the Virginia Company extant in London, are dated anterior to Clayborne's time and inform the company of a discovery made by him and others into the Great Bay northward where we left settled very happily near a hundred Englishmen with the hope of good trade in furs."

1615—Earliest Known White Man On Susquehanna.

1615 to 1618: In a note page 291 of Vol. 5 of the Jesuit Relations, it is set forth that Eitienne Brule, a native of Champigny, France, came to Quebec with Champlain in 1607 or 8; that he was an Interpreter for the Hurons during many years and lived with the tribe.

In 1615 he went with Champlain to the Huron country and was sent by his commander to the Carantounais, allies of the Hurons and probably to the Andastae (Susquehannocks) living on the Susquehanna to hasten the coming of warriors on the expedition against the Iroquois. Champlain saw no more of him till three years later when he came down to Quebec with the Hurons, trading. He told Champlain that he had been obliged to remain among the Carantounals and had explored the country southward to the sea (Slafter says to Chesapeak Bay) and had been captured, by the Iroquois and narrowly escaped death by torture, but succeeded in making his way back to the Hurons.

In this there is indeed a strong likelihood that this Frenchman, Brule, traversed the western parts of Lancaster County between 1615 and 1618, if Capt. Smith was not here before. This is so because of his story of going southward from the Upper Susquehannocks to the sea, and also from the fact that the Hurons and Susquehannocks were allies.

1617—Delawares Become Women.

As the Delawares moved from the Delaware and the Brandywine to the Susquehanna (Sec. 3, Col. Rec. 45), we must treat them to some extent as Indians of the Susquehanna Country. In the year 1617 they were made the peace makers by collusion, they charge, on the part of the

Dutch. Mombert tells us, page 12 after reciting that the women had been the peacemakers and had not been successful, or that a powerful nation would be more effective in this office, that the Mengui urged upon the Delawares that as they were a powerful tribe they should be the peacemakers. Their pride was touched says Mombert, "In a moment of blind confidence in the sincerity of the Iroquois they acceded to the proposition and assumed the petticoat. The ceremony of metamorphosis was performed with great rejoicing at Albany in 1617 in the prescence of the Dutch whom the Lenape (Delawares) charged with having conspired with the Mengui (The Iroquois) for their destruction." Then Mombert goes on to tell us that having disarmed the Delawares they led them into war with the Cherokees and then suddenly deserted them unarmed to their destruction.

1621—Indian Trade Becomes More Profitable.

Samuel Argoll, not satisfied with the profits he was making out of the Susquehanna Indians in their own country, now began making expeditions further up the coast where we have seen the Susquehannocks also had trade privileges. One of these expeditions was intended for Hudson river. Captain Mason, complaining to Secretary Cooke of this in 1632 says, "Sir Samuel Argoll, Knight, with many English planters were preparing to go and sit down in a lot of land on Monahata river at the same when the Dutch intruders which caused a demur in their proceedings until King James and the said Samuel Argoll and Captain Mason of ye Dutch in an act of 1621 had questioned the states of the low counties of this matter." (See Sec. Pa. Arch. Vol. 5, p. 27). And this year he says that they have returned 15,000 beaver skins besides other commodities. (P. 28).

1623—The Dutch Furnish Fire Arms to Susquehannocks.

We have before shown that as early as 1608 Captain Smith found the Susquehannocks to have fire arms from the Dutch. Smith in his history of New Jersey, however says, "The Dutch are reported about the year 1623 to have furnished the Indians with fire arms and to have taught them to use them, that by their assistance they might expel the English when they began to settle around them." See same cited in Proud Vol. 1, p. 110.

There s plenty of evidence to this day that these Susquehannocks d d have metal weapons. John M. Witmer, formerly of Manor township, has two iron axes, three copper darts, one flat and two hollow cones and several yards of beads found upon the localities they inhabited in southwestern Manor township.

1625—The Attack of Clayborne and Kent Island.

While we have seen in former pages the Kent island was occupied by English earlier than 1625 according to Proud (115 note) it was about that year that the occupancy began to be felt by the Indians. He after speaking of the Maryland Patent about 1634, says, "Now Kent Island with many households of English by Capt. C. Clayborne was seated." And Johnson in his history of Maryland says page 15, "Clayborne had not only possession of Kent Island but established a trading post at Palmer's Island at the month of the Susquehanna. This was several years before 1637 when Clayborne was attainted for high treason on the part of Lord Baltimore." And page 116 in Proud citing the Description of New Albion

it is stated in Clayborne's words, "I hold Kent Island, having lately but 20 men in it and the mill and fort pulled down, and in war with all the Indians near it, is not worth keeping." This seems to be about 1625, and is the first mention of wars with the Whites in which the Susquehannocks were interested.

1629 and Later: Susquehannock's Wars With Other Indians.

The Jesuit Relations as we have before stated, are a set of histories (72 volumes in all) containing the Narrations or relations of the Jesuit fathers of what they found and saw in early America. In Vol. 55, pp. 203-5 they say that the Mohawks fought with the Andastas (their name for the Susquehanna) a people inhabiting the shores of Virginia and that the Andastas waged such energetic war against them during ten years that they were overthrown the second time and their nation rendered almost extinct. This was at the time when the Dutch took possession of the regions and conceived a fondness for the beavers of the natives, some thirty years ago, and in order to secure them in greater numbers they furnished these people with fire arms with which it was easy to conquer their conquerors and that is what has rendered them formidable everywhere so that at the sound of their guns they flee in terror." As this narrative was written in 1659, 'thirty years' ago would make the date 1629. These are the same warlike operations Lyle's history refers to on page 18.

During this time, too, Clayborne was trading with the Susquehannocks as Mombert tells us page 22 and as do other authors.

1630—Petty Wars.

About this time a body of Englishmen called Pilgrims bought Kent Island from the Yoacomacoes Indians who were constantly annoyed by the Susquehannocks, who ravaged their country; and Clayborne then instigated the Susquehannocks to make war on the settlers of the Island. But Clayborne was not successful as the owners of the island drove him away and he was arrested for treason. But in 1642 he again captured the island, Lyle 18. From this date (1630) until 1647 the Susquehannas appear not to be in any considerable war. Therefore, we must now, to keep the chronological order of these 'Annals' set forth several matters concerning these Indians which are not warlike.

About 1633 the Susquehannocks seemed to have an undisputed superiority over all other tribes. This was through them having had firearms from Dutch—Swedes and French at different times from 1608 to 1635. Johnson in the History of Maryland page 15, says "In 1634, the Pilgrims found the Indians from whom they purchased the land for their town (on Kent Island) in great dread of the Susquehannocks." In the same year Mombert, pp. 22, says the Susquehannocks sold to Maryland all their lands up the Patuxent River, But the Colonial Records (4 C. R. 704) would make the date 1654.

We must not forget to note that from this date 1633 to 1644 the Susquehannocks did wage small but continual war with the Yaowacoes, the Piscataways and Patuxent Indians and were so troublesome toward the end of this period that Lord Calvert declared them public enemies. See 'Indian History Lower Susquehanna' a small volume issued by the Dauphin County Historical Society, page 40. This is the first evidence of the Susquehannocks, turning against the whites, for whom up to this date they had shown marked friendship. About

a dozen years later they became very great enemies of the whites.

Various accounts have been given of the furnishing arms to the Susquehannocks as we have just said, but Proud in Hist. of Pa. (notes) p. 110 says, in 1623 the Dutch furnished the Indians fire-arms and taught them to use them so they might help the Dutch to expel the English when they began to settle around them, and page 111, (notes) he says apparently about year 1637, 'the Swedes hired out three of their soldiers to the Susquehannocks who taught them the use of our arms and fights."

1633—DeVries Contact With the Susquehannocks.

DeVries in his history of his travels in America, published in 1655, tells of the doings of the Minquas (Susquehannas) which he learned of in his first voyage as follows: "The 11th of Feb. fully fifty Indians came over the river from the fort (Nassau, now New Castle, Delaware), upon the ice with canoes directly to our yacht so that they could step in it from the shore and speak to us. They were Minquas, who dwell among the English. They came on a warlike expedition and were 600 strong. They were friendly to us; but it would not do to trust them too far. I determined as the flood tide began, that we should haul into the mouth of the kill (river) so that they could not come upon us in force and master us." See Murphy's Translation of DeVries p. 41.

1633—DeVries Learns of Susquehannock Barbarities.

The same author, p. 43, says "February 13th, three Indians came, who were of the tribe pursued by the Susquehannocks. They told us they were fugitives; that the Minquas (Susquehannocks) had killed some of their people and they had escaped. They had been plundered of all their corn; their houses had been burnt and they had escaped in great want and had to flee and be content with what they could find in the woods and came to spy out in what way the Minquas had gone away. They told us also that the Minquas had killed ninety men of the Loukiekens; that they would come to us the next day when the sun was in the southeast as they were suffering great hunger; and that the Minquas had left and gone from us, back to their own country."

"DeVries in his voyages found the Susquehannocks in 1633 at war with the Armewamen and Sankiekans, Algonquins and other tribes on the Delaware maintaing their supremacy by butchery but they were friendly to the Dutch." Murphy's Translation of DeVries Voyages on p. 413.

In 1637 the Susquehannocks Conspire with the Rebellious Inhabitants of Kent Isle to Defy the Power of Maryland.

Vol. 3, page 64, of the Maryland Archives sets forth, 'Feb. 12, 1637, by the Governor and Council — The Governor and Council taking into consideration the many piracies, mutinies, insolencies and contempts of this government by divers inhabitants of Kent Isle, formerly committed and warrants sent lately into the island under the great seal of this province for apprehension of malefactors, were destroyed and the prisoners rescued out of the officers' hands by force and arms, and divers of them to protect themselves in an unlawful rebellion, did practice and conspire with the Susquehannock and other Indians against the inhabitants of this county, we have thought fit that the Gov-

ernor should sail in this province to the said island with sufficient soldiers and establish martial law and for his assistance have under order a captain or commander to wit that Capt. Thos. Cornwaleys should go with him to aid and ass'st; and it is so commanded." Kent Isle is a few miles from the mouth of the Susquehanna River, and the turbulent inhabitants found the great Susquehannocks a powerful allay, in their defiance of Maryland.

1637—The Susquehannocks Accused of Spreading Smallpox to Other Peoples.

In Vol. 14 of Jesuit Relations, p. 9, the following occurs: "On the 20th we learned a new opinion concerning the malady, smallpox, that a report was current that it had come from the Andastes (Susquehannocks). This tribe it is said had been infected therewith by Alaentsic, whom they hold to be the mother of him who made the earth—that she had passed through all the cabins of two valleys and that at the second they asked her, 'Now after all why is it thou makest us to die,' and that she answered, 'Because my grandson Souskeha is angry at men, for they do nothing but make war and kill one another and he is resolved to punish them."

Here we see something of the Susquehannock supersitition, and the superstitition of other Indian tribes. These mighty mysterious Susquehannocks were the frightful enemies of other tribes, and the very commonly attributed evils, misfortunes and calamities to them, believing that the Susquehannocks had some occult association with the devil and supernatural powers of many kinds.

1637—Sale of the Whole Susquehanna River Valley to Clayborne.

I now set forth a very interesting Indian sale of the lands forming a great part of what is now Lancaster county, and much other lands besides. In Vol. 3 of Maryland Archives, p. 66, we find, "The petition of Capt. Wm. Clayborne in behalf of himself and his partners," addressed to the King.

This petition sets forth, "That by a commission under your Majesty's signature he "Clayborne" did discover and plant an island in the Bay of Chesapeake, called Kent Island,which the petitioners bought of the Kings of the country, where the same is and transplanted people on it, etc., etc.—and your petitioner desires a way by which the Crown may enjoy an annual benefit and they offer your Majesty 100 pounds per annum, viz.: 50 pounds for Isle of Kent, and 50 pounds for the plantations in the Susquehannocks' country, in consideration they to have there twelve-leagues of land, from the mouth of said river on each side thereof down to the Bay southeast to seaward and so to the head of said river to the great Lake of Canada, to be held in fee from the Crown of England to be paid yearly to his Majesty's Exchequer, and he has at the Indians' desire on Susquehanna purchased the same from them, and hopes to draw the trade of beavers and furs which the French now wholly have and enjoy in the great lakes of Canada, to England."

As the English league is three statute miles we readily see what a large strip of Territory the enterprising Clayborne bought from the Susquehannocks—about 40 miles on each side of the Susquehanna and from the source to the mouth. This included all of Lancaster county except the northeast corner, besides much other lands. It extended fully to Gap, Christiana, Churchtown and

Adamstown. It is historically important, too, to notice that the fur trade of the Susquehanna Valley was going northward instead of southward at this time—north to the French. Yet there is much history to show that the Susquehannocks were trading with the Swedes, or beginning to do so just about this time. Prior to this too, they traded with the Dutch. As the Swedes came only in 1637, that trade with the Susquehannocks which Campanius talks about was just beginning. But it would seem natural that the Susquehannocks traded with the Marylanders on the south more than with the French on the north. This was likely one of Clayborne's fabrications (to say the trade was going all to the French) in order to induce King Charles I to grant his request. Clayborne was a great lawbreaker and government defier, as we shall see later.

1637—Clayborne Offers Witnesses to Make Out His Case of Purchase.

In Vol. 5 of Maryland Archives, p. 231, Clayborne's evidence of his title appears in the deposition of Rob't Evelyn, whom we have heretofore seen, is quoted by Proud in Vol. 1, as the author of a description of Pennsylvania written about 1646. This deposition is as follows: "This deponent having long lived with a nation of Indians called the Susquehannocks as an interpreter for Capt. Clayborne, doth rememebr that the people and King of the aforesaid nation of Indians did often invite said Clayborne to come to them, which Clayborne and his people did, and plant upon Palmer's Island. In April 1637, the King of the Susquehannocks did come with a great number of his Great Men and with all their contrives did give to Clayborne Palmer's Island, with a great deal more land each side of the river Susquehanna and the bay, as is specified in a writing then made and truly interpreted by this deponent verbatim to the King of the Susquehannocks, and he in turn signed, and in token and confirmation of said gift the King did cut some trees on said land and did cause his people to clear the ground for said Clayborne to put corn in that year, after which Clayborne did build houses on Palmer's Island." (More of this transaction and sale of Susquehanna Valley will be discussed later).

1638—Swedes Buy Land to Susquehanna River from Indians.

When the Swedes in 1638 settled on the Delaware, they renewed the friendly intercouse begun by the Dutch and purchased lands from the ruling tribes. This we have already noticed citing from Campanius and Acrelius. But Dr. Shea cites Hazard's Annals p. 48. Turning to Hazard we find he says the Swedes purchased all the lands from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls and set up stakes and marks; that the original deeds for these lands with the Indian marks were sent to Sweden and are preserved at Stockholm where they as well as a map were seen by Israel Helm and copy made of the map and brought over in 1697. He says the Indians previously had sold these lands to the Dutch. (In the next item we will show that the lands extended to the Susquehanna).

1638—Swedes Contract with Susquehannocks.

About this time the Swedes came into contact with our Indians. We have just shown how they encouraged them in use of guns, etc. In Acrelius' History of New Sweden, (which was the Swedish name of Pennsylvania) we are told p. 33 that Menewe's colony reached Delaware River in 1638 and

that land was bought from the Indians from the mouth to the falls of the river Delaware and inland as far as their lands extended and that posts were driven into the ground to mark the lines; and page 47 it is said that this land 'bought in Menewe's time' extended westward to the great falls in the river Susquehanna near the mouth of the Conewago Creek and that it was bought among others from the Minquas or Minqua Indians, whom the Jesuit Relations Vol. 8 p. 301 tells us were called by the Jesuits Andastas, by the Dutch Minquas and by the English Susquehannas, or Conestogas. And page 48 in Acrelius it is stated that the land bought in Menewe's time 1638 extended 93 miles in the interior, on the Conestoga and Susquehanna. This therefore will give a fair idea of when the Swedes met our Indians.

1638—Clayborne's Claims to Susquehanna Valley and Kent Island Held Null and Void by England.

In Vol. 3 of Maryland Archives, p. 71, we find it recorded, "Before the Lords Commissioners of Plantations atWhitehall,Eng.,"Whereas a petition was presented by William Clayborne on behalf of himself and his partners, setting forth that he discovered certain islands on Kent and Palmer and bought certain lands from the Susquehannock Indians, and the petition alleging great charges and expenses, and they likewise having settled the other lands, aforesaid, upon the mouth of a River at the bottom head of the Bay in the Susquehannough country and that said Lord Baltimore agents sought to dispossess them and him and did great injury to his,Clayborne's trade—and all parties attending this day with counsel and it appearing the same was partly in said Lord Baltimore's patent and that Clayborne's power and grant is only to trade under the signet of Scotland and it appearing this same controversy was up before this Board in 1633 and Lord Baltimore left to enjoy his patent rights, therefore it is decided that the said Clayborne has no title to the same and cannot be redressed against the proceedings of said Lord Baltimore." Therefore his purchase from the Susquehannock King and Great Man could not avail him anything.

1638—A Susquehannock Baptized.

The next item is of a far different nature. Under the date of 1646, it is set out in Vol. 30, p. 85, of the Jesuit Relations, that "Eight years ago (1638) we had here baptized an Andaste (Susquehannock), one of the Huron language,who were in Virginia where the English have their trade. After that time this man having returned to his own country it was supposed his faith was stifled in the midst of the impiety which prevails there. This year we learned from a Huron who returned from that country that the faith of the man is as strong as ever, that he makes public confession and continues in his duty as much as if he lived among Christian people."

This speaks well for the tenacity of the Susquehannock to the religious principles when they are taught to him. Little items like these give us an insight into the other side of the character of these savage people of our great River 270 years ago.

1638—Indian Paths from Susquehanna to Delaware.

I put this item under the date of 1638 because the subject of it likely became a fact during the first years that the Swedes entered into Pennsylvania, which was about 1638. In Vol. 3 of Memoirs of Historical Society

part 2, page 131, found in the Historical Society Library, Philadelphia, under the head of "Indian Treaties for Lands now the Site of Philadelphia," by Watson, of Watson's Annals, it is said that in 1638 a line and diagram were made of an Indian treaty, and that the line surveyed "goes in a direct line from Philadelphia to a spot on the Susquehanna about three miles above the mouth of the Conestoga Creek, near a spot marked 'Fort Demolished' The line crosses two Indian paths running each northwest, the first at 15 miles from Philadelphia at 'Rocky Run,' the other 38 miles distant near a 'rivulet two miles beyond Doe Run."

I quote this because it is the earliest mention of the location of any road or path in Pennsylvania; and the path leads towards Susquehanna. It also confirms the existence and the location of the "Fort" on the Susquehanna, which is somewhat mooted. I shall have occasion to insert a part of this article again under a later date for another purpose. I cite it under this date for the purpose of calling attention to the location of the two Indian roads and likely of the 'Fort' at this date viz.: 1638. If the fort and the paths were facts at that date, then too certain facts of Susquehannock trade and war are also evidenced.

1638—Map of New Sweden at This Time.

In the Maryland Building at the Jamestown Exposition I saw a map of "New Sweden 1638 to 1655." This map shows the line marking the northern line of the lands purchased by the Swedes from the Susquehannocks and other Indians in 1638, which line runs through the latitude of the Philadelphia, or as it is marked, through the mouth of the Schuylkill; then the line of the purchase of 1642 is also marked many miles farther north, but also running east and west, about the latitude of Easton. This gives additional light upon the claims and pretensions of the Susquehannocks at this time. Both lines extend to and over the Susquehanna, from the Delaware.

1638—Susquehannock Customs About This Time.

I now jot down an item as to certain Susquehannock customs found by the Swedes when they came among them in 1638. Campanius tells us of this in his history of New Sweden, p. 121, and while what he relates there of itself does not prove that he is speaking of the Susquehannocks distinguished from other Indians—other parts of the text read with it show it to be so. A little portion of this I have written before but I set it down more fully now. He says,"They make bread out of the maize or Indian corn which they prepare in a manner peculiar to themselves; they crush the grain between two stones or on a large piece of wood; they moisten it with water and make it into small cakes which they wrap up in corn leaves and bake them in the ashes. They can fast for many days when necessity compels them. When the are traveling or lying in wait for their enemies they take with them a kind of bread made of Indian corn and tobacco juice which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst in case they have nothing else at hand. When the Swedes first arrived the Indians were in the habit of cating human flesh and they generally ate that of their enemies after boiling it, which can easily be proved. My father related to me that Indians once invited a Swede to go with him to their habitation in the woods; when they arrived they treated him to the best in the house and pressed

him to eat, which he did. Their entertainment was sumptuous. There was broiled and boiled and even hashed meat; but it seems it did not agree with his stomach. Afterwards they left him know that he had eaten of the flesh of an Indian of a neighboring tribe with whom they were at war. Their drink before the Christians came was only fresh water; but now they are fond of strong liquors. Both men and women smoke tobacco, which grows in great abundance in their country."

1638—Trouble With the Indians—More Light Upon Clayborne's Proceedings.

1638—9 Act to put Maryland in state of defense against the Susquehannocks and other northern Indians. (Act for Military discipline).

Be it enacted, etc., that every housekeeper within this province shall have ready continually upon all occasions within his, her or their houses for him or themselves and for every person within his or their house able to bear arms one serviceable fixed gunne, of bastard musket bore—one pair bandaleers or shott bag, one pound of good powder—four pounds of pistol or musket shott and a sufficient quantity of match for matchlocks and of flint for firelocks and before Christmas next shall also find a sword and belt for every such person aforesaid; that it shall be for the Captain of St. Mary's of the Isle of Kent once in every month to demand of every dwelling house a sight or view of said arms and ammunition and to certify default to the commander who shall amerce the parties in such paine as the default deserves not to exceed 30 pounds of tobacco for one default; and the captain shall forthwith supply the parties deficient with all necessary arms and ammunition as aforesaid appointed.

And upon any alarm every householder having three or more in the house able to bear arms shall send one man armed for every such three; and two men for every five to such place as shall be appointed; and all householders delaying to send the men aforesaid shall be fined, etc. Here we see in what terror those Susquehannocks were held. Vol. 1, Maryland Archives pp. 77 and 78.

1639 — Susquehannocks Angered at Maryland.

Bozman in his history of Maryland page 161, says "The Susquehannocks who have been represented as the boldest and most warlike of all the Indians now engaged in hostilities against our colonies. This warfare with them was brought on our colonists by their endeavors to stay the incursions of the Susquehannocks against the peaceful and friendly tribes of Piscataway and Patuxent and others with whom the Susquehannocks never ceased to wage uninterrupted war ever since the first settlement of Maryland."

1639—Maryland Sends Armed Force Against the Susquehannocks.

It now became necessary for Maryland to send the first armed force against the Susquehannocks. This effort is set forth in Bozman's Maryland, pp. 162 and 3 as follows: "By the Lieutenant Governor and Council May 28, 1639—Whereas it is necessary forthwith to make an expedition, upon the Indians of the East shore, at the public charge of the Province, it is thought fit to send a shallop, and to provide twenty corslets or suits of light armor—a barrel of powder—four roundlets of shot per man—a barrel of oatmeal—three firkins of

butter—four cases of hot waters (whiskey)—and necessary provisions to be made for the men and a pinnacle be pressed to go to Kent victualled and manned and it be provided with four hogsheads of meal; and a pinnacle be sent against the Susquehannocks, sufficiently victualled and manned, and thirty or more good shott (marksmen) with gunn or pistols, with necessary officers be pressed out of the Province and that each of the shott (marksmen) be allowed at the rate of 100 pounds of tobacco per month or another man in his room at home to attend to his plantation; and two sergeants double said rate and that victuals and other necessary accomodations for said soldiers and all others which shall go as volunteers be made and provided and two pinnacles and a skiff be pressed and fitted for transporting and landing of said companies and that good laboring hands be pressed to supply the place of planters, gone on the expedition."

At the same time a law was passed to put Maryland in a state of defense, see laws of 1638, Chap. 2, Sec. 8, where the same may be found. Also refer to first and second paragraph above.

Evans in his history of Lancaster County, page 11, says of this expedition: "The Susquehannocks having continued to give the Pilgrim settlers of St. Mary's a great deal of trouble the Council resolved to invade that country in 1639, namely the eastern shore of the Bay. An expedition was planned against them but was abandoned upon receipt of intelligence that the Susquehannocks were supplied with firearms. The Indians of that tribe continued to harass the settlers and we are not aware a successful resistance was made against them or their country along the Susquehanna by the Marylanders; but the fire in the rear from the Iroquois became so hot that the Susquehannocks concluded to form an alliance with the whites."

1640—Another Witness for Clayborne's Title.

The records of this year give us more light upon Clayborne's proceedings in the Susquehanna Valley and at the mouth of the river. In Vol. 5, Maryland Archives, p. 188, something is told us about the trial of Clayborne's title to these lands. A witness soon after Clayborne's departure for England, persuaded the governor of Maryland to go to Susquehanna, and that there the said Evelyn did lend or give out of the fort at the Isle of Kent to the governor a small piece of ordinance to go against the Island of Palmer where Clayborne had planted and the governor going there did displant the houses at Palmer's Island and carry away all the men, cattle and hogs into Maryland and that thereby by Clayborne has lost 1000 pounds sterling." And in the same book, p. 184, it is set out that "said Evelyn delivered to the governor of Maryland two pieces of Dutch cloth and other stuffe and powder and beavers with which the governor went up to the Susquehannocks and bought corn therewith, but would not deliver to Evelyn any of the corn, the planters standing in great need thereof." And also, page 234, under the same year (in same book) we find a witness says, "In the summer of 1637 this deponent, a servant of Clayborne, was appointed by Clayborne with other men to plant Palmer's Island in the territory of the Susquehannocks, which island with other lands adjacent thereto the Kings of the Susquehannocks had granted to Clayborne, and that the governor of Maryland sent men and

took it and the cattle, hogs and men."

The force of all this is, that the governor of Maryland, found it expedient to try to disaffect the Susquehannock Indians from Clayborne befor trying to disposses him from the Susquehanna River mouth and its islands. They were friends of Clayborne, and the governor felt that the infant province was not strong enough to overthrow the combination. So he even used some of Clayborne's goods to take to the Susquehannocks and buy then off—he bought corn from them which they were used to sell to Clayborne's planters, and in need of which they sorely stood so that he might weaken them by cutting off their source of provisions. This Palmer's island is a very interesting point today, from its historical associations—the seat of one of the earliest English settlements in this part of America, nearly as early as Plymouth—and but little over a score of years later than Jamestown, and only about fifteen miles from the southern boundary of Lancaster county.

1640 And Later—The Susquehannock Rights and Possessions at This Time.

We have seen on the authority of Acrelius and Campanius that about 1638 the Swedes brought the lands stretching from Delaware River to Susquehanna up to Conewago falls. Lewis Evans, who wrote in 1755 and earlier in his "Analysis of General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America" (printed by Franklin), also tells us about this purchase. Page 11 and 12 he says, "All from the sea to the falls at Trenton they had conveyed to Peter Menevet, Commandant under Christina, Queen of Sweden. The boundary extended thence westward to the Great Falls of Susquehanna, near the mouth of Conewago Creek." Evans also gives a more definite description of the bounds of the Susquehannocks' country than others. He says, at same page "The Susquehannocks had abandoned the Western Shore of Maryland before their conquest, and the English found it mostly derelict; the Confederates (Five Nations) confine their claim to the northward of a line drawn from Conewago Falls to the North Mountain where it crosses Potomac and thence by that chain of mountains to the James River" This explains why Smith found them pretty well up the Susquehanna River and a vacant territory between them and the Powhatan Indians. But they (Susquehannocks) did sally down into Maryland and give them much trouble so that in May 1639 the Maryland government resolved to invade their country (Johnson's History of Cecil Co., p. 16). The Confederates (Five Nations) claimed all the country east of the Susquehanna north of a line drawn from Trenton on the Delaware to mouth of Conewago Creek on Susquehanna they having whipped the the Lenape and such of the Susquehannocks as were in that country and driven them south of that line —Evans' Analysis, p. 12. That is why the Swedes never succeeded in buying lands farther north than that line, from these Indians. The purchase did not extend farther west than Susquehanna because that was derelict. In later days of course the Five Nations conquered all the Susquehanna lands and we shall see that Penn was compelled to deal with these savages of the north, for this section of Pennsylvania, for that reason. Thus at the period of which we are writing, about 1640, the Susquehanna country Indians had the Swedes to the east on the lower Delaware, from New Castle and Wilmington sites to the latitudes of Philadelphia, and between them

some scattered Delawares—on the south the Marylanders and Powhatan Indians—on the west open country (neutral) and on the north the Five Nations. They (the Susquehannocks) at this time traded with both the English on the south and the Swedes on the east. Clayborne had cheated and defrauded them most shamefully at the head of the Bay; and they turned to their new neighbors, the Swedes, on the east, for trade quite gladly, and were great friends with them.

1640—Swedish Trade With Susquehannocks at This Time.

Campanius gives us the clearest account of the trade between the Susquehannocks and the Swedes at this time. In his description of New Sweden, page 157, he says, "These Indians live a distance of 93 English miles from New Sweden where they daily come to trade with us. The way to their lands is very bad, being stony, full of sharp gray stones with hills and morasses so that the Swedes when they went to them, which happened once or twice a year, had to walk in the water up to their armpits. Thither they went with cloth, kettles, axes, hatchets, knives and mirrors and coral beads which they sold to them for beaver and other valuable skins and also for black foxes and fisher's skins, which is a kind of skin that looks like sable, but with longer and silvery hair, like some of the best sables, with beaver, velvet-black squirrel skins, etc. These precious furs are the principal articles which they have for sale. They live on a high mountain, very steep, and difficult to climb; but they have a fort or square building surrounded with palisades which they reside in, as shown on page 123. There they have guns and small iron cannon which they shoot and defend themselves with when they go to war." Acrelius, page 47, tells us also of this trade with the Swedes says these Indians that they live and extend miles from New Sweden on the Susquehanna and Conestoga. And he also says that the roughness of the "road" by which they traded can still be seen by those who travel between New Castle and Lancaster. Thus there is no mistake that this Swedish trade was with our Susquehanna River Indians.

Some of the commodities playing a part in the trade Campanius forgets to mention. In a note page 148, Vol. 1, of Proud's History, quoting from Smith's History, who gives Thos. Budd as his authority, a speech of one of the Indian kings is given as follows, "The strong liquor was first sold to us by the Dutch: and they are blind; they had no eyes; they did not see that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were the Swedes, who continued the sale of these strong liquors to us; they were also blind; they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to give us drink; although we know it to be hurtful to us to drink it; but if people will sell it to us we are so in love with it that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what we do; we then abuse one another; we throw each other into the fire. Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of the drinking," etc. This is a sad commentary on the beginning of American civilization, and a shame that the first pitiable protest should come from the savages. Acrelius' mention of the road is the earliest notice of a 'road' in Pennsylvania of which I have any knowledge. It likely lay through the northern Delaware swamps and then up along the east side of the Susquehanna River

That this boom in the Swedish trade

began about this time is shown also in Vol. 5, Sec. 2, Pa. Arch., p. 78, where it is said, "The population did not experience any special impulse until the year 1639 when the fur trade with the Indians which had previously been reserved to the company was thrown free to everybody; at which time the colonists spread themselves far and wide," also "they separated themselves from one another and settled far into the interior of the country the better to trade with the Indians." Do. p. 78. The Company here referred to was Dutch.

1642—The Susquehannocks' Numerical Strength—Their Progress in the Arts of War.

Scharf in his history of Maryland p. 140 gives the incident of Susquehanna cruelty, which he fixes as happening in 1642. He says, "A certain man, a Christian, while he was making his way with others through the woods, fell behind his companions a little when the savages of the tribe of Susquehannocks atacked him suddenly from an ambuscade, and with a strong and light spear of locust wood from which they make their bows, with an iron point oblong at the sides pierced him through the right side to the left at a hand's breath below the arm pit near the heart itself with a wound of two fingers broad at each side. From the effects of this when the man had fallen his enemies fled with the utmost precipitation; but his friends who had gone before recalled by the sudden noise and shout returned and carried the man from the land to the boat which was not far distant and thence to his home in Piscataway and left him speechless out of his sense." This is the verbatim description of this cruelty which Scharf gives, he himself quoting from Father White, a Jesuit who knows of it personally.

Susquehannocks Declared Public Enemies.

1642. "These are to declare and publish that the Susquehannocks, Wicomeses and Nantocokes Indians are enemies of this province and as such are to be treated and proceeded against by all persons—Given at St. Mary's Sept., 13, 1642." Vol. 3 Md. Arch. p. 116.

Accordingly the same year Maryland made up another expedition to go against the Susquehannocks. This is detailed as follows: "It shall be lawful for the Lieutenant General or Captain by him to make an expedition against the Susquehannocks or other Indians having committeed the late outrages against English, at such time and manner as he thinks fit and to take out of every county or hundred within the province the third man able to bear arms, such as he thinks fit and to go on the exepdition, and every of which men shall be at the charge of the county, furnished and provided with one fixed gunne, 2 lbs. powder, 8 lbs. pistol or bullet shott, 1 sword and 2 months provisions of victuals and shall be transported to and from the expedition with vessels and all necessarys at like charge. And the expenses of the same shall be raised by a levy on the province for the charge of the men, vessels, ammunition and provisions and all perquisites arising from the levy shall be for the benefit of the province." Vol. 1, Maryland Archives p. 196.

1642—Extent of Swedish Land Purchased from the Susquehannocks.

The Swedes in a representation dated 1642 page 767 Vol. 5 of 2nd series Penna. Arch. set forth "This district may be in length about 30 German miles (which is over 100 English miles) but as to the width in the interior of the country it has

been stipulated and decreed in the contracts that the subjects of her majesty may take as much as they wish;" and on page 781 that all subjects of Sweden shall have "Liberty of Trading upon the river of the South (Delaware) and the interior of the country as well with the savages as with the Christians, without any condition, etc."

Thus it is plain from the above that the Swedes had by far the lion's share of the trade with the Minquas or Susquehanna country Indians and as well with the various other tribes on the Delaware. I have thought this necessary to give a true history of the relations of these Minquas with the Europeans on the Delaware, lest it might be inferred that because of their distance inland they did not come nto constant contact with the civilization on Delaware, which of of course they did constantly. It will be noticed that as above described the Minqua Creek was so named not because the Minquas lived on it, but beyond it, as stated it extends up towards their lands. Along the Minqua was their chief highway to go to the Delaware. They lived about the Susquehanna 20 miles or more from the head waters of the little Minqua—or as Acrelius puts it 93 miles from the Delaware. It is plain also that besides this route to the Delaware these Susquehannas some time went by way of Schuylkill, 10 to 20 miles from the mouth of the same they had a trading station with the Swedes. It is also plain that they were beaver trappers along the Schuylkill and the other streams of that locality. The amount of complaining of the Dutch too shows the trade was very profitable. According to the speech of Cannassetego in Lancaster Court House, June 25th, 1744, the Indians of whom he spoke, cordially welcomed the Dutch when they came among them over 100 years before to trade. 4 Col. Rec. 704.

1642—Second Expedition Against the Susquehannocks—Proclamation by the Lieutenant General.

"Whereas the English were authorized to kill any Indians about Patuxent that should be met on etiher land or water, and certain expeditions were therein mentioned, I, now by reason of some accidents since happening, wholly repeal and reverse the proclamation and prohibit upon pain of death that no English in the county of St. Mary's or any other part of the province do kill or shoot any Indians, other than such as shall be known to the Susquehannocks or Wicomeses, unless first assaulted or put in bodily fear of life by the Indians. I also revoke the proclamation making Naulacogues enemies and declare a treaty of peace with them." This is found in Vol. 3, Maryland Archives p. 129, and it amply illustrates the feeling in Maryland at this time against the Susquehannocks.

1642—Some Projected Expedition Against the Susquehannocks Abandoned.

In Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 130, this further proclamation by the Lieutenant General is set forth: "Whereas by a proclamation dated January 31, on certain hopes then presumed upon of means to go on a march upon the Susquehannocks, I did declare to the province there would be an expedition set forth at his lordship's charge, which means being not yet found to answer my hopes, I think fit to advise further of the said expedition and therefore do annul the said proclamation and obligations undertaken and all powers concerning the expedition, this 8th day of April."

We see by this item that while the government of the province of Mary-

land were determined to war on the Susquehannocks, the people generally did not relish at all the idea of measuring arms with them.

1642—Serious Charge Against Lieutenant General Brent for Giving up the Expedition Against the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 4, Maryland Archives, p. 128, under date of October 17, we have the following information against Giles Brent: "John Lewger, attorney for Lord Baltimore, informs the Court against Giles Brent that he having moved and propounded an enterprise upon the Susquehannocks, the said Lieutenant General together with him, Mr. Brent, did resolve and conclude upon the manner and means of it and that Brent should have a commission and raise men at Kent and all other necessaries for service and that it should be done at the county's charge, all of which Brent seems to think approve and accordingly undertook the moving of the men upon Kent and leading them out upon the service and he knew well what charge it would be and how important the honor and safety of the province was concerned in the managing and success of it and what a notable opportunity was presented to the disadvantage of the enemy and disabling him to ever assault again, not to be hoped for at any other time, he, Brent, on arriving at Kent, under authority of a commission granted to Mr. Brenthwait for command of that Island and taking disgust thereat or for disaffection did not use or execute the mission, but devising how to make the commission and design ineffectual with impunity and to give people occasion for refusing and disobeying it, did leave it to their consideration whether they were willing to be pressed or not and used words to signify that they would not be urged and pretending there were illegalities in his commission, yet later issued warrants for 20 soldiers, who came with arms and were ready, but receiving some impression and expression of their unwillingness he admitted thereof and of his own head dismissed them and so let the whole enterprise fail and fall to the ground, to the ill example and great damage and danger of all and it is prayed he may be compelled to answer for it."

Divested of all the legal verbiage in which this complaint is couched it means that Giles Brent, who was sent on the expedition against the Susquehannocks, when he reached Kent Island encouraged people to oppose it instead of trying to get them to join his forces and enlist, so that it cost the province much money and was a flat failure. The people it seems were afraid of the Susquehannock and would not hazard a fight with them.

1642—Failures of the Expedition Against the Susquehannocks—Witnesses Against Brent and His Action.

In Vol. 4 Md. Arch. p. 138, we find the following: "Wm. Sudd says that in March he was appointed by Mr. Pulton to go in his pinnacle as skipper and trader to the Susquehannas and by him appointed to have men at the lead of Kent for a voyage, and that he would write to Mr. Brent to assist him in it, and that at his coming to Kent with the knowledge and consent of Brent he hired John Pettiman to go upon the voyage and hired him for 200 pounds of tobacco a month, and accordingly Pettiman was out on the voyage two months and by that means and that by his means and pinnacle and the presence of the men, they were saved from destruction by the Susquehannocks, which

destruction Brent would have allowed."

Against the Susquehannocks.

On Nov. 25, Giles Brent made answer to the information against him that it was not sufficient in law and also that he is not guilty of the charge laid against him therein; and the same time the Attorney General files a criminal bill against him shirking his duty in not going upon the Susquehannocks and destroying them according to the command in his commission. See Vol. 4, Md. Arch. 151. In the end nothing came of the suit in court and council; and the net result of it all was the unexplained failure to take the Susquehannocks.

1643—A Third Expedition Planned Against the Susquehannocks.

Another expedition planned against Susquehannocks, Capt. Cornwaleys to lead. In Vol. 3 Md. Arch. 131, we find the following commission; "Relying on your experience in martial affairs I appoint and authorize you to make an expidition against the Susquehannocks or other Indians who committed the outrages and took the three men, and you are authorized to take every third man fit to bear arms in the province and require the counties to furnish them and to have them ready at such rendezous as you shall appoint and every such volunteer to command with captains and with them a warre to make upon the Indians aforesaid (Susquehannocks) in such manner and with such power and authority whatsoever for the doing, commanding, appoint of anything toward the expedition or for vanquishing or spoiling the enemy or anything touching the said warre to have use and exercise the same in as ample a manner and effect as may be vested in a captain general in time of warre, and we require all soldiers to obey you, Thomas Cornwaleys under punishment. April 17, 1643, per Giles Brent, Lieut. Gen."

1643—Expedition Against the Susquehannocks—Powers Given to Captain Cornwaleys.

In this year the following powers were granted by Maryland to Cornwaleys—Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 133.—"Charles Cecelius Rex, greeting, to Thomas Cornwaleys, Esq. Whereas we are informed of your proposition and propenseness to go on a march upon the Susquehannocks and that several to a considerable number are willing and desirous to be led out by you, on such a march, upon certain conditions treated and agreed between you and them, we approve very well of such your and their forwardness for the vindication of the honor of God and the Christians, and the English name, upon those barbarians and inhuman pagans—do hereby authorize you to levy such men as shall be willing to go, upon said march and to lead and conduct them against the Susquehannocks or other Indian enemies of this province in such time and manner as you think fit and to do all things for the training of the soldiers, furnishing of sustenance and other supplies, and to demand obedience and order the affairs, and provide officers as against martial enemies and disposing of the spoyle and all other things and matters whatsoever to the said expedition appurtaining in the manner and power as the captain general of any army can or may do in the time of warre."

Thus here we have another evidence of the continued trouble which the Susquehannocks were inflicting on the Marylanders. All this we have seen originated, because the whites of Maryland took sides with a few small tribes of Indians who were hereditary enemies of the Susquehan-

nocks. Whether this expedition was taken or not history dos not inform us. If it was there was evidently not any great punishment inflicted upon the Susquehannocks; and it is likely that the project was affected in a manner similar to the expedition of 1639, as Mr. Samuel Evans tells us in his History of Lancaster County, that is, that the Marylanders were faint of heart in the project. At any rate the following year an opportunity for concluding a possible peace presenting itself, the Marylanders very gladly tried to avail themselves of it. We shall now speak of it.

1644—Effort to Make Peace with the Susquehannocks.

Bozman, p. 275, introduces this subject as follows: "Some proceedings now took place relative to a treaty expected to be held with the Susquehannocks at the English fort or garrison at Piscataway. It seems they were begun in the absence of the governor. The Susquehannocks were expected at Piscataway either with serious intentions to enter into a cessation of hostilities, or sinister designs to inveigle the friendly Piscataways, and a commission was granted to Henry Fleete." This action, in the absence of the governor, we shall see, aftrwards led to disputes in Maryland and the revocation of powers granted, etc.

This commission to Fleete was as follows: "Cecelius, etc., to Captain Henry Fleete, greeting.—Whereas by certain intelligence from the Piscataways I understand that there was some number of our enemies, the Susquehannock Indians, expected about this time at Piscataway under color to treat and conclude a peace with them and us, but perhaps to confederate and unite all the Indians of these parts in some general league or plot for cutting off the English in Maryland, as they have most savagely attempted in Virginia (this must refer to the massacre planned and partly executed by Opechancanough in 1639. See Bozman, p. 275); and because it concerns the honor and safety of the colony to have some English there to be present at the treaty and other proceedings, to direct and overrule it if need be, to counsel and strengthen our friendship, and friends that yet remain and terrify the others and to proceed with the Susquehannock agents either in hostiliy or peace as there shall be most cause and reason for—I relying upon your skill in the language, and long conversation and experience in Indian affairs and your prudent and provident circumspection otherwise, have made choice of you and do hereby will and require you to take with you a convenient strength of English well armed and provided to the number of twenty at least and with them repair to Piscataway and there proceed with the Indians, both friends and enemies, to such instructions as shall be delivered to you by my secretary bearing date herewith, and to lead, order and command in chief all the said company as shall go with you, yea even to the inflicting of death upon mutinous persons, as a captain general may do by martial law. St. Mary's, June 18, 1644, per Giles Brent Esq." Sec. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 148, and Bozman, p. 275.

At the same time the following instructions were given by John Lewger, Brent's secretary to Fleete: "You are to go with your company to Piscataway and there confer and consider by the best means yau may, what hope there is of a real and firm peace or truce with the Susquehannocks, whether it will be more to the honor and safety of the English to have a warre or a truce with them at present.

2. If you find the best reasons to persuade them to peace you may enter into a treaty of peace with them and undertake to them in our names a truce or cessation of all acts of hostility on our part until such time as you shall agree upon, for expectation of performance of conditions on their part, and of the governor's assent to peace, and give hostages or exchanges as you shall be willing. John Lewger, Secretary." This may be found in Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 149, and Bozman, p. 277.

At the same time passports to the Susquehannocks were given, to induce them freely to come and treat as follows: "Cecelius, etc., greeting—To all the inhabitants of the province known that I have promised and undertaken to the Indian bearer or bearers hereof of the Susquehannock Nation not exceding three, to repair in a good manner from the Susquehannocks' forte and to my lieutenant general or some of my council at Kent or St. Mary's upon any public treaty message, safe and free passage to and fro through my province without any harm or molestation of any of the English, and therefore I require all of every one of you upon sight hereof not to do anything to the violating of the public faith given unto them, upon the utmost peril of such punishment as by martial law may be inflicted upon the contemners or violators hereof. Given St. Mary's June 18, 1644." (See the same in Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 150, and Bozman, p. 279.)

The token which was given these Susquehannock Indians, as safe conduct, was a medal of copper, with a black and yellow ribbon attached. And we shall see later that the Maryland troops, in a dastardly way, thirty years later, broke the faith signified by the medals, and shot down five defenseless Susquehannock chiefs, who came to treat with the medals in their hands.

1644—Robert Evelyn's Estimates of of the Susquehannocks at This Time.

During four years, (about 1642 to 1646) Robert Evelyn lived among the Swedes and Dutch about Delaware, and with the English in Maryland and Virginia. About the latter year he wrote a letter, supposed to be to the Queen of Sweden, describing the Susquhannocks at this time and their country and ways. The letter is incorporated into the "Description of New Albion" written about 1646,which we have referred to before. In this letter he says "On the Delaware I have resided several years. I do account all the Indians to be about 800, and are in several factions and war against the Susquehannocks, and are all extreme fearful of a gun and are naked and unarmed against our shot, swords and pikes, and since my return 18 Swedes are settled there and 46 Dutchmen in a boat trade without fear of them. From the Indians you may have two thousand bushels of corn at 12 pence a bushel. This letter may be seen in first Vol. Proud. p. 112. The description of New Albion, found in same place in Proud, then goes on and supplements what Evelyn said. The author says besides the 800 Indians mentioned by Evelyn there are 23 Kings in that section. Then it says, "The Susquehannas are not now of the naturals left above one hundred and ten, though with their forced auxiliaries the Ihon-a-Does and the Wycomeses they can make two hundred and fifty. These together are counted valiant and terrible to other cowardly dull Indians, which they beat with the fight of guns only. These last named tribes the Susquehannas recently conquer-

ed, which fact we have noted in prior articles. It seems that the Susquehannocks had their 'New Town' about Conewaga on Susquehanna River before 1648 (which by some writers is said to have been built later), for the last named authority says, "The Susquehannocks' new town is also a rare, healthy and rich place, with it a crystal broad river; but some falls below, hinder navigation."

Evidently the strength of the Susquehannocks varied exceedingly rapidly because Indian authorities (notably the Committee on Archaeology of the Dauphin Historical Society in their pamphlet 'Ind. Hist. of Lower Susquehanna) say that about this time or in 1647, the Susquehannocks had 1300 able bodied men. See last named work p. 40. Smallpox had made disastrous ravages upon them about this time. That may explain it. The above refernece to their wars recalls to our minds what says Campanius of them when going to and in war, that they make bread made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst in case they have nothing else at hand p. 122 and p. 137 he says "These Indians are often at war and they are fearless of their enemies."

I omitted to mention above that Robert Evelyn mentions in his letter that, "I went to Chicocoen the northern part of Virginia on the Potomac and I found the heathen of Virginia were at war with the Susquehannocks and all the eastern bay Indians. We found 14 canoes and 140 Susquehannocks reduced by three Swedes into a half moon with intent to encompass the first sail boat before the second could reach the former; and at the first volley of 10 shots and the loss of one Indian, they all ran away."

Appropo of the mischief and depredations of these Indians we have an early description of them by the Dutch deputies about this time. In Vol. 5 2nd Series of the Penna. Archives p. 130 it is stated, "The natives are generally well limbed, slender around the waist and broad shouldered; all having black hair and brown eyes, they are swift and nimble, dirty and slovenly and make light of all sorts of hardships. The men have very little beard and pluck out what they do have. As soldiers they are not honorable; but accomplish their success by perfidy and treachery. They make little of death when it is inevitable, despise torture at the stake, generally singing until they are dead. They use duffels, deerskin leather, skins of raccoons, wild cats, wolves, dogs, fishers, squirrels and beavers for garments Some have shoes of corn husks and head gear of turkey feathers. Since Christians are among them some now wear bonnets or caps. They wear wampum in ther ears and around their necks. They have long deer's hair dyed red of which they make ringlets to encircle their heads. All of them can swim. Their marriages are without ceremony, and men and women frequently trade spouses. They know little of God. They are in dread of the devils, but their devils they say will have nothing to do with the Dutch."

1644—Susquehannock Annex Their Lands to New York's Government.

About this time also (1644) there were important changes in the relations of the Susquehannocks to the lands of this section. Page 755 of the book last mentioned (Pa. Arch.) there is a report of Gov. Dongan, of New York, dated 1684, and in it he says, "Those Indians about 40 years ago did annex their land to this government and have ever since constantly renewed the same. Endeavors

have been used but to no purpose to persuade our traders to go and live on the Susquehanna River." This annexation to New York however was done by the Five Nations, and not by the Susquehannocks, as the Five Nations even at this time began to claim authority over the Susquehannocks. The true date was about 1648 when this occurred; but as we shall see in next paper, the Five Nations were very much mistaken in thinking the Susquehannocks would submit to them.

1644—Rivalry Between the Swedes and the Dutch to Secure the Susquehanna and Surrounding Indian Trade.

So that we shall keep in mind that when the Dutch and the Swedes speak of the Minquas, they mean the Susquehannas I again refer to Vol. 8 p. 301 of the Jesuit Relations where it is stated that the Andastes are "called Minquas by the Dutch and Susquehannas or Conestogas by the English."

In tracing up this contest by the Swedes and the Dutch to get the best of the Susquehanna trade each from the other, we must not forget that the Swedes were more tactful than the Dutch in the affair, and also were more friendly received by the Indians. They were the favorites. They were never hostile to the Indians and they dealt more fairly with them.

The Dutch complained sorely against the Swedes. In a remonstrance by Andreas Fudde, for the Dutch dated Nov. 1, 1645 p. 103 of 5 Vol. 5 of 2nd Series Pa. Arch., he states, "Further up the river (Delaware) on the west shore on a creek called Minquas Creek, so named as it runs pretty near the Minquas land is a fort named Christiana.....the first fort built by the Swedes." He goes on, "In regards to this Schuylkill, these are lands purchased by the Company (the Dutch). The company's carpenter constructed a fort there. This fort cannot in any manner obtain control over the river; but it has command over the whole creek, while this creek is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without this trade the river is of little value. A little distance from this fort was a creek to the farthest distant wood, which place is named Kinsessing by the savages, which was before a certain and invariable resort for trade with the Minquas, but which is now opposed by the Swedes having there built a strong house. Half a mile further in the woods Printz constructed a mill of a creek which runs into the sea and on this creek a strong building just by the path which leads to the Minquas; so that no access to the Menqueas is left open; and he too controls nearly all the trade of the savages on the river, as the greatest part of them go hunting in the neighborhood which they are not able to do without passing by his residence. I therefore gave orders to go to the Schuylkill and wait there for the Minquas." In another remonstrance dated about 1649 the Dutch say, page 139 of the same book, "As relates to the trade with the Indians on the South River the English and Swedes are making great efforts to secure it as we shall show." This is the trade that came down from the Susquehanna country, as Campanius described it 93 miles from New Sweden on to Conestoga. The Dutch also complain that the Indians themselves are not fair with them for they say they (the Dutch) bought lands from them, and thus expect their favor. P. 235. And especially as to the Susquehannock trading center on the Schuylkill where as already mention-

ed Fort Beversrede stands was purchased from the right owners and principal Indians in 1633 by the Company's servant which conveyance the Indian chiefs in 1648 did renew. Notwithstanding the Swedes have erected a fort on these grounds and built a house in front of the gate at the Company's fortress for trading where our people are wholly shut out from the sight of the road to deprive the Company (Dutch) of the beaver trade and they have ruined the trade." On page 333 the Dutch further set forth their title to all the province from the South (Delaware) river westward "into the west as far and much farther than our line of limits are yet extended and seated, having legally bought them from the Indians the native proprietors." And as to the extent of the trade the Dutch say page 235, "Thousands of beavers can be bought here and around the Schuylkill or Beaver's Rede which was brought down in great abundance by the southern Indians called Minquas and the Black Indians so that this river has always been held in great repute on account of its fitness and great convenience for both trade and agriculture." As to the Black Indians, Clarke in his Early Cayuga History page 36, in a note says, "The Black Minquas were considered an offshot of the Mohawks."

1645—Maryland's Governor Disowns Certain Interference With the Susquehannocks, Which His Council Set On Foot.

In a former item we saw that John Lewger, a member of Council and an attorney for the Government, and also secretary to the Lieutenant General, gave certain instructions to Colonel Fleet, how to proceed with the Susquehannocks, and make war or peace with them as he saw fit. This was done in the absence of the Governor and the result was what now follows: "Now whereas John Lewger, Esq., one of his Lordship's Council of this Province, without orders or authority from the Proprietor or Lieutenant General, pursuant to his own head, to counterfeit and deliver unto Henry Fleete a commission for a treaty of peace with the enemies of the Province, the Susquehannocks and likewise for the making said Fleete a captain or general to make war against them or against other Indians and to bear authority over his company and the inhabitants of this Province, and to do acts according to the tenor of the said commission, he has presumed to affix and count his Lordship's seal and his Lieutenant General's hand, which acts being a high misdeameanor and offense and as such requires serious animadversion.—These are therefore to suspend the said John Lewger from the office or dignity of Council, from all other offices and dignities depending thereon, and I do further revoke all other commissions at any time granted unto him, said John Lewger, by me as Lieutenant General. Signed Giles Brent." See Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 151.

It is evident that the government of Maryland at this time thought dealing with the Susquehannocks was too serious a matter for subordinates to take upon themselves, without consulting with ther superiors. Bozman in his history speaking of this date, 1644, says the Susquehannocks were now the most formidable Indians the Marylanders had to encounter, and they were in the habit of using firearms, having secured them from the Dutch and the Swedes and the Governor made a proclamation prohibiting any one from carrying powder or selling guns or shot

without a license, which assistance some of the colonists were in the habit of giving them. See Bozman, Vol. 2, p. 273.

1646—Susquehannocks' Cruelty and Customs—Progress in the Art of War.

Campanius Holm in his History of New Sweden (Pennsylvania) says p. 137: "In 1646 the Indians had taken one of the Mingoes (Susquehannocks) in war and bound him to a tree; then they made a large fire around him and when he was as well as half roasted they let him loose, giving him a fire brand in each hand and taking one in each hand themselves then challenging him to fight; and when at last he could no longer stand and fell down one of them sprang upon him and with his nails cut the skin of his forehead open and tore off his scalp, which they carried with them as a trophy of war." This was simply retaliation upon the Susquehannocks, because that was the exact form of cruelty the Susquehannocks practiced on their victims regularly. Campanius also says at same page: "The Indians were often at war with the surrounding tribes, especially the Mingoes; but they dare not engage with the Christians, since they have discovered they are superior to them in the military art; they were mightly afraid of our guns; when they first heard a report of a firearm they would not remain while the firing continued. They wear on their heads a red turkey feather as a sign they are going to shed blood; and on one of their arms they have a shield of bark or skin of an elk. After they have carried their wives and children to an island or place of safety they proceed on their way in a certain order, and when they meet their enemy they attack them with great outcries. They think thy have a great battle when ten or twelve are dead on the field."

1646—Location and Trade of the Susquehannocks When Found by the Swedes.

Campanius says, p. 157: "There were found when the Swedes came to this country, within 93 miles, ten or twelve other tribes. Among these were the Mingoes or Minikus (Susquehannocks), the principal tribe, and renowned for their warlike character. They live at a distance of twelve Swedish miles from New Sweden (93 English miles), where they daily came to trade with us. The way to their land is very bad, being stony and full of sharp gray stones." What this trade consisted of we have shown in a former item. He also tells us the Indian fort of the Susquehannocks "had small cannon placed upon it." He also says of them: "They are vigorous, young and old, are a tall people but not frightful. When they are fighting they do not attempt to fly but all stand like a wall as long as there is one remaining. They force the other Indians to be afraid of them and make them pay tribute, so that they dare not stir, much less go to war against them. But their numbers are diminished by war and sickness."

In later items we will deal with the Susquehannocks' relations with the Five Nations, showing a most marvelous intercourse with the New York Confederacy.

1646—Fort Built or Improved on the Susquehanna by the Christians.

The forts on the Susquehanna are a very interesting subject of historical investigation. There was an Indian fort (may be several of them) on lower Susquehanna, when in 1608 Captain John Smith was near the Pennsylvania line, because p. 120, of

Vol. 1, of his History of Virginia, which we have cited at another place, he says, "They make near 600 men and are palisaded in their towns to defend them," in speaking of the Susquehannocks. But John Watson says the earliest whites built a fort there too. In a paper on Indian lands in Vol. 3, Memoirs of the Historical Society at Philadelphia, part 2, p. 131, "It will be observed that before Penn's day there had been a fort constructed by some Christian people upon the shores of that (Susquehanna) river." And to prove there was such a fort he says in a large folio in the land office at Harrisburg, in book 14, entitled "Old Surveys and Registry of Land Warrants," there is a diagram showing the 'walking purchase' back to the Susquehanna, one line of which goes to a point on the Susquehanna. 3 miles above the mouth of the Conestoga, marked 'fort demolished.' This then he concluded was a fort built by the Christians. Clayborne may have had a hand in it; but we do not know. He was in that neighborhood in 1637 and later. The Swedes were there trading in 1640 to 1646; the Dutch were there also. In 1664 the Iroquois, who came down upon the Susquehannocks, found not only iron muskets in the hands of the Susquehannocks, but iron cannon mounted on the fort. So whether the Christians originally built the fort that Watson refers to, or whether they simply improved a fort first built by the Susquehannocks (as found by Smith), we cannot tell, and we leave the matter in the plight in which Watson placed it—viz., that the Christians had something to do with it. I make the date 1646 because that is about the time that the Christians had some voice and directions in the doings of the Susquehannocks at that place.

1646—Approach of War Between Iroquois and Hurons—Susquehannocks Offer to Help the Hurons.

The overture of the Susquehannocks to the Hurons to help the Hurons in their struggle with the Iroquois, we have before touched on where we cited the Dauphin County Indian History Pamphlet as authority; but as that is not first hand information I prefer now to cite an original authority, viz.: Vol. 30, Jesuit Relations, p. 253, where the Jesuits write in 1646 from Onondago and say: "Our fathers with the Hurons say that the savages of Andaste (Susquehannocks) whom we believe to be neighbors to Virginia and who had formerly close alliance with the Hurons insomuch that there are still found in the Huron country people from their dialects,' have conveyed these few words to the Hurons, viz: 'We have learned that you have enemies, and you have only to say to us "Lift the axe" and we assure you either they will make peace or we shall make war on them.' The Hurons were very joyful at these fine offers and have sent an embassy to those people. The chief of the embassy was a worthy Christian, accompanied by eight persons, four of whom have embraced the faith of Jesus Christ." We shall later cite Vol. 33, Jesuit Relations, p. 129, showing that under date of 1647 another offer was made to help the Hurons by the Susquehannocks and that the Hurons sent a representative on to confer with the Susquehannocks. All this goes to show the position and strength of the Susquehannocks at this time, who at this time had 1300 warriors. This is the greatest number of warriors they had in all their known history. Never afterwards did they have so many and never before. Captain Smith said in his time, 1608, they had 600.

Thus about 1650 they were in the greatest power. This is also evidenced by the manner in which the government of Maryland regarded them at this date.

1647—Susquehannocks Attempt to Intervene in Iroquois-Huron War.

The description of the attempt to intervene by the Susquehannocks, in the Huron-Iroquois war in 1647 is given in Vol. 33 p. 127 of the Jesuit Relations as follows: "The Andaste is a country beyond the neutral nation, distant from the Huron country, about 150 leagues (450 miles) in a straight line to the southeast, a quarter south, from the Huron country, that is southeast a little toward the east, but the distance because of the detours in the route is 200 leagues. They are very warlike, and in a single village they count 1300 men capable of bearing arms. They speak the Huron language, and have always been allies of the Hurons.

"At the beginning of the year 1647 two men of that nation came here, deputed by their captains, to tell our Hurons that if they lost courage and felt too weak to contend against our enemies, they should inform them (the two Andaste delegates) and send an embassy to Andaste for that object. The Hurons did not miss the opportunity. Charles Andasiondrout an excellent Christian of long standing, was deputed as the head of the embassy and he was accompanied by four other Christians and four Infields. They left here (Canada) on the 13th of April and reached Andaste only at the beginning of June. The harrangue delivered by Charles on his arrival was not long. He told of the wars and that the land was covered with blood and the cabins with corpses. The reply of the Andaste was to deplore the calamaties, and added that tears and regrets were not the remedy for the wars and evils; but that their misfortunes must be arrested as soon as possible. After a number of councils, they deputed ambassadors to the enemies of our Hurons to beg them to lay down their arms to think of lasting peace which would not hinder the trade of all these countries with one another. The ambassadors went and had not returned by the 15th of August. The Andastes insisted on peace and determinated to renew the war which they waged a few years ago with the Agnieronnous (that is the Mohawks), who are brethren of the Iroquois, if they refused to enter into peace. When Charles Andasiondrout was at Andaste, he went to see the Europeans, their allies who were at a distance of three days' journey from that place. They received him with kindness. Charles did not fail to tell them that he was a Christian and requested them to take him to their church, that he might perform his devotions, for he thought it was like those in our French settlements. They replied that they had no place set apart for prayers, and the good Charles observed some acts of levity that were not very modest on the part of some young men, towards two of their Savage women who had come from Andaste. The captain of the settlement apologized for it and said he was not obeyed by his people for purity of morals. We think the people of that European settlement are mostly Dutch and English, who for some special reason have placed themselves under the protection of the King of Sweden, and have called the country New Sweden. We had formerly thought it a part of Virginia." This account was written only a few years after the events happened. This accurate account differs from the account given

by the Dauphin County pamphlet, in that it puts the interview of the Susquehannocks with the Hurons first, whereas the Dauphin County pamphlet puts the embassy of the Susquehannocks to the Iroquois first, and with the Hurons, second. We notice here, too, that the Susquehannas had wars with the Mohawks (Agnieronnous) some years before this time, and we will speak of it again. The settlement "three days distant" from Andaste (Susquehanna) was the Swedish settlement on the Delaware, near where Wilmington and New Castle now stand.

The Five Nations (or Iroquois) and the Susquehannocks by this time both had won military glory; both had gotten guns and had learned to use them. The Susquehannocks from 1634 to 1644 reduced the Piscataways, Patuxents and the Waocacoes tribes, in a ten years' war and the Iroquois had reduced the Hurons, as we have seen before. The Susquehannocks had finished their conflicts with the smaller tribes, which not only included the reduction of the three tribes just named but also the twelve small tribes which Robert Evelyn says in his letter (hereafter to be cited) lived on the Delaware and were whipped by the Susquhannocks. The Iroquois had not destroyed the Hurons, but simply weakened them. They were, now, however, bent upon exterminating them. The Susquehannocks determined to stop hostilities.

The Dauphin County pamphlet, before mentioned gives this account of this effort on the part of the Susquehannocks—see page 40. "When the Hurons in Upper Canada in 1647 began to sink under the fearful blows dealt them by the Five Nations, the Susquehannocks sent an embassy to Onondago (the headquarters of the Five Nations) to urge the cantons to peace. The Iroquois refused. The Susquehannocks then sent an embassy to the Hurons, to offer them aid against the common enemy. Nor was this offer of little value. The Susquehannocks could put in the field 1300 warriors trained to the use of fire-arms and European methods of warfare, having been instructed by three Swedish soldiers; but the Hurons sank into apathy and took no active steps to secure the aid of the friendly Susquehannocks."

This interesting offer to interpose is graphically told in the Jesuit Relations by narrators who got the information first hand from those interested in the affair. In this work as we have often said the Susquehannocks are called the Andaste. The Jesuit Fathers in Vol. 8, p. 301 call them (Susquehannocks) "allies of our Hurons and who talk like them," and in Clark's Early Cayuga History, found in a note p. 36 of the same volume (i. e. 8) he says, "Andaste is a term used generally by the French and applied to several distinct Indian Tribes located south of the Five Nations in the present territory and Pennsylvania. One of the most southerly tribes was located at the great falls between Columbia and Harrisburg in the vicinity of the latter place occupying five towns and by Smith were called the Susquehannocks."

1647—Cost of Watching the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 4, Maryland Archives, p. 231, it is stated under this date that the following charge was preferred before the Assembly and allowed: "To Walter Watertson for bringing intelligence touching the Susquehannocks, eighty pounds." From this it is evident that the Maryland government was compelled to keep scouts and runners employed to give the whites news at all times concerning the

movements and supposed plans of the Susquehannocks. This is in line with what we have noticed in former items—namely, that the government of Maryland compelled all the inhabitants to be ready with powder and shot and firearms at all times, either to defend against the Susquehannocks or to march against them. The power and prominent place of this tribe among the savage nations of America at this time are well established.

1648—Susquehannocks' Influence on the Onondagoes.

Under this date in Vol. 33, Jesuit Relations, p. 123, it is stated; "The Andaste tribes (Susquehannocks) allied to the Hurons contribute in a great measure, it is said, toward the matter of peace, either because the Onondagoes fear to have them as enemies or because they desire their alliance." This is to be sure only a brief note; but it is a statement written at the time the situation existed and is worth more than a page of historical speculation written from inferences formed a hundred years later. It is in short another assertion of the pre-eminence of the mighty Susquehannocks. It will be noticed nothing like this is ever said of the other tribes of Maryland or of the Delaware, nor of the tribes of Powhatan.

1648—More Particulars of the Huron Embassy to Susquehanna.

In Vol. 33, p. 73, of the Jesuit Relations under date of 1648, there is the following statement concerning the Huron embassy to the Susquehanna the year prior: "Our Hurons have sent an embassy to Andaste (Susquehanna), people of New Sweden their former allies, to solicit them to enter into a full peace with them or resume the war they waged but a few years ago against the Annierounons (Mohawk-Iroquois.) Considerable assistance is expected from this as well as a great relief for the country. The Annierounons - Iroquois are near Quebec." To those not acquainted with Indian history of these times, it may be explained that this statement means, the Hurons sent an agent to the Susquehannocks to ask them to help them, or to renew their (the Susquehannocks') war with the Mohawks, called the Annierounons. This Susquehannock-Mohawk war we remember raged about 1607 to 1620 at least, and so demoralized were the Mohawks and their allies by the onslaughts of the Susquehannocks that the very name of Andaste made them tremble; and this fear continued up to 1640 at least. So says the Jesuit Relations, Vol. 45, pp. 203 and 205. In a prior item we have discussed the fear which the Susquehannocks threw over the Mohawks during and after the Mohawk war. The journey and speech of the agent the Hurons sent to the Susquehannocks we have fully set forth also earlier. As to the location of this wonderful Andaste, p. 135, of Vol. 33, Jesuit Relations, says Andaste is seven days' journey from the Iroquois.

1650 and Onward—Iroquois' Retaliation Upon the Susquehannas--Opening of the Conflict—Minor Movements and Doings of the Susquehannas—First Campaigns of the Iroquois—Susquehanna War.

We are now briefly to notice a various series of events, simply for the sake of the chronolgy (chronological arrangement being the only rule or system of these annals).

The Dauphin County Committee on Archaeology in their pamphlet before cited, p. 40, says that "Four years later (1651) the Iroquois, grown insolent by their successes in almost

annihilating their kindred tribes north and south of Lake Erie, provoked a war with the Susquehannas." This is all we shall note of this war at present. It will be discussed under a later date.

Other events as above stated must now claim attention, some of which are as follows: "During the year 1650 the terrible scourge of small-pox broke out among the Susquehannas. (Do. p. 40).

1650—Susquehannock Hunters Roam About Lake Ontario.

About this time (as likely perhaps many years before) the Susquehannock hunters in their hunting wandered as far as Lake Ontario, where they came into contact with the Iroquois and were plundered. This shows the great width and extent over which these Susquehannocks were accustomed to roam. (Do. p. 40).

1651—The Great Susquehannock-Iroquois War of Several Years Begins.

We have quoted above an author who says the war between the Susquehannocks and Iroquois began in 1651. While this may be so, it seems that the 'War' was simply desultory several years.

I find that Proud says nothing about this war. In his History of Pennsylvania he omits to mention any events from 1632 to 1654 (See pp. 117 and 118); and when he does resume the discussion it is about Swedes' affairs. He mentions a Swedish Treaty with the Indians in 1655; but makes no other Indian refereuces until 1664, when mention is made of Albany Indian affairs. Mombert's History, p. 23, quoting from Col. Rec. (no doubt) admits the war was in progress in 1654, but that the Susquehannocks were still superior at that time. The Dauphin County archaeologists, in their pamphlet before quoted. pp. 40 and 41, say of the period, about 1655, I suppose: "War had now begun in earnest with the Five Nations (Iroquois) and though the Susquehannocks had some of their people killed near their towns they in turn pressed the Cayugas so hard that some of them retired across the lakes into Canada. They also kept the Senecas in check that they no longer ventured to carry their peltry to New York except under heavy guarding. Smarting under constant defeat the Five Nations solicited French aid." Lyle's History of Lancaster County would lead us to infer that this war was declared or begun only about 1660 (P. 19) but it was earlier; because in Vol. 48 of the Jesuit Relations, p. 76, a communication written in 1662 says that the war "broke out some years ago." And finally the speech of the Indian orator in the Lancaster Court House June 26, 1744, 4 Col. Rec. 708, shows that the serious consequences of the war occurred some time after 1654. From all the evidences we gather it that the real brunt of the war came on about 1660. This we will treat fully later.

1651—The Mohawks and Other Iroquois Now Combine Against the Susquehannocks.

From 1646 or 1647 to 1651 the Iroquois Confederacy were warring on the weaker Hurons, during which time we have seen the Hurons sent to the Susquehannocks for help and the Susquehannocks freely offered to give aid. But strange to say the help never was given. The cause of this I cannot find; nor can I find the true cause of the war by the Iroquois upon the Hurons, except while they were neighbors of the Iroquois, they were cousins of the Susquehannocks or at least former allies, and the Iroquois Confederacy were jealous and

fearful of a confederacy between the Susquehannocks and Hurons. The rich Susquehanna valley also was in some measure the prize at stake; and this stake was about 1675 won by the Iroquois from the Susquehannocks, they being forced into Maryland. Thus by 1651, no help coming to them from the Susquehannocks, the Hurons were almost annihilated by the Iroquois. And now the Iroquois,and especially the Mohawk tribe of them, having grown insolent because of their victories over the Hurons, remembered their old insults from the wars with the Susquehannocks, and led a renewal of hostilities against them, thus starting the Iroquois-Susquehannock war of many years, in 1651. The very beginning of this war is told in Vol. 37, p. 97, Jesuit Relations, in 1651, as follows: "During this winter the Annierounons (Mohawks) went to war toward the Andaste (Susquehannocks), the result of which is not yet known." Thus in 1651 the war began.

1651—First Stages of the Susquehannock-Iroquois War

In our last item we cited the first going out of the Iroquois against the Susquehannocks. The Jesuits called them Mohawks; but Senecas, Cayugas, Mohawks and other tribes are by these writers all called indifferently, Iroquois. Later in this year, 1651, further accounts of the war are told us, viz.: "A fugitive brought back news that the Iroquois having gone during the winter in full force against the Andaste (Susquehannocks) had the worst of it." Vol. 37, Jesuit Relations, p. 105. And later the same year these Jesuits write "As for news of the enemy the captain of the Atia'kewae (the Andaste or Susquehannocks—Vol. 36, Jesuit Relations, pp. 247-8), who was captured by the Iroquois nation, says that 1,000 of the Andaste have been captured; or at least they carried off 500 or 600 Andaste, chiefly men. And the Mohawks lost in this expedition only eleven men." See Jesuit Relations, Vol. 37, p. 111. This great boast of the Iroquois all turned out untrue, as we shall show later.

A good deal of what I write now has been discussed but as it was at that time taken second hand from other phamphleteers, I do not consider it first hand, and for that reason I now set it down from the original sources.

As to this Susquehannock-Iroquois war I beg to stop long enough here to remark that the war lasted in a desultory fashion about twenty-four years, reaching its height about 1665. The combined Iroquois subdued the Susquehannocks and gradually forced them from the Susquehanna into Maryland along the Potomac. The backbone of the Susquehannock power was broken by 1670, and the contempt in which the Iroquois held the Susquehannocks is testified to by the Jesuits as follows: "Since the Sonnonhourais (the Huron name for Iroquois) have utterly defeated the Andaste (Susquehannocks), their ancient and most redoubtable foe, their insolence knows no bounds; they talk of nothing but renewing the war against our allies and even against the French, and of beginning by the destruction of fort Colorokoui." Vol. 59, Jesuit Relations, p. 251. The effect of the success over the Susquehannocks by the Iroquois was much like the effect of the victory over Napolean upon the Duke of Wellington. The Iroquois felt they could now conquer the worthiest foe in all the world, and that now they could overcome the French themselves. Chronologically this last paragraph is out of order; but I use it here simply

again to illustrate the prowess of the Susquehannocks, which is plainly shown in that the Iroquois considered their subjugation an event of first magnitude.

1652—The Haughty Susquehannocks Now Beg An Alliance with the Government of Maryland—A Treaty Formed.

In the very opening stages of the combined Iroquois onslaught upon them the eyes of the Susquehannocks were opened; and their haughty pride was humbled. They had found a foeman worthy of their arms. While it was not true that 1000 of them were taken as the item under 1651 sets forth; it was true that many of them were killed by the barbarians of the north in these first encounters. The Susquehannocks knew they could not single-handed contend with the combined Iroquois forces, and so they proposed alliance with Maryland.

Therefore they entered into the following treaty with Maryland: "Articles of Peace and Friendship Treated and Agreed upon this 5th day of July, 1652, between the English of Maryland of one part and the Susquehannock Indian Nation on the other part followeth:

1. That the English nation shall hold and occupy to them and their heirs and assigns forever all the lands lying north of Patuxent river to Palmer's Island and to the western side of the Bay of Chesapeake and from Choptank river to the North East Branch to the northeast of Elk river on the northeast with all islands, creeks, fish, fouls, deer, elk, and whatsoever else belongs except the islands of Kent and Palmer's which belong to Clayborne, but it shall be lawful for both the English and the Indians to build houses or forts for trade on Palmer's sland.

2. "If there is any damage done on either side at any time hereafter by the English or the Indians aforesaid or any other confederated tribe or servants of them, that report be made and satisfaction be given from each other from time to time as the case requires and as in reason should be done between those that are friends and desire to continue so.

3. "That if any people or servants that belong to the English or to the Indians shall go away or run away from either side they shall not be concealed or kept away from each other; but with all constant speed be returned and brought home and satisfaction to be made in reasonable way for transport of them by land or by water.

4. "That on any occasion of business to the English or any message, or the like, the Indians, shall come by water and not by land that there shall not be above eight or ten at any one time, and that they bring with them the tokens given them by the English for that purpose by which they may be known and entertained. And also the English on their parts when they send to the Indians any message shall carry the token which we have received from them.

5. "And lastly that these articles and every particular of them, shall be really and inviolably observed, kept and performed by the two nations before named and by the people to them or that are in amity with them forever, to the end of the world; and that all former injuries being buried and forgotten, from henceforth they do promise and agree to walk together and carry one towards another in all things as friends, and to assist one another accordingly. But if it so hereafter at any time happen that either party is weary of peace and intends war, then the same shall be signified and made known each to the other by sending

and delivering up this writing, before any act of hostility or enmity be done or attempted and that 20 days' warning thereof be given beforehand.

"These several articles were solemnly and mutually declared and concluded at the river Severn, in Province of Maryland by Richard Benett et al, for the Governor and Council and by Savahegah, Aierohtoregh, Scarluhadigh, Ruthchoque and Natheldrruh, War Captains and Counsellors of the Susquehannoughs Commissioners appointed and sent by said province and the Susquehannoughs and were fully interpreted, done and confirmed by several presents, gifts and tokens of friendship, mutually given and received" See this treaty Vol. 3, Md. Arch. p. 276-7 and Bozman's Md. p. 682. (We shall see at a later date how treacherously the Marylanders violated the sancity of the tokens or medals spoken of here, and slaughtered the holders of them.)

Speaking on this same treaty Scharf and Johnson both say in 1652 the differences between the Susquehannocks and Maryland were again composed, and a treaty was made between them. The Susquehannocks began to see the unwisdom of war with the whites and with the Iroquois at the same time. Scharf's History of Maryland, p. 212, Geo. Johnson, in his History of Cecil County, has the following to say upon that treaty of 1652: "A treaty was made between Maryland and the Susquehannocks, being the first treaty of which any record is preserved. This was done where Annapolis now stands. (p. 17). The treaty provided inter alia, "That the English shall have all the land from Patuxent River to Palmer's Island on the west side of Chesapeake and from Choptank to northeast Branch or Creek lying to the northward of Elk River on the east side." (p. 17) This treaty was asserted by the Governor of Maryland, in our first Court House in Centre Square in Lancaster City, then a Borough, June 25, 1744, when and where the said Governor, speaking to the representatives of the Five Nations then assembled at the Treaty of 1744 said: "The Susquehanna Indians by a treaty above ninety years since, which is on the table and will be interpreted to you, gave to the English Nation and their heirs and assigns forever, the lands we possess from Patuxent River," etc. (4 Col. Rec. 704). And the Indian orator replying the next day said: "We acknowledge that the Conestoga or Susquehanna Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you for they were theirs, but since then we have conquered them." (Do. p. 708). This would also make this treaty about 1652, and it also asserts the fact of its existence, and its import.

1652—Hurons Not Able to Help the Susquehannocks in the War.

As we have stated in the last paper the combined Iroquois were too powerful for the Susquehannocks, and they looked to Maryland in treaty to help them. That they made the overtures to the whites is evident from the introduction to the treaty, viz.: "Whereas this court is informed that the Susquehannocks have a long time desired and much pressed for peace with this province, etc." Bozman, pp. 450 and 451.

Neither could the Huron cousins of the Susquehannocks help them; because beside subjugated five years before, their geographical position was not favorable to co-operation. In Vol. 38, Jesuit Relations, p. 235, it is said "The country of the Hurons is a part of New France. Southward a little

to the west comes the neutral nation, whose first villages were not more than 100 miles distant from the Hurons, the territory of this nation extending 150 miles; thence moving from the neutrals a little toward the east one reaches New Sweden, where dwell the Andaste (Susquehannocks), who are allied to our Hurons and speak a language not very different from them. They are distant from us about 500 miles."

1654 — Indians Except Susquehannocks to be Deprived of their Guns.

Amity with the Susquehannocks seems now to have been firmly established by the Maryland government; Maryland passed the following act for their benefit; "It shall be lawful for any person to take away from any Indian that shall come within the liberties and bounds of St. Mary's and Potomac, their guns, powder and shott; and that none shall entertain Indians in their houses except they come on public treaty,which is meant only of the Susquehannocks and the Emperor of the Piscataways; and that as far as possble the Indians have notice of this Act." Vol. 1, Maryland Archives p. 348.

1654—An Extensive Beaver Trade Carried on by Susquehannocks.

We now turn for a moment again to the situation, environments and trade of the Susquehannocks at this time before going into their war with the Iroquois.

In Gerrett Van Sweeringen's Account of the Settling of the Dutch and Swedes at Delaware found p. 746, in Vol. 5 of Ser. Pa. Arch. (p. 748) he says: "In the year 1654 the head of the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland was not at that time seated and so the Marylanders did not take much notice of the Dutch or Swedes. The Swedes sailed up hiding themselves in a creek called the Schuylkill—in English "Hiding Creek." (Do.) And in the same volume p. 235 it is said "Thousands of beavers can be bought around the Schuylkill or Bever's Rede, which are brought down in great abundance by the Minquas and the Black Indians." Wm. Penn also in a paper dated 1690 mentions that the Indians of the Susquehanna came to Philadelphia by way of the Schuylkill and its branches—their old and unusual course. (I Haz. Reg. 400). Thus from all this we see that while the Susquehannocks' wars were in progress their trade was going on also.

1656—The Susquehannocks Still Hunt About Lake Ontario.

Some fathers of the Jesuits this year with other Frenchmen journey to the Upper Iroquois and tell of one of the experiences as follows: "Towards evening some hunters perceived us (at the end of Lake Ontario); Vol. 43, Jesuit Relations, p. 141—and on seeing so many canoes in our company they fled, leaving behind them some booty for our people, who seized their weapons and beaver skins and all their baggage; but capturing one of those hunters we found that he belonged to the tribe of Andastogue (Susquehannocks), with whom we are not at war. Our French therefore gave back to them that which they had plundered; this however did not induce our savages to display the same courtesy." Vol. 43, Jesuit Relations, p. 143.

Two historical facts are worthy of notice here: (1) that the Susquehannocks continued to make hunting parties to the northward the same as in the days when they were not at war with the Iroquois, and (2) that though the French were the friends of the Iroquois, the 'fathers' say they are not at war with the Susquehannocks.

1660—The Piscataways Complain of the Effects of War.

In Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, pp. 402 and 403, it is reported that the Emperor of the Piscataways came to the English and complained as follows: "A long time ago there came a king from the eastern shore who commanded over all the Indians now inhabiting within the bounds of this province of Maryland (naming every town severally), and also over the Powtomacks and Susquehannocks, whom, because he did embrace and cover all of them, he called Wafoingassenew. This man dying without issue made his brother, Quakon-assiam king after him; after whom succeeded his other brothers. After his brothers they took a sister's son, and so from brother to brother. After this they were in danger of the Senecas, who are a potent nation, and had lately killed five of their men and threatened their fort for being friends with us and the Susquehannocks, who are at war with the said Senecas. Therefore they (the Piscataways) desire for pay they might have four English to help them make their fort." To this the authorities of Maryland explained the council would be called together and come to the Potomac and give them (the Piscataways) an answer." See Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, pp. 402 403.

Thus this old Piscataway Emperor, after tracing the line of powerful kings who at one time held a confederacy of Indian nations about the Potomac, similar to the Five Nations, now in New York, ends by saying that the Piscataway friendship for the whites and Susquehannocks has brought about a hereditary hatred to the Piscataways on the part of the descendants of the original powers of the confederacy.

1661—Maryland Again Declares War Against the Susquehannocks.

Just about the time the Susquehannocks were in the midst of the war with the Iroquois, their bad faith toward Maryland and their outrages upon the whites, caused Maryland to declare war upon them too. Johnson in his History of Cecil County, page 51, says that in 1661 the "Council of Maryland met at Susquehanna Point, just below Perryville, and declared war on the Susquehannocks. But two years later, viz. 1663, says the same author, page 61, "Notice was sent to the Susquehannocks to come to Maryland to treat with the Commissioners of Baltimore County; and that at this time the Senecas had begun to intimidate the Susquehannocks." This treaty is also noticed by Scharff in his History of Maryland page 290. We remember also that Maryland and the Susquehannocks made a treaty in 1652, mainly for land; but partly also of amity. This presupposes a state of hostility precedent. Both of which treaties of 1652 and 1663, between Maryland and the Susquehannocks point out that they were warring on the whites and the Iroquois at the same time. Later we will show how the Iroquois feared the Susquehannas after the fatal expedition; and also enter upon the Seneca-Susquehannock War.

1661—Fortunes of War Hard Against the Susquehannocks.

The Susquehannock-Iroquois war has now been going on about ten years, and the Susquehannocks are losing ground rapidly. Maryland passed a law to assist them, the verbatim transcript of which may be seen in a prior item. To carry out the benefits intended by the Act a commission was issued by Maryland to John Odber as follows:

"We, Cecelius to John Odber, greet-

ing: Appoint you Captain of 50 soldiers to be raised in the province of Maryland, and them to have use and command with provisions, victuals and ammunition and to set forth with them in a march to the Susquehanna fort to the resistance of all enemies declared and to be declared and to defend the said fort against all attempts from any enemies of the Susquehannocks or of the province according to such instructions as you shall receive from us, or our lieutenant general from time to time, and them to vanquish and put to death, and all or any other things, acts and powers to use and do concerning said expedition, till the return of the soldiers into this province again, as to the captain of an army or governor of a fort by the laws and use of warre doth or may belong. Given under our lesser seal of said province 18th May, 1661. Philip Calvert." Vol. 1, Maryland Archives, p. 417.

Thus the Susquehannock fort was evidently again in danger. In fact the Senecas were pressing on from the northward that the Susquehannocks were about being driven out of the fort on toward the Potomac, to which point about ten years later the Senecas did drive them, and at which latter place they made their famous last stand, as we shall see later.

Evans' and Ellis' history calls attention, page 11, to the fact that at this same time there was a fort on the Susquehanna near the mouth of the Octorara; and that it was protected by a small stockade to harbor hunting parties. But as the main fort, as we have shown, was farther up the river, three miles above the mouth of Conestoga Creek."

According to Hazard's Annals, p. 346, at this time the Susquehannocks were greatly reduced, as well by smallpox as by war.

The character and progress of the war will claim our attention later.

Act or Law Passed by Maryland in 1661 to Help the Susquehannas.

Through the goodness of that most competent archivest, Hon. L. R. Kelker at Harrisburg; and the able and obliging Assistant Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia, Mr. Ernst Spofford, two of my especially valued friends and co-workers, I am able to send forth the context of the Act of Assembly of Maryland passed May 1, 1661, in that Colony to help our Susquehannocks. Both these gentlemen sent me copies of the Act.

The Act, which is found in Acts of Assembly 1637 to 1664 Vol. 1 (Baltimore) Maryland Historical Society, 1883, p. 406 and 7; also Archives of Maryland, is as follows:

"Thursday, second of May, 1661, present as before. Then was reade the Act concerning the Burgesses tyme and charge which was voted by the whole house to passe. Acts made at a General Assembly held at St. Johns in St. Mary's country, beginning April the seventeenth, 1661."

"An Acte impowering the Governor and Council to rayse forces and mayntayne a warre without the province and to ayde the Susquehannough Indians.

"Whereas it doth appeare to this present General Assembly that this Province is in imminent danger by a warre begun in itt by some foreign Indians as it hath been made to appeare by credible information given of a person lately killed and of others that are probably cut off by these foreign Indians, and that in humane probability our neighbor Indians, the

Susquehannocks are a bullwarke and Security of the Northern parts of the Province and that by former treaties with that nation they have very much assured us of their affections and friendship. And that they expected the like from us. And by their treaties it was agreed Assistance should be granted to each other in tyme of danger, And upon their several late applications to us to that purpose Ayde hath been promis(ed) them accordingly.

"It is enacted and be it enacted (by) the Lord Proprietary of this Province by and with the advice and consent of the Upper and Lower House of this present General Assembly that the governor with the advice and consent of the council have power to leavy and rayse by presse or otherwise fifty able men with armes and Provisions and all things necessary for them to be sent to the Susquehannough Forte for the ends aforesaid. And the proportion of the said soldiers to be raysed out of the several countyes followeth—vizt: Out of the County of St. Mary's 11; out of Calvert county, 15; out of Charles county, 7; out of Anne Arundel, 11; out of Kent, 3, with one interpreter, a Captaine and Chirurgeon, and for the paye of the officers and souldiers aforesaid to be proportioned as followeth until the souldiers returne—to the Commander in Chief 600 pounds of tobacco in caske per month; to the interpreter 600 pounds per month; to the lieutenant 400 pounds per month, to the sergeant, 300 pounds per month and to the Chirurgeon foure hundred per month and to every private souldier 250 pounds per month.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid for the defraying of the charges of said warre and all charges incident to with; That the Governor and Council are hereby impowered to leavy by way of assessment per pole according to the usual custome of this Province.

"And in the interval of Assemblys to rayse what forces they in their discretion shall think necessary against the Seneca nation of Indians or any other Indians that shall be found to have killed any of the inhabitants of this Province or that have or shall disturb the peace thereof. And the charges to be defrayed as aforesaid.

"This Acte to continue and be in force for two years or the next Generall Assembly which shall first happen."

"The Upper House Have Assented —Will Bretton, clerk.

"The Lower House Have Assented —John Gittings, clerk.

I cite this Act not alone for the provision it makes for support of the Susquehannocks; but also for the many facts of history it sets out in the first paragraphs explaining the cause of the Act, viz.: the repeated applications made by them for help, showing the trouble they had with the northern tribes—the setting forth of the reciprocal arrangement the Whites and the Susquehannocks had —the fact that the treaties made with the savages were not merely playthings, and gala day meetings, but were of sufficient solemnity to require statutes to be passed to carry them out, and finally the honorable way in which the whites looked upon these Susquehannocks.

1661—Instructions to Captain Obder.

Prior we gave a copy of the commission to Obder, constituting him an officer to assist the Susquehannocks, in resisting the Five Nations.

We now give their instructions which the government of Maryland

gave to him, directing him how to proceed, copied from Vol. 4, Maryland Archives, pp. 417 and 418. They are as follows:

"1. You are to choose some fit place either within or without the Forte (Susquehanna Fort) which you are to fortify for your own security and to demand the assistance of the Susquehannocks to fetch timber and other necessaries for the fortifications according to the article now concluded between us and further to cause some spurs or flankers to be laid out for the defense of the Indian fort, whom you are upon all occasions to assist against the assaults of their enemies.

"2. On arrival at the fort immediately press them to appoint some one or more of their great men to whom you shall make your applications on all occasions, that is, either of demanding assistance to help fortify or for provisions or upon any order received from us.

"3. Procure that certain persons be appointed who are to be messengers between you and us according to the articles and be sure to advise us of every accident of importance that shall befall you or the Susquehannocks and of the proceedings of the affairs.

"4. You are carefully to inform yourself of the progress of the warre between the Susquehannock and Seneca Indians and if you find them lacking in it to press them discreetly to a vigorous prosecution of it.

5. "You are to avoid quarrels with the Susquehannocks and not to allow soldiers to sit or drink with them.

"6. Make diligent inquiries touching the numbers of the women in Patapsco River, and of the motion of the companies of them.

"7. You are to have a very wary eye on all the Dutch that come to the Forte (Susquehannock Fort) observing their actions and treaties with the Indians but show not any animosity against them; if you find any close contrivances to our prejudice give it notice."

Thus from this we see that Maryland was suspicious of the Dutch who were now the owners of a good deal of southeastern Pennsylvania, till 1644, when the English divested them of title. It is also noticeable that great care was always observed by Maryland that the Susquehannocks should not become suspicious of the help of the White Brethren of Maryland.

1661—Various Fortunes of War Now Occupy Both Nations.

The Jesuit Fathers speaking of the scouting parties of the Susquehannocks say Vol. 47, Jesuit Relations, p. 71: "On Lake Ontario (The Great Lake of the Iroquois) we met three canoes from Onneirout, on their way to fight against the Nez Pierce Indians. They told us that the Susquehannocks (dwelling near New Sweden) had recently killed on their fields three of the Orocouenhounous (a tribe of the Five Nations)."

1661—The Jesuits are Pleased That Susquehannocks Hold Iroquois in Check.

The Jesuits appreciate very much the vigor of the Susquehannocks, as it is taking the pride out of the Iroquois, who about this time because they had grown haughty over their victory over the Hurons and other tribes, had designs to fall upon the French themselves. The Jesuits in Vol. 47, Jesuit Relations, p. 107, say: "We doubt not it is a stroke of Heaven that has very seasonable caused a division of forces and aroused up in our behalf the Andaste (Susquehannocks) savages of warlike spirit and ever held in dread by the Upper Iroquois, against whom war is kind-

ling in such strength that we have now against us only the Agnieronnous (Mohawks) and Onneirounhonnos, who form but a small part of the Iroquois."

We can find much original historical matter in this last paragraph. It tells us that the Susquehannocks were regarded "of warlike spirit" by the Indians and the whites of the north— that the Upper Iroquois "ever held them in dread"—that they were pressing the war with such vigor that they made the whole Five Nations unable to attend to any other affairs, or to give attention to any other enemies than the Susquehannocks; and caused a division of the Iroquois forces.

1661—Susquehannocks Have Broken Up Seneca Fur Trade With New York.

The Susquehannocks single handed so harassed the Iroquois and so planted themselves between them and New York that the peltry trade of the Sencas, one of the Five Nation or Iroquois tribes, was nearly cut off at the same time they were prosecuting the war. The French work entitled "Relations de la Neuville France" for 1661, p. 40, says: "The Susquehannocks also kept the Senecas in such alarm that they no longer ventured to carry their peltry to New York except in caravans escorted by 600 men who even took a circuitous route." This is another proof of what the Susquehannocks were made of. About this time it seems the Iroquois had the worst of the contest, as the Relations de la Neuville France for 1662 p. 11 say, "Smarting under constant defeat the Five Nations now solicited French aid." The same work for the year 1661 p. 39 says "In 1661 small pox broke out sweeping off many. War had now begun in earnest with the Five Nations: and though the Susquehannocks had some of their people killed near their town (on Susquehanna) they in turn pressed the Cayugas so hard that some of them retreated across Lake Ontario to Canada."

1661—Susquehannocks Ungrateful to Maryland.

In spite of the fact that Maryland tried to befriend the Susquehannocks it would seem they did not greatly appreciate it. In the midst of their war, they found time to harass and kill whites surreptitiously. Vol. 3 Md. Arch. 413 gives us this account of this. "An information touching the death of four Englishmen killed in passage between Delaware Bay and Chesapeake by Indians—John Taylor says, one Easter Eve two Indians came to his house but he did not understand their language, told them to go, he knowing of a murder committed on Robt. Gorsuch's wife. So they left. Next day they came with seven more and one woman who coming near his landing shot off a gun to give notice. They asked him for tobacco and he gave it to them and on sight of another canoe of Indians he told them to be gone. The Indians shot another man and plundered his house and tobacco house of 1000 pounds tobacco. They also killed eleven head of cattle and twenty hogs. Meeting certain other Indans he asked who the others were and they said they were all Susquehannocks.

Nevertheless the heaviest campaigns of the Susquehannock—Iroquois War were yet to come, and for mutual help the Maryland and the Susquehannocks entered into a new treaty of peace.

1661—A New Treaty of Amity Between the Susquehannocks and Maryland.

The rough surgery which the Five

Nations were practicing on the Susquehannocks made them again turn to Maryland, though single handed up to this time they held their own against the confederated savages of the north. A treaty was made accordingly May 16, 1661, by the Susquehannocks with Maryland as follows:

1. It is mutually agreed that we shall according to our former agreements mutually assist one the other against the enemies of either nation upon timely notice given to each by the other.

2. That such Indian men who are prisoners and shall happen to be taken in war shall be delivered to the English, as well such as have been killed as others.

3. That the English shall send up to Susquehanna Fort fifty men to help defend the fort.

4. That the Susquehannocks shall permit the captain of the English soldiers to choose a place either within or without the fort to fortify himself in, and that the Susquehannocks shall help him to fetch logs or other materials or timber for the fortification.

5. That the Susquehannocks shall find the English soldiers with sufficient fish and flesh and bread ready beaten.

6. That there shall be six Indians appointed by the Susquehannocks to be ready to carry letters between the captain of the English at the Fort and Colonel Utyes' house, and from thence to the Fort, to which end two of them shall always be upon Palmer's Island.

7. That to prevent mischiefs and misunderstandings and not distinguishing the Susquehannock Indians the Susquehannocks shall not come ordinarily to any other house but to the house of Captain Thomas Stockett or Jacob Clauson, from whence they shall have tickets if they have occasion to come freely among the English plantations; and if by enemies they be driven among the English they shall be found to halloo before they come near any English house, and upon the appearance of the English they shall immedately lay down their arms, to be in the English possession till they depart.

8. That the Susquehannocks shall send all runaways of the English down to Captain Thomas Stockett immediately after arrival at the Fort.

9. That the English having now declared that they will demand satisfaction of the Possegouke (northern) Indians for the death of John Nordon and his companions slayn (slain) by the aforesaid Indians, and upon decision to prosecute a war with them the Susquehannocks shall upon further notice given be ready to assist in the said war with necessary force, which the said English will prosecute upon the said northern Indians."

This treaty may be found in Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 420, and is signed by the English emissaries, and by the following Susquehannock Indian chiefs: Dahadaghesa, Sarawgarora, Andra-Souque, Waskanecqua, Saraquendelt, Karagarago and Wadonbago, dated May 21, 1661, the day it was concluded, the conference having lasted five days.

This treaty was made pursuant to the Act of Assembly May 2, 1661, to which we have called attention as well as have set out a verbatim copy thereof; and under and by virtue of both Colonel Obder was given the commission and instructions we have noted before. But while they were in sore need of help from the Whites the Susquehannocks seemed not to appreciate it; or at least were too haughty to do the menial work the English soldiers required of them in

helping to build the fortifications to strengthen the Susquehanna Fort.

1661—The Susquehannocks do not Appreciate English Help in War.

Captain Obder gives this account of his attempt to help the Susquehannocks under the provisions of the above Act of Assembly and Treaty.

"November 27 Captain Obder came to give account of this expedition to the Susquehannock Fort and was asked why he came down from the Fort without order from the Governor. He said that the Susquehannocks came to him and told him that they could not compel their men to furnish the soldiers with provisions according to the article; and therefore bid them provide themselves and be gone tomorrow in the canoes that were provided to carry the ammunition to them. He said he had left all the arms with Mr. Lloyd except one gun at Jacob's, and the arms of every soldier were carried home to be delivered to the owners thereof from whom they received them. This answer not having satisfied the information of the Lieutenant Governor, he was ordered to give account in writing of his proceedings with the Susquehannocks by next council. See Maryland Archives, Vol. 3, p. 434.

Nov. 28 Captain Obder was called to give account in writing according to the former order but he appeared not. Then was called John Everett to answer his contempt in running away from his colors when pressed to go to the Susquehanna Fort, and he pleads that he cannot bear arms for his conscience sake; and it is ordered that he be tried at the next court. Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 441.

The reasons for the drawing the Act to aid the Susquehannocks and who drew it and the necessity for a treaty are set forth in Vol. 1, Maryland Archives, p. 400, as follows: "Ordered that Messrs.Ed. Lloyd, John Bateman, Col. Wm. Evans et al draw up an Act empowering the Governor and Council in the interval between this and next Assembly to raise forces they find necessary to ayde the Susquehannocks against the Senecas, that have lately killed some Englishmen in Patapsco River, and that the expense be raised by an assessment, and in Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 411, it is said that on consideration of the Act passed to ayde the Susquehannocks it was decided to send John Obder with an army of fifty men."

Thus this expedition and design to help the Susquehannocks in their great war, though they desired a treaty on the subject, was the same as several former efforts by the Whites to help them, and to deal with them, a failure. In following items we shall notice further efforts and also take up the weary progress of the war.

1662—Susquehannocks Blockaded in Their Fort.

Page 347, Hazard Annals, is set forth one of Alricks papers, "When I arrived on May 31st at New Amstel (1662) I perceived there a great change; all were jointly engaged to repair the Fort as the Minquas were blocked in their Fort by the Senecas being about 800 strong. When the Senecas approached three or four men were dispatched to the Fort with the offer of peace while their force remained at a distance; but a Minqua returning from hunting discovered the Senecas so that next day, they from the Fort concluded to meet them with 20 or 30 men when the Minquas at the same time with their force made an attack drove the Senecas to flight and pursued them for two days retaking 10 persons and 10 men killed if we can depend on two Minquas

who arrived at New Amstel on the 2nd, inst." This is verbatim from the Alrick papers dated June 2, 1663.

1662—The Great Susquehannock-Iroquois War—Iroquois Expedition Down Susquehanna River.

Formerly we showed how this war began in 1652, and progressed in a desultory way on toward 1660

The principal campaign of the War was in 1662; and indeed it is the only campaign of which historians tell us anything definitely. The best account of its chief event, and to my mind the most reliable one, is that set forth in Vol. 48 of the Jesuit Relations p. 75 written practically contemporaneous with the event. The description is dated 1662 and is set forth as follows: "Last year two tribes of the Iroquois formed an expedition to go and lie in ambush for the upper Algonquins. For this purpose they set out early in 1662. But the Iroquois, who had never learned to run away, would have been glad to do so at any time, for shafts were leveled upon them in every direction.

The other Iroquois nations had no better success in an expedition undertaken by them against the Andaste (Susquehannas) savages of New Sweden, with whom War broke out some years ago (p. 77). Raising accordingly an army of 800 men they embarked on Lake Ontario toward the beginning of April last, and directed their course toward the extremity of the beautiful lake to a great river very much like our St. Lawrence, leading without rapids and without falls to the very gates of the village of Andaste or Andastogue. There our warriors arrived after journeying more than one hundred leagues on that beautiful river. Camping in the most advantageous position they prepared to make a general assault planning, as is their wont, to sack the whole village and return home at the earliest moment loaded with glory and with captives.

But they saw that this village was defended on one side by the stream on whose banks it was situated, and on the opposite by a double curtain of large trees flanked by bastions, erected on the European manner, and being supplied with some pieces of artillery. Surprised at finding defenses so well planned the Iroquois abandoned the projected assult, and after some light skirmishing resorted to their customary subtility, in order to gain by trickery what they could not accomplish by force. Making thin overtures for a parley they offered to enter the besieged town to the number twenty-five, partly to treat for peace, as they declared, and partly to buy provisions for their return journey. The gates were opened for them and they went in; but were immediately seized, and without further delay made to mount a scaffold or scaffolds, where in sight of their own army they were burned alive. The Andaste by this declaring war more hotly than ever gave the Iroquois to understand that this was merely the prelude to what they were going to do in the latter's country, and that the Iroquos had only to go back home as speedily as possible and prepare for siege or at least make ready to see their fields laid waste.

The Iroquois, more humiliated by this insult than can be imagined, disbanded and prepared to adopt the defensive. They had hitherto borne their arms in victory through all these regions. But what are they to do now? And besides small pox—an American pest—had wrought sad havoc in their villages."

The Dauphin County Archaelogoists, in their pamphlet cited before, tell of this expedition, which they

mistakenly fix as 1663, instead of the correct year, 1662, page 41, as follows: "In April, 1663, the western cantons raised an army of 800 men to invest and storm the Susquehanna fort. This fort was erected about 20 miles from the mouth of the River, the enemy embarking on Lake Ontario, according to the French account, and then went overland to the Susquehannocks. On reaching the fort however they found it well defended on the river side and on the land side with two bastions in European style, with cannon mounted, connected by a double guard of large trees. After some skirmishing the Iroquois resorted to strategy. They sent a party in to ask for peace and the Susquehannocks burned them before their eyes. The force of the Iroquois was about 1600 while the Susquehannocks had in their fort only 100 men. On the retreat of the Iroquois the Susquehannocks pursued them with considerable slaughter."

1662—The Susquehannocks Now Contend Against War and Small Pox.

On the 20th Feb., 1662, Beekman writes: "The Senecas and Minquas are still at war. The savages on the river too are in, this winter as they did not go on hunting as usual which causes nearly a stagnation in trade." (Haz. Annals, p. 330). A month or two before the last writing the same writer wrote: "Many of the Minquas (Susquehannocks) died lately by the small pox. They are nearly besieged by the Senecas, which caused a decline in our trade with them. I was informed that the Senecas killed another savage not far from that place but a little above it where the Swedish concentration is made". Haz. Annals, p. 329. Nov. 27, 1662, Beekman writes to Governor Stuyvesant: "On the 3rd arrived three Susquehannock chiefs with their suite. Supposing that they had something to communicate respecting the late murders, we requested the presence of the Swedish commissary. The chiefs bitterly complained that on our information and complaints they discovered the murders were committed by a young Seneca residing among them. And these Susquehannock chiefs further say that as long as the Christians have resided here it can never be proved that any of the Susquehannocks have in any manner injured or offended them; on the contrary they have showed them every mark of friendship and were always willing and cheerfully employed in reconciling differences between them and the other savages. They said about three years ago one of their nation was murdered by the Christians near New Amstel (now New Castle; see p. 206), which they did not resent. These Susquehannock chiefs also expected ere long to their assistance about 800 Swedish Minquas (Pennsylvania Susquehannocks) of whom about 200 had arrived, so that next spring they were resolved to make war with the Senecas and go and visit the forest, whereof they solicited the Christians to provide them with ammunition of war whenever they paid for it." (Haz. Annals, pp. 341 and 342). This last statement about the Susquehannocks going to make war on the Senecas simply means that the Susquehannocks had now determined to take the offensive, so heretofore they were mainly on the defensive.

1662—Maryland Again Favors an Act of Assembly Helping Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 1 of Maryland Archives, p. 428, it is set out that in 1662, "Upon reading the Act empowering the Government to aid the Susquehannocks to maintain a war, now expir-

ed it was put to question whether it was fit to move the lower house to consent to a new Act empowering the Governor and Council to raise forces to maintain a war without the province for some determinate time, and it was resolved that the lower house do agree with the upper house in such an Act and that an Act be passed to encourage soldiers by pension who shall volunteer and adventure in defense of their country."

1663—The Tide of War is Now Favorable to the Susquehannocks.

The campaign of 1662 in the Susquehannock-Iroquois war was on the whole favorable to the Susquehannocks. Especially were the Iroquois disheartened by the fate of their expedition down the Susquehanna of 800 warriors, of whom 25 were burned alive in the Susquehannocks' fort. Thus one large "branch of the Iroquois (the Sonnadauchonnoas) the farthest nation from the east, ask for peace with the French in order to make head against the Susquehannocks, those savages of New Sweden who are very warlike and better than any other to exterminate the Iroquois. In order to secure themselves against so remarkable an enemy they ask the French to come in large numbers and settle among them, the Iroquois. They also ask for black gowns, so as to appear peaceful, etc." See Vol. 49, Jesuit Relations, p. 141.

1663—Jesuits Have No Faith in Iroquois Plea for Peace with Them and the Susquehannocks.

These overtures for peace made by the Iroquois to the French and Jesuits were looked upon by the latter with suspicion as is set forth in Vol. 49, Jesuit Relations, p. 147, as follows: "Some small Iroquois tribes, and indeed the great body of them do not love us (the Jesuits) and they have a deadly hatred for the Algonquins. Thus when we see them so unmistakably urgent for peace we doubt their sincerity. And so seeing themselves within two fingers' breadths of total destruction—famine and disease having begun it, the Susquehannocks, Algonquins and other savages having advanced it, the French interested in completing it—they pretend to wish for peace."

1663—The Iroquois Tribes Make New Expeditions on Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 49, Jesuit Relations, p. 153, as shown from a letter written at Quebec Sept. 22 "the northern tribes repeat their southern marches." It is stated that the "Anniehoronnous (a tribe of Mohawks), the Sonnontouehuonnores (the Huron name for the Iroquois), are now all situated along the Great Lake of the Iroquois, called Ontario, from 20 to 30 leagues inland. They are in villages and till the soil, raising Turkish and Indian corn and wheat. Beyond them farther southward they have savage enemies for some time past have been making vigorous war on them—the nation of the wolves, the aborigines allied with New England and the Andaste (Susquehannocks) with New Sweden." In to this latter nation they have been sending war parties for ten years and more. These expeditions are further explained in the extracts which now follow from Haz. Annals, pp. 346 and 347.

1663—Attack of Susquehannock Fort.

"Hazard sets forth the attack on Susquehannock Fort in 1663 by the Iroquois from the writings of A. Hudde as follows (Haz. Ann. 346):

"Information was received by one Harman Reiders residing in the colony of New Amstel, of the English, which he received with request to communicate to us that the Sencas being 1600 strong with wives and children were on the march to the Minquas; that they were yet two

days' journey from the Forte of the Minquas. The Minquas have about 30 men, who were not yet in besides a hundred of the savages from the River who are in the Forte. The English requested some of the Minquas which they declined, and now the English seem to favor the Senecas so that it is said they had resolved to send some of the men to meet the Senecas and conclude with them a treaty of peace and as the savages on the river will not always remain at the fort this may occasion disturbance on the river during the summer. This was intended for Wm. Beekman to communicate with him news of these parts. "A. Hudde."

1663—Maryland Again Helps the Susquehannocks with Powder and Supplies.

In Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 486, under date July 28, it is set out: These are in the name of the Hon. Proprietary of Maryland to will and require you to go to the house of Jacob Clawson and Symon Carpenter, and there see delivered to Capt. Civility and the rest of the Susquehannock Indians 2 barrels of powder—2 hundred weight lead; and after you are to go to the house of Nathaniel Ufley along with said Indians and there press any one of the three guns and let it be delivered to said Indians of which guns said Indians are to have the choice—all which particular being for public use, and this your authority." In Vol. 1, p. 505, Maryland Archives, it is said: "The assessment to pay diet for the expedition to Susquehannocks was 6,380 pounds tobacco." And in Vol. 1, Maryland Archives, pp. 471 and 472, five Susquehannock chiefs being asked say their enemies in all the forts are about 1,460 men; and that they, the Susquehannocks, are now about 700 fighting men.

1663—Maryland Shows Further Interest in the Susquehannocks.

Finally Maryland shows further her alliance with the Susquehannocks by sending for them to treat again which is set forth in Vol. 3 Md. Arch. 487 as follows: "At a council held at Gold-smith's for pursuing any foreign enemy. Instructions, etc: You are forthwith to send to the Susquehannock Indians, to give them notice that they immediately come down to treat with you and the rest of the commissioners about the articles of peace lately confirmed by the Governor together with their consent and expectation strictly to insist upon the article namely that they shall not approach any English plantation but according to the tenor of the said Article of Peace, by stopping a certain distance away and helloeing."

Later we will notice certain small victories by the Susquehannocks against the Mohawks and the Senecas, etc.

1663—Fatal Susquehannock Fort Expedition Humbles the Iroquois.

The result of the Susquehannocks' slaughter of the Iroquois in 1662 had a very pacifying effect on them for a time. This is told in Vol. 49 of the Jesuit Relations p. 137 as follows: "This year a great embassy of Iroquois met the Jesuit fathers,—the Algonquins and Hurons, the greatest ever known especially since the War which was now in progress between the Iroquois, the Hurons, etc. The Iroquois proclaimed that they wished to unite all the nations of the earth and hurl the hatchet so far into the depth of the earth that it will never again be seen in the future. They wished to place an entirely new sun in the heavens, level all the mountains and remove all the falls in the rivers

and wished peace. They declared they are coming, men women and children to deliver themselves into the hands of the French. But the Iroquois as we know from 5 years' experience are haughty and crafty and they never ask peace unless they have a scheme.

It seems that they ask this so that the French will live among them (p. 141) and surround their villages with palisades as they fear the Andastes or Susquehannocks, the savages of New Sweden who are better able than any other to exterminate the Iroquois and they (the Iroquois dare not longer go and ask munitions of war from the Dutch. They even begged for black gowns to go and convert the Hurons. Then they came with a white flag later, but we were not deceived."

1664—The Seneca - Susquehannock War Opens.

The Iroquois having been badly frightened by the Susquehannocks, as we have already shown, in the expedition of 1662, the Senecas now sallied forth to retaliate upon theSusquehannocks. The Senecas were allied with the Iroquois. They practiced a guerilla warfare. It began about 1664 and continued until 1675. We shall here treat only of the beginning of it. Its later stages ten years onward brought on Col. Ninian Baell's expedition against them from Maryland in 1675. In Johnson's His. of Cecil Co., p. 61, under date of 1664 he says, "Notice was sent to the Susquehannocks to come and treat with the commissioners of Baltimore County, because at this time the Susquehannocks were greatly intimidated by the Senecas." This was Maryland's first offer to help the Susquehannocks against the Senecas. In Lyle's History of Lancaster County, it is stated p. 19, that the Senecas crossed the Susquehanna many miles above the fort of the Susquehannocks and robbed and killed some of the whites. In June, 1664 one of the Senecas was captured and 40 of the Susquehannocks who were present at his trial wanted him burned as a punishment for his cruelty. In the same year 100 Seneca warriors came to the Chesapeake and killed several Maryland settlers and some Susquehannocks they caught hunting. And in the summer of that year Maryland declared war on the Senecas; and the Senecas the next year went out on the warpath in full force against the Susquehannocks. This was in 1665, Lyle' p. 19. About this time the Marylanders and Susquehannocks combined and made several expeditions against the Senecas: as the Senecas now determined to eterminate both the Susquehannocks and the Marylanders. At this point we will leave the Seneca War for the present and take it up again at its crucial stage several years later, in chronological order. Before leaving the subject of the Seneca's invasion into the Susquehanna country we must note two more matters. The first is Robert Carr's account dated October 13, 1664 in a letter to Col. Nichols, on the subject of the Senecas coming down to southeastern Pennsylvania in Vol. 5 sec. ser. of Pa. Arch., p. 549. He says p. 550, among other things, "The cause of my not sending all this time to give notice of our success (He is writing from the Delaware) was the falling off of ye Indians from their former civility, they abusing messengers that travel by land since our travel here though no ways incensed by us, but exasperated by the Dutch and their own inclinations that 80 of them came from the other side (near Susquehanna) where they inhabit and are so strong that no Christian yet dare venture to plant on that side which belongs to

the Duke of York. They stayed 3 nights and pretended they came to settle. We beg your endeavors to assist us in reconciling the Senecas, they coming and doing violence to ye heathen and Christians and leave these Indians to be blamed for it. In less than 6 weeks several murders have been committed and one by these people (Senecas) upon ye Dutch and Swedes. This shows the incursions of the Senecas.

Mombert says p. 123 that in 1664 New Netherlands fell under the Duke of York and the English now having authority over the Dutch a firm alliance was formed between the Indians and the English. And now freely supplied with ammunition by the English in New York, the five nations make vigorous war against the Susquehannocks and the tribes on the south generally.

1664 — The Susquehannocks' Other Fort at Octararo.

Minor Matters. About this time says A. L. Guss in his work on Indian History of the lower Susquehanna, the Susquehannocks had a fort at the mouth of the Octararo as some of the towns located by Smith on his map cannot be located where he places them (p. 5). Mr. Guss also states that they (Susquehannocks) had a town on the Bolus river which is now the Patapsco entering the Bay at Baltimore. Also p. 5. He also says page 11, that the Susquehannock tribes warred on the Delawares too. Scharf in his History of Maryland, page 94 tells of the fierceness of the Susquehannocks at this time, but most of it we have had from other writers more nearly first hand.

Under practically this same date, a glowing description of southeastern Pennsylvania is set forth in Vol. 5, Second series of Pa. Arch., p. 447. It sets forth how every growing crop surpasses everything grown in Europe and especially says that furs of all sorts may be had of the natives very reasonably and great profit to be derived from traffic with them who are naturally a mild people and capable of being drawn out of blind ignorance to the saving light of Jesus Christ. Alsop's description of Susquehannocks we will take up in a future item.

1664—Progress of the Seneca-Susquehannock War.

Lyle's History p. 9 says, "The Susquehannocks were now at War with the Senecas, one of the Six Nations, who opposed the Susquehannas and robbed and killed some of the white settlers. In June, 1664, one of the Senecas was captured; and forty Susquehannocks who were present at his trial wanted him burned as a punishmen for his cruelty. In June, 1664, about 100 Senecas came to the Chesapeak and killed several Marylanders and some Susquehannocks whom they caught hunting. In June of that year the Maryland colony declared war on the Senecas, who went on the war path against the Susquehannocks the next year. The Marylanders as allies of the Susquehannocks sent several expeditions against the Senecas, who threatened to exterminate both the Susquehannocks and the Marylanders."

1664—Incidents of the Susquehannock Iroquois War.

In June 1664, a Seneca was captured by the Susquehannocks and the whites, and on the 7th he was examined before Council. The same is reported as follows in Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 498: "Examination of an Indian prisoner, a Seneca.—Yesterday when the prisoner was here there were forty of the Susquehannocks and two of Civility's

uncles (Civility was a chief of the Susquehannocks) who made show of much joy at his being taken, for they very well knew him and were sensible of his warlike exploits and would have persuaded us to have burnt him but we certified it was not our manner to torture prisoners; but that happily he might be sent home to his country for the good of us all. But we cannot find that the prisoner alleged anything in his behalf and we suggest he take a present to his own country. Verily too if such a thing were done Civility, in the behalf of the Susquehannocks, would also go and that thereby a peace might be procured. And if Civility go with Clawson to the Seneca country the Susquehannocks, we know, would willingly embrace the opportunity of a treaty." This is from a letter signed by Theo. Stockett, Sam'l Goldsmith and Franc Wright.

This Seneca gave the following narration, viz.: "That he came to the house of Mr. G. M. Ball, not with intent to kill any Christians, but had brought a present for the Christians of forty beavers and several belts of peace for the Susquehannocks; that they desire peace and friendship (the Senecas) and that the boy taken and the men killed at the mill it was the Cinneka Indians, that did both. He says if he had been taken by the Susquehannocks he should not have been put to death by them, and that all the joints of his body and bones are belts of peace. He was asked how many troop the Senecas had coming out and he said 200; and asked why so many were come if for peace, and he said nothing but that their fort did not desire war with the Christians, and the troops were come for revenge of the death of his son and five Indians more that were burnt by the Susquehannocks. When they came to Ball's plantation they gave the sign and word and left their guns behind in the field." See Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 499.

Evans and Ellis' history tells about this same incident and other related matter, p. 12, as follows: "At this period the Susquehannocks were at war with the Senecas, who crossed the river many miles above the Fort and penetrated to the head of the Bay, where they robbed settlers. Several inhabitants were killed and in June, 1664, one of the Senecas was captured and at his trial forty of the Susquehannocks were present, among whom were two of Captain Civility's uncles. They wanted the Seneca burned as they kenw his bloodthirsty character."

1664—A Report that the Susquehannocks Have Defeated the Mohawks.

I find it set forth in Vol. 50, Jesuit Relations, p. 205, that "The Mohawks took flight on hearing the noise of guns and drums. They learned from some old men who had remained behind that quite recently news had come that the army of the Annieronta (Indian Governor) had been defeated by the Andastae (Susquehannocks). Thus we see that the Susquehannocks though they had many reverses up to this time (1664) were yet a terror to other tribes. Both their terrible name and reputation of yore and their exquisite cruelty to their captives helped them to continue to be dreaded.

1664—Maryland Again Co-Operates with the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 1, Maryland Archives, p. 511, we find, "The Upper House showeth to the Lieutenant General that Francis White is by ye order of ye House gone on special service for the province to the Susquehannock Fort, that your honors may hear the more true and certain intelligence of the enemies, whereon upon considera-

tion had of the results of the defense of the Province against the incursion of the Indians, it is ordered that the original articles of treaty with the Susquehannocks be brought into the House and considered tomorrow." From this we see that not only the Susquehannocks but also the whites were in immediate fear of the incursion of the Five Nations into Maryland and southern Pennsylvania. The Susquehannocks were considered the barrier between the whites and the savages from the north. In spite of all, a few years later the hordes of the north did come down and force the Susquehannocks into Maryland even to the Potomac; and Penn found when he came that the Susquehannocks were tenants only, and that he had to deal for land with the Five nations of New York who by that time owned all the Susquehanna country. Evans and Ellis in their history of Lancaster county, p. 12, tell of the movements which made it necessary for Maryland to act as above as follows: "In 1664 the Senecas again came to Chesapeake and killed several settlers and some Susquehannocks whom they caught hunting. There were 100 warriors in this raid. In June of the same year the Marylanders declared war against the Senecas and put Colonel Lewis Stockett in command.

1664. In September of this year the Assembly of Maryland took into consideration the Articles of Peace with the Susquehannock Indians of July 5, 1652, and also the Articles of May 24, 1661, and both were ordered to be communicated to the other branches of the government for renewal, etc." Vol. 1, Maryland Archives, p. 522.

1664—Maryland Makes a New Treaty of Peace with the Susquehannocks and Formally Declares War with the Senecas of the Five Nations.

"Act to perpetuate certain articles made with the Susquehannocks—To the end that peace and amity with the Susquehannock Indians according to certain articles made with that nation may be kept and continued—be it enacted by his Lordship proprietor and the assent of the General Assembly, that the Governor and the Council of the province have full power to lay a tax not exceeding 6,000 pounds of tobacco per month to be employed for hyring (hiring) such and so many volunteers as can be got upon any emerging occasion as the Governor and Council should think fit toward the ayding (aiding) and assisting the Susquehannock Indians when desired by them, for continuing the said articles and preserving peace and amity with them aforesaid. And further that 6,000 pounds per month of tobacco shall be levied or raysed when the volunteers be upon the service.

And further be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that the Lieutenant Governor of the province be empowered by virtue of this Act to purchase so many good fixed muskets, ammunition, swords and belts for the use of the public as soon as he can procure them, for which he shall be allowed this present year out of the general levy by public assessment 4,000 pounds of tobacco and caske.

And further be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that in the interim—that is to say till the swords and muskets be purchased and bought, if necessity require — the Lieutenant General shall have power to press so many muskets and swords as shall be necessary in any part of the province for the intents, uses and purposes of Act; and that those muskets, swords and belts first mentioned be kept as part of the magazine of this province. This Act to continue

for three years or to the end of the next General Assembly." See Maryland Archives, Vol. 1, p. 539.

1664—Maryland Again Stands by the Susquehannocks Against the Senecas.

About the same time Maryland passed the following Act: "At a council held June 27th, 1664, the Council taking into consideration the protection of the province against the Senecas who lately killed some English in Ann Arundel county and entered St. Mary's and ordered war there. Now war is to be proclaimed against the Senecas and a reward of a hundred arm's length of Roan Oke to be given to any one who kills a Seneca. That all the Kings of Friend Indians be sent word and all to get ready to go against the Senecas—that all officers are to send intelligence from time to time to the Governor and Council that they keep in correspondence; and whereas there is a Seneca prisoner in Patapsco who alges he came to seek peace and brought a present intended for us and the Susquehannocks—It is ordered that the Indian be sent down to St. Mary's and kept in irons and a letter be written to Stuyvesant to give notice to the Senecas trading at Fort Orange that we have such a prisoner, whom we shall keep alive till we see if they want peace or war and if they do not desire peace we will put him to death; and that Col Clawson gave notice to the Susquehannocks of our intentions and to ask them if they will join us or not." Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 502. Stuyvesant was Governor of New York at this time.

1664—Oneidas Co-Operate with the Senecas.

Maryland Archives, Vol. 3, p. 501, says: "It was claimed sixty Oneidas were come for war on the north side of the Potomac to kill the English and Indians. There were 100 more gone to the head of Chesapeake bay to kill the English and Susquehannocks, and so they tortured two of those Susquehannocks."

1666—Susquehannocks Kill Iroquois and Carry Grief to Their Nation.

The tears and grief caused by Susquehannock prowess is told in Vol. 51, Jesuit Relations, p. 243, to this purport. Presents were given by the ambassador from the Iroquois of Onnontae, accompanied by the following speech: "I boast of having ransomed twenty-six captives for the French from those who would have burned them. But you have done more for us. I hope in the clemency of the French. I hope also to wipe from your faces the tears that Father Garner told us had been shed by you in consequence of the death of our people who were killed by the Andaste (Susquhannocks)."

To understand this speech you must remember that the Five Nations (called by that name sometimes, and sometimes called the Iroquois, because the Iroquois were the strongest of the five constituent nations) were composed of five different tribes or nations of which the great head was the Iroquois tribe proper, and the great chief of the Iroquois was the Emperor of the whole and from him the ambassador who made the above speech came to console the subordinate tribes who had suffered loss of men from the ravages of the Susquehannocks in the great war. DePonceau in his translation of Campanius gives this interesting statement of the rise of the two leading forces of the Susquehannock-Iroquois War, that is, the Iroquois and the Susquehannocks—"The Iroquois, at first inferior to the Algonquins, were driven out of the valley of the St. Lawrence

into the lake region of New York, where by greater cultivation, valor and union they became superior to the Algonquins of Canada and New York as the Susquehannocks did over the tribes in New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia." See DePenceau's Camp., p. 158.

1666—Susquehannocks Presented to the King of France.

In Vol. 51, Jesuit Relations, p. 173, one of the Jesuit Fathers writes: "Monsieur De Salieres, colonel of a French regiment, who after growing gray in the armies of France, where he made himself very well known, came over here to take part in the glory of subjecting the Iroquois. Of those savages he has taken with him five of each different tribe and even from that of the Andastae (Susquehannocks) to present them to the King."

George Alsop's Account of the Susquehannocks, about 1666.

Scharf, in Vol. 1, p. 86, of his History of Maryland, quotes Alsop as saying: "Those Indians that I have conversed with, here in this province of Maryland and Pennsylvania, are called Susquehannocks being a people looked upon by the Christian inhabitants as the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that dwell upon the continent of America; also are so allowed and looked upon by the rest of the Indians, by a submissive and tributary acknowledgment; being a people cast into a mold of a most large and warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven feet in latitude and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch—their voyce large and hollow as ascending out of a cave—their gait and behavior straight, stately and majestic, treading on the earth with as much pride, contempt and disdain to so sordid a center as can be imagined from a centure drawn from the same mould of earth.

These Susquehannock Indians are for the most part great warriors and seldom sleep one summer in the quiet arms of a peaceable rest, but will keep, by their present power, as well as by their former conquests, the several nations of Indians around them in a peaceable obedience and subjection.

"When they desire to go on a design that will and does require consideration some six of them get into a corner and sit in Juncto; and if thought fit, their business is made popular and immediately put into action; if not, they make a full stop to it and are silently reserved.

"The warlike equipage they put themselves in when they prepare for Belona's march is with their faces, arms and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greased with bear's oyl, and stuck thick with swan feathers, with a wreath or diadem of black and white beads a small hatchet instead of a scimiter stuck in their girt behind them, and either with a gun or bow and arrows. In this posture and dress they march out from their fort or dwelling to the number of forty in a troop, singing or rather howling out the decades or warlike exploits of their ancestors ranging the wide woods, until their fury has met with an enemy worthy of their revenge. What prisoners fall into their hands by the destiny of war they treat very civilly while they remain with them abroad; but when the once return homewards they then begin to dress them in the habit of death, putting on their heads and arms wreaths of beads, grasping their hair with fat—some going before and the rest behind, at equal distance from the prisoner, bellowing in a strange and confused manner, which is a true presage of destruc-

tion to their then conquered enemy.

"In this manner they continued until they have brought them to their Berken city where they deliver them to their tormentors, who in cruelty will execute them without judgment of law or benefit of clergy. The common and usual death of their prisoners is to bind them to stakes, making a fire some distance from them—then one with a sharp knife or flint cuts the cutus or outside skin of the brow so deep until their nails or talons can fasten themselves firm and secure, and then with a rigid jerk disrobe the head of skin and hair at one pull, leaving the skull bare, and immediately apply hot embers on the skull.

"While they are at this several others are preparing pieces of iron and barrels of old guns which they make red hot to sear each part and lineament of their bodies which they perform and act in a most cruel manner. And others will cut off flesh of the victim and eat it raw before his eyes. And yet this never makes them bring the victim to repent.

"Now after this cruelty has brought the life to an end they immediately fall to butchering them into many parts and distribute it among the sons of war to entomb their deceased victims in no other sepulchre than their bodies.

When any depart this life they set him upright upon his breech, in a hole dug 5 feet long and 3½ feet deep and cover it with the bark of trees archwise, his face due west, leaving a hole a half foot square open. They dress him as a warrior, and give him some bows and arrows and targets, a kettle of broth and corn before him. His relations follow him to the grave clad in bear skins with the tail on the ground. They bury all within the wall or pallisado. Their houses are low and long, built with bark.

They are situated at and above the head of Chesapeak on a river called by their own name Susquehannock, where they remain most of the summer. About November they go to remote places in the woods to kill deer, bear and elk. There they build cottages they call wigwams and stay three months to get food.

"The women are the butchers, the cooks and the tillers of soil. The men think this below their honor. The men kill the beasts and the women are the pack horses to fetch it on their backs; and they dress the kids and get them ready for market.

"I have never observed the women to taunt or boss the men. The wives and men both are constant to their marriage. Their marriages are short and authentic. When resolved upon the women send the intended husband a kettle of boiled venison or bear meat; and he returns in lieu beaver or otter skins and the nuptial is concluded without other ceremony."

"They paint upon their faces one stroke of red, another of green, another of white and another of black so that when they have accomplished the equippage of their countenance in this trim, they are the only hieroglyphics and representatives of furies. Their skins are naturally white but altered from their original by the several dyeings of roots and barks they prepare to metamorphise their hides into a dark cinnamon brown. Their hair is long black and harsh, but they pull it up by the root. Several of them wear divers impressions on their breasts and arms, as the picture of the devil, bears, tigers and panthers which are imprinted on their several lineaments with much difficulty and pain, with an irrevocable purpose of its abiding there. And this they count a badge

of heroic valor and the only ornament due to their heroes.

"All that I could ever observe in them as to their government is that he that is most cruelly valorous is accounted the most noble. There is very seldom any creeping into courtly gallantry. He that fights best carries it here.

"As for their religion, together with their rights and ceremonies, they are so absurd and ridiculous, that it is almost a sin to name them. They own not other Deity than the Devil (solid or profound) but with a kind of wild imagery and imaginary conjecture, they suppose from their groundless conceits that the world had a Maker, but where he is that made it, or whether he be living to this day they know not. The Devil, is all the God they own or worship; and that more out of a slavish fear than any real reverence to his infernal or diabolical greatness, he forcing them to their obedience by his rough and rigid dealing with them often appearng visibly among them to their terror, bastinadoeing them, with cruel menaces even unto death and burning their fields of corn and houses that the relation thereof makes them tremble themselves when they tell of it.

"Once in four years they sacrifice a child to him in an acknowledgment of their firm obedience to all his devilish powers and his hellish commands. The priests to whom they apply themselves in matters of importance and greatest distress are like those that attend upon the Oracle at Delphos who by their magic spells could command a pro or con from the Devil when they pleased. These Indians oftimes raise great tempests when they have any weighty matter or design in hand and by blustering storms inquire of their infernal God—the Devil—how matters shall go with them either in public or private.

"They are situated a hundred miles and odd from the Christian plantations of Maryland, at the head of the river that runs into the Bay of Chesapeake called by their own name (Susquehannock) where they inhabit most of the summer time, and seldom remove far from it unless it be to subdue any foreign rebellion. The skins they catch are brought down to the English (in Maryland) several times in the year, to truck and dispose of them for coarse blankets, guns, powder, and lead, beads, small looking glasses, knives and razors. The women never by look or action predominate over the men. Did they not alter their bodies by their dyeings, paintings and cutting theselves, marring those excellencies that nature bestowed upon them, there would be as amiable beauties amongst them as any Alexandria could afford when Mark Antony and Cleopatra dwelt there together.

"Their bodies are clothed with no armor to defend them from the nipping frost of a benumbing winter or the penetrating and scorching influence of the sun in a hot summer than what nature gave them, when they were born. They go, men, women and children all naked, except occasionally." This is the history given by Alsop.

In Dr. Shea's notes to the treatise p. 117 to p. 124 inclusive he gives much valuable history (aside from the text) relative to the Susquehannocks.

In note 46 he speaks of the names by which the Susquehannocks are known and says, "The French in Canada—Champlain and the Jesuit Relations, Gendron's Particularites du Pays des Hurons p. 7 makes frequent allusions to the Gandastogues

(more briefly Andastes) a tribe friendly to their allies, the Hurons, and sturdy enemies to the Iroquois. My researches led me to identify the Susquehannocks, Minquas, Andastes or Gandastogues and Conestogoes as being all the same tribe—the first name being given them by Virginia—the second by the Algonquins on Delaware; while Gandastogues as the French or Conestoga as the English wrote it meaning it was their own tribal name meaning cabin-pole (natio perticarum) from Andaste, a cabin-pole."

Dr. Shea also says in note 53, page 123 that Alsop's view of the religion of the Susquehannocks is wrong—that they believed in a good Deity.

The above is a new derivation of "Conestoga" to me, and the method of tracing it makes it a very early one. It seems a very probable one. We all know, however, of a quite different meaning being attached to our River Conestoga. Which is the parent derivation others must decide.

Alsop was in Maryland from about 1659 to 1655, and he wrote the history as soon as he went back to England.

1666—Susquehannocks Make Overtures—Peace with Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 3, Maryland Archives, p. 549, we find the following: "At a Council held at St. John's on the 29th June, 1666, came Wastahanda, Harignera and Gosweing-Werackqua, the warre captains of the Susquehannock Indians and desired continuance of their league with the right honorable proprietor and protesting that they were always ready to have delivered Wanahodena up to the justice of his lordship for murdering the men at the mill in Baltimore county and desiring that the villiany of one man may not be imputed to the whole nation and requesting assistance of the government, now at this time having lost considerable number of men in ranging at the head of Patapsco and the other rivers so to secure the English plantations from the Senecas; and remonstrating that the Senecas are resolved to storm the Susquehannocks' Fort in August next; and that afterwards the Senecas intend to fall upon the English in the province.

Whereupon was begun a further treaty of peace with the Susquehannocks, which was concluded as followeth:

Articles of peace and amity concluded upon by the Hon. Charles Calvert, Esq., governor of the province of Maryland, on behalf of the honorable proprietor of said province on one part, and Wastahanda, Harignera and Gosweing-Werakqua, war Captains of the Susquehannock nations, this 29th day of June, 1666, of the other party:

That the Susquehanna Indians shall deliver Wanahodena, that killed the Englishman at the mill if ever he return out of captivity from the Senecas, and for the future that they shall apprehend, secure and deliver up to the governor of this province for the time being any Indian whatsoever that shall kill any Englishman, and that as soon as they shall come to know of it, and be it within their power to apprehend and that without demand made by the English.

Secondly: That every Indian that shall hereafter kill any hogg and cattle of the English, and shall thereof be convicted shall pay for every hog 50 fathoms of peake and for every head of any other cattle 100 fathoms of peake for satisfaction to the owners of every such beast.

Thirdly: That all former crimes committed by any Indians of the Su-

quehannock nation shall be forgot and buried in oblivion, except murder of any English not yet discovered.

Fourthly: That the King of Potomac and his two sons be by some of the Susquehannock Indians delivered up prisoners to Major Samuel Goldsmith with all convenient speed.

In witness whereof the hands and seals are set 29th June, 1666."

No comment need be offered upon this except to say that the Senecas are now pressing so hard upon the Susquehannocks that they turn to Maryland for help. They report to the government the impending fate to the old Susquehannock Fort. The treaty is the result.

1667—The Susquehannocks Beg Further Help from Maryland.

At a council at St. Mary's August 24, 1667, of Baltimore County, being sent by the Susquehannocks to the governor and council was called in, who declared that the said Indians did request assistance and ammunition from the council sufficient to go against any Indian enemies and likewise declared enemies of the inhabitants of this province according to one of the Articles of Agreement made between the Susquehannock Indians and the English of Maryland:—

It was ordered that so many men be pressed as the Susquehannocks shall require to their aide and assistance and that they be sent up forth with. Also that a quantity of powder be delivered unto Mr. Francis Wright and the said Indians to be supplied out of the same as the said Wright shall see requisite and convenient.

The governor and council both further determined to go up into Baltimore County and there to give the Susquehannocks a meeting about the 15th of September next to wit, with the said Indians about the peace and safety of this province how to proceed with the Susquehannock assistance against any Indians now held and declared enemies to this province.

Commission issued to captain Lieutenant Smith dated Sept. 7, 1667 and to Daniel Jenifer. See Vol. 5, Maryland Archives, p. 13.

1667—Method of Raising Men to Help Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 5, Maryland Archives, p. 21, we find, "At a council February 6, at Matapenny, was taken into consideration the speedy rising of a certain and considerable number of men to make a march against the Indian enemies with all expedition possible, for which end it is ordered, that every tenth person in every respective county be raised to go on the present march namely, in all 410 men out of which number of men particular warrants issue to Col. William Evans to raise out of his company twenty-three men; Col. John Zarboe to raise out of his company twenty-three men; Daniel Jenifer to raise out of his company twenty-three men; Major Thomas Brook to raise out of Patuxent River province forty-nine men and from the Cliffs forty men; Capt. Wm. Boreman to raise out of his company fifty-three men; Wm. Burges to raise 62 men; Maj. Thomas Ingram out of Kent 14 men; in all 287 men specially raised. Evans & Ellis History, p. 12, tells about this same project and concludes by saying. "When Maryland agreed to send some troops up to assist the Susquehannocks as usual they did not go but left the Susquehannocks to carry on the war single handed. Matters grew worse and worse until the Marylanders became greatly alarmed for their own safety and they renewed the effort

to raise troops and go and help the Susquehannocks."

1667—The Susquehannocks Keep the French and Iroquois in Alarm.

In Vol. 52, Jesuit Relations, p. 155, under date of 1667, we read from the writings of the Jesuit Fathers of Canada: "We are in the midst of continual alarm that the Loups and the Andaste (Susquehannocks) cause." This again attests the fact that the Susquehannocks carried with them an unusual amount of fear-producing quality.

1667—The Onondagoes Also Fear the Mighty Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 52, Jesuit Relations, p. 155, it is said: "In the country of Onondago, or nation of mainland, one day there was held a notable council on the dream of a sick old man. He had seen in his sleep in dream a man only one cubit in height and that this being showed him some drops of blood, falling fom the sky and some fell from men who had fingers and noses cut. Finally he said the little man told him that the people were treated that way in heaven and that all those who should go there would fall into the hands of the Andastae (Susquehannocks). In this they evidently unintentionally pay one compliment to the Susquehannocks they did not intend to—that is, they seemed to think they were all in heaven, which is a much better opinion than we usually have of our dead enemies. The main thing about the strange superstition that the Onondagoes seem to think the Susquehannocks will be as warlike and predominating in the next world as in the present one.

1667—The Iroquois Pray to Their Gods to Help Them in War Against the Susquehannocks.

From Vol. 52 of Jesuit Relations p. 197, I quote the following: "A branch of the Iroquois nation most remote from the French, called the Upper Iroquois, live here. They pray to their Gods and also to the real God on the subject of war, but the French missionaries are preaching peace to them; and peace will be strengthened betwen the Iroquois and Outaoucs; the more so at this time, when the Iroquois have the nation of the Loups and that of the Susquehannocks on their hands and fear more than ever the arms of France. These Loups are the Wolf tribe of the Algonquins." So it seems by this that these savages counted prayers to their gods all-sufficient, except on the great Iroquois-Susquehannock war. for which they prayed for help from the Great Spirit alone.

1667 — The Iroquois-Susquehannock War Makes an Opening to Bring the Gospel to the Iroquois.

In Vol. 52, Jesuit Relations, p. 203, is stated: "Never did the Gospel have a more auspicious opening in this country, and the only thing lacking is workers. The Iroquois will be delighted to continue peace with the Outaoucs, having on their hands the war with the Loups and that with the Susquehannocks."

1668—Some Susquehannocks Go to the Jesuit Fathers for Religious Instruction.

The Jesuit Fathers say in Vol. 63 of Jesuit Fathers, p. 153, under date of 1668: The wars of the French and Iroquois having passed we now see fulfilled the prophecies of Isaiah. The savages are becoming Christians. A mission was erected—a shed of boards. They come every year to worship, like what happened at Jerusalem when the church was formed. In the companies of savages there were men of different languages—one

of the Chat nation, one of the Hurons, some were Iroquois, and some of the Andastogoe (Susquehannocks) even from their far country." There were likely not many of the Susquehannocks, however, as that nation was still at war with the Iroquois.

1669—Cruel Torture of Two Susquehannocks by Onondagoes and and Others.

The following cruelty is set forth as having been committed the year 1669: "Nov. 27th two elders from Onnontago bring news of the return of the warriors with nine Andastogue (Susquehannock) captives that were surprised while hunting. Two of them were given to Onnierout (the Indian Governor)—a young man of 20 and a woman. This woman was baptized at Onnondague by Father Millet. The 30th they began to burn her over a slow fire and prolonged her torture for the space of two days and two nights because he for whom she was given in exchange was burned at Andastogue (Susquehanna) for that length of time. Feb. 1st the priest instructed the young man who was taken prisoner, and he listened willingly as he was condemned to be burned. He baptized him. On the following morning says the priest, I went back and found him very well prepared for God. They finished burning him and I saw him render up his soul to God. I was told that he called for me the previous evening in the midst of the flames; but he was refused the consolation I might have given him." See Vol. 53, Jesuit Relations, pp. 253 and 255. These tales of cruelty seem incredible at this time. Another striking thing is that the civilized people—the Jesuits who were among the Iroquois and Onondagoes—should have allowed this torture to be inflicted.

1669—The Susquehannocks Still the Terror of the Iroquois Tribes.

To show what a specter the Susquehannocks were to other tribes and how the supersition of the other tribes was centered upon real and imaginary horrors connected with the Susquehannocks I cite the following under date of 1669: "A girl of sixteen (Indian girl of the northern tribes, Iroquois, etc.) having gone into the woods and spent two nights there, her relations were in anxiety. The jugglers were called to learn from them what had become of her. They put sorcery into operation to learn news of her. The first thing they did was to leap and dance and shake their limbs and get full of perspiration. Then they beat with sticks a tortoise drum, they sing and shout and consult and question their demon who never answers. Then they boldly declare that she had been killed by three Susquehannocks who had scalped her, cutting the scalp the size of a small circle, which they traced with their fingers on a piece of bark, and that she had died precisely at sunrise. Her relations and all the village became filled with weeping. But scarcely had the jugglers left the cabin when the girl came in well and alive." This is taken from Vol. 53, of the Jesuit Relations, pp. 291 and 293, and shows well how the Susquehannocks were regarded by the savages of the north.

1669—Susquehannocks Borrow English Boats.

In Vol. 2, Maryland Archives, pp. 196, and 197, it is stated that "The Kings of the Eastern shore ask permission and a boat to go up to the Susquehannocks, because canoes are so dangerous and the same is allowed by council."

1670—Piscataway Emperor Visits the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 5, Maryland Archives, p. 65, it is stated, "The Piscataways by petition desire to revive the peace between the Piscataways and the English and they state that their emperor is now with the Susquehannocks making advancements toward peace also."

1670—More Sorcery Involving the Susquehannocks.

From the Mission at St. Francis Xavier at Onnierout, which is the second nation of Iroquois as you go toward their great lake, Ontario. Jan. 10, 1670, the Fathers write: "The Devil, seeing the fruits of our instructions and spiritual teachings, has incited a woman of this village (Iroquois) to interrupt them. It appears that she has seen the great god of the Iroquois, who has revealed to her, she says, that the Susquehannocks will come to beseige this village in the spring and that one of their most powerful enemies, Hochitagete (The Susquehannock Great Chief), will be captured and burned by the Oniedas (allied with the Iroquois). She asserts that the voice of that Susquehannock was heard; that from the bottom of a kettle he uttered wailing cries, like the cries of those who are being burned. This woman, mad or possessed, is believed in all she says. Every day there is a gathering at her house, where there is nothing but dancing, singing and feasting." See this in Vol. 53, Jesuit Relations, p. 253.

1670—Susquehannocks Go to the Jesuits for Religious Instruction.

In Vol. 55, of the Jesuit Relations, p. 33, may be found the following: "Xavier des Praiz had a residence sixty leagues from Quebec, and near Montreal. This is a resting place for missionaries both from the Iroquois and the Upper Algonquins. The savages resort hither from all sections for the sacraments. I notice an admirable respect for the pastors; and among these savages a charity and union exceeding all former conception, especially in view of the fact that they are all people gathered from different countries—Hurons, members from the neutral nation, Iroquois, people from the Andastogue (Susquehannocks), from New Sweden, etc., and all of the different Iroquois nations, either natives of that country or dwellers there as prisoners of war." The activity of the Jesuits thus is amply attested, and their influence widespread, since it was able to reach our Indians on the Susquehanna river.

1670—Susquehanna Fort and Its Locality at This Date—Maryland Map.

A map dated 1670 in the Maryland Building at the Jamestown Exposition gives the following: "The great Susquehanna runs up northerly 200 miles to the Senecas with divers branches on both sides—to the east and to the west—full of falls and isles until about ten or twelve miles above the Susquehanna Fort, and then it runs clear. Downwards it is not navigable but with great danger. But it is navigable with Indian canoes. The present Indian Fort is on the west side opposite the mouth of a creek called Oustego, (which is now the Conestoga); the next creek below that on the east is named Oquandry (Pequea), the next Orktara, and the next Northeast creek.

1671—Treaty Between the English and Indians of Southeastern Pennsylvania.

Pages 390 to 392 of Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, will be found a treaty between Deputy Governor Lovelace and the southeastern Indians of Pennsylvania in which it is set out concerning the Susquehan-

nocks at p. 392 as follows: "That the officers and magistrates at Delaware be hereby empowered and authorized to treat with the neighbor Indians of the Susquehanna or others to join together against the murderers of this section and such as shall harbor them or take their part if occasion shall require and to promise such reward as they shall think fit provided it be done with great privacy and caution so that no sudden jealousies be given to the persons intended to be presented to their confederates."

1671—Map of Pennsylvania and the Susquehannocks at This Date.

In the History Building at the Exposition under date of 1671 there was a map of southeastern Pennsylvania including Chesapeake bay and Susquehanna river, and on it Smith's Falls are marked about ten miles from the mouth of the river; and next above it on the east side a short distance above the mouth of Conestoga creek "Susquehannough" town, and on the west the town of Attock; and about fifty miles up the river the town marked "Minquas," and 200 miles farther the Senecas.

1671 — The Susquehannock Boys Fight and Defeat a Party of Cayugas.

In Vol. 56, Jesuit Relations, p. 57, this account is given: "On Ascension Day this year twenty Tsonnontouans (Senecas) and forty of the haughtiest of the Cayuga young men set out from this (Cayuga) village to go and strike a blow in the fields of the Andastogue (Susquehannocks), 4 days' journey from hence. They were attacked by sixty Andastogue (Susquehannock) boys, 15 or 16 years old, and put to flight with the loss of two of their number. These young victors, learning that the band had gone by canoe, promptly took canoes and pursued them with such speed that they overtook and routed them, eight of our men being killed in their canoes, while 15 or 16 returned badly wounded by arrows and knives or half killed by hachet strokes. The battle field remained in possession of the Andastogue(Susquehannock) boys with a loss, it is said, of 15 or 16 of them. God preserves the Andastogue (Susquehannocks), who count but 300 warriors; and favors their arms in order to humble the Iroquois and maintain the peace of our mission." A similar account of this is also found in "Relations de la Neuville France" for the year 1672, p. 24, a French work which account says that the forty Cayugas went by water and the twenty Senecas by land to attack the Susquehannocks; and that the oldest of the sixty Susquehannock boys who met and defeated them was not over sixteen years.

This interesting note throws much light upon the warlike nature of the Susquehannocks, and shows how early their boys were proficient with all the weapons of war. The first attack must have occurred in Manor township, and the second attack on the river itself in canoes perhaps near Harrisburg. There can be no doubt of who won the victory, because the Jesuit Fathers believed in the prowess of the Iroquois tribes. An interesting fact is that the Susquehannock men were not about their grounds. They were likely off fighting the Iroquois in the general war.

1671—A Tax to Furnish the Susquehannocks Powder.

In Vol. 2, Maryland Archives, p. 339, it is stated that, "Five Thousand pounds of tobacco be levied for the purpose of furnishing and providing powder for the use of the Susquehannocks for their defense.

All these items show that at this time the Marylanders and the Susquehannocks were firm friends, and were mutually interested in resisting the Senecas. How sadly the situation changed in three years we shall soon see.

1672—The Iroquois Try to Gain Allies to Help Fight Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 57, Jesuit Relations, pp. 23 and 25, it is stated from a letter from Father Brugas to the Governor from the largest Mohawk village that "The Seneca Iroquois have brought twenty peace presents to the savages of that neighborhood. The Iroquois obey the Governor as their common father and they say they have only gifts of peace. There is no doubt that they are only using the bait either for the sake of their commerce at the solicitation of the Dutch or to beguile the Ottawas into a renewal of war if they succeed with the Susquehannocks, who are the only enemy that the Iroquois now have on hand." Thus it is evident the Iroquois-Susquehannock war was still going on as this account says it was.

1672—Three Susquehannocks Captured in War and Burned to Death.

From Vol. 58, Jesuit Relations, p. 227, it is stated: "Three Andastae (Susquehannocks) were captured in war. The Jesuit Father instructed them before they were burned. Several from the same country escaped after some months of captivity; and they told of the great charity that those who wore the black gowns had for them as well as for the Iroquois and for all the people." The great Iroquois-Susquehannock war is now nearing its close, having been waged since about 1652. Three years more will see the Susquehannocks entirely defeated and driven to their new home on the Potomac, more than a hundred miles from their old one on Susquehanna river. What we have already written shows the amount of cruelty, butchery, slaughter and horrid retaliation which characterized the warfare of these savages, a great deal of which occurred right here in what is now our county.

1672—More Susquehannocks Tortured —Cruelty of Indian Torture.

The Jesuit Fathers tell us, "Two Andastogues (Susquehannocks) were captured by the Iroquois. They received baptism immediately before the red hot irons were applied to them. One of them who was burned during the night in the cabin from his feet to his knees prayed again to God with me on the following day while tied to the stake. The patience of these poor victims is admirable; but one cannot contemplate without a feeling of horror the sight of their roasting flesh and of men who devour it like famished dogs. One day when I was passing near the spot where the body of one of these roasted victims was being cut to pieces I could not help drawing near and inveighing against such brutality. I saw one of these cannibals who asked for knife wherewith to cut off an arm. I opposed him and threatened him that God would punish him. He related as his reason for doing so that he was invited to a feast commanded by a dream at which they were to eat nothing but human flesh to be brought by those who wanted to eat it. Two days afterwards God permitted that his wife should fall into the hands of the Andastogue (Susquehannocks) who revenged themselves upon her person for the cruelty of her husband. See Vol. 57, Jes. Rel. pp. 169 and 171.

1672—Iroquois Fear a Susquehannock Invasion and Invoke Their Jugglers.

One of the Jesuit Fathers gives us this relation: "I had the affliction to

see a noted juggler die in his infidelity; but his presumption and pride rendered him unworthy of grace and baptism. He was held in unusual veneration among the Iroquois and so his shade still seems baleful to Christianity. An elder recently convoked the tribe and announced to it that this juggler had appeared to him in a dream and regarding him with a terrible expression had bidden him to bear word to the elders that they were irredeemably lost; and that the Susquehannocks would come the next spring without fail to beseige the village and burn and slay all who resisted them. If however they wished to avoid these disasters they must remove the dead juggler's body from the spot where it was buried and carry it out along the road leading to the Susquehannock country. He said that then there would be no further cause for alarm, since as he (the dead juggler) had overcome the common enemy of the nations during his lifetime, he was still pursuing him after death, and his body on being transferred to the place designated would not fail to inspire terror in the hearts of all who should venture to approach the village.

Though the ground was covered with snow they failed not to execute to the letter the order they had received, bearing the dead body out along the road to Gandastogue (Susquehannock country) and there erecting to it the finest mausoleum to be seen among these barbarians. After all as this knave was found out to be a liar while alive, he proved no less untrustworthy after his death, two women having recently been brained by those very Susquehannocks within fifty paces of the palisades surrounding the village." See Jes. Rel., Vol. 56, p. 35. The same story is told though somewhat briefer in Relations de la Neuville France for 1672 p. 20, as follows, "A famous medicine man of Oneida appeared after death to order his body to be taken up and to be interred on the trail to the Susquehannocks as the only means of saving that canton from ruin." See also Dr. Shea's note No. 46 to Alsop's Maryland.

1672—The Great SusquehannockChief Planned to be Captured.

In Relations de la Neuville France, 1672, p. 47, says that at this time the great Susquehannock War Chief Hotchitagete or Barefoot was much feared by the Iroquois and a raving woman and a crafty medicine man deluded the Iroquois with promises to capture him and execute him at the stake." See also year 1670, p. 47.

1673 — The Susquehannocks Giving Way Before the Blows of the Iroquois.

In Vol. 59, of the Jes. Rel. p. 251 we find, "Since the Sonnonlouaies (Huron name for Iroquois) have utterly defeated the Andaste (Susquehannocks) their ancient and most redoubtable foe their insolence knows no bounds, and they talk of nothing but renewing the War against our allies and even against the French and of beginning by the destruction of Fort Colarokoui." I do not know what place is meant by the name last given. From this item it seems pretty certain that the Iroquois completed the subjugation of the Susquehannocks about the year 1672. However not content with defeating them, one of the tribes of the Iroquois confederacy, namely, the Senecas, kept on driving the Susquehannocks southward until about 1674 or 1675 they had driven them entirely off the Susquehanna River, down to the Poto-

mac where they were located when the deplorable and unjustifiable slaughter of five of their chiefs took place in an expedition led by Col. John Washington, grandfather of George Washington, and Major Truman, which we shall notice at large in its turn.

1673—The Final Stages of Conquest Near Susquehanna River.

Lewis Evans in his "Analysis" in his historical and political essays printed by Ben. Branklin 1755 page 14, says "the Susquehannocks after a great defeat by the Marylanders were easily exterminated by the Confederates (Iroquois confederacy). So those nations which are now on Susquehana are only such as the confederates allotted that river, for, viz. the Nanticokes from the eastern Shore of Maryland,—Tuteloes from the Meherin River in Virginia, and the Delawares under which we include the Minnesinks and the Mandes or Salem Indians." Thus the Indians who came to the Susquehanna River after the ancient Susquehannocks were driven out were of several tribes and have been called beggar Indians. Many of the Senecas and indeed several Indians of two or three more of the Five Nations' tribes came to the Susquehanna—and the general mixture became the Conestogas later. However quite a few of the Susquehannocks got back too, later.

Lewis Evans, p. 12, also tells us that "though they (the Five Nations) gave the finishing stroke to the extermination of the Susquehannocks, Bell in the service of Maryland at the Fort whose remains are still standing on the east side of the Susquehanna about three miles below Wright's Ferry, by the defeat of many hundreds gave them a blow they (The Five Nations) never recovered of." It is strange the Maryland Archives make no notice of this great feat by Col. Bell. I believe it was exaggerated.

1674 — Maryland Acknowledges the Five Nations (Senecas) Have Susjugated the Susquehannocks—Makes Peace with the Senecas and Fears as a Result War with the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 2, of Maryland Archives, p. 378, under the date of 1674, it is set out: "In pursuance of a vote for peace with the Cynicas (Senecas) passed at a conference of both Houses which this government made with said Senecas; and for as much as the said peace may bring on a war with the Susquehannocks, — this House, for the security of the province, do vote that an Act of Assembly be drawn up to empower the governor and council to make a war (upon the Susquehannocks if necessary) by an equal assessment upon the persons and estate of the said province."

We shall see that a desultory war between Maryland and Susquehannocks did soon begin, and was kept up three or four years, as the Susquehannocks felt very bitter toward Maryland for recognizing the Senecas as victors. The friendship of the Susquehannocks was now turned to hatred, and they retaliated by way of murders and depredations.

1675—Attitude of Susquehannocks and Iroquois Now.

Something of the situation at this time is shown in a letter dated Oct. 21, 1675, by Gov. Ed. Andros to the Governor of Maryland found in Vol. 5, second series, Pennsylvania Arch. p. 676, in which he says among other things: "I now give you an account of my engaging the Macques and Senecas not anyways to injure any of the Christians to the eastward, and

particularly in parts southward, your parts, in their warres with the Susquehannocks; but others apprehend it will be difficult to restrain especially the young men. I endeavored to be informed relating to that war, and found the Susquehannocks being reported by the Macques,that they might be brought to some peace again, though, I still find the Senecas to be wholly averse to it, desiring their extermination. But hearing now of Indian troubles which has occasioned raising forces in your parts I send you an express; and if the trouble be by the Macques or Senecas, I offer you my services. If you think good I would desire some from the Susquehannocks to come to me so that I may order matters accordingly."

According to this the Susquehannocks, now being beaten in war, the Senecas wish to exterminate them. The trouble the New York Governor refers to is that of the depredations now going on about the Susquehanna river, done no doubt by both the Senecas who now hold the country, and also by the Susquehannocks, who now live further south, but maraude into their old country (many murders being committed, and each of these two Indian tribes blaming all the murders on the other).

To this letter the governor of Maryland replied; and Dec. 10 of the same year the New York governor wrote another letter to the Maryland governor, among other things saying: "I am sorry the Susquehannocks were concerned (in the depredations) having always had the repute of being perfect friends to the Christians, particularly Maryland, and being offspring of the Macques,though by the Senecas engaged in war, and the Indians to the eastward. All Indians are now enemies of us. There only remains firm the Macques, and by them the Senecas." Vol. 5, second series, Penna. Archives, p. 678.

This letter sets out the reputation of the Susquehannocks of being friends of the Christians. While they were warlike and revengful, their honor, it seems, was to be depended on. A new thought as to them is thrown out in the statment that they are offsprings of the Macques. This brings to our minds for comparison what we said in the opening chapter of these "Annals," quoting from Gordon, that the Susquehannocks came from the Wolf tribe of the Lenape.

1675 — Susquehannocks Driven From the Susquehanna River.

This subject I have noticed above and simply set it down again for the sake of making it prominent, as it ushers in the final stand of the Susquehannocks. See Scharf's History of Maryland, p. 189, and Lyle's History of Lancaster County, p. 19. At this disastrous period also the Susquehannocks joined themselves to the Piscataways, a weak tribe which twenty years before they looked upon with contempt. See Indian History of Lower Susquehanna by Dauphin County Historical Society, p. 42.

1675—The Effect of the Fall of the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 60, Jesuit Relations, p. 173, the following is given as the result of the defeat of the Susquehannocks, upon the Iroquois: "Since the Iroquois have at last succeeded in exterminating the Andaste (Susquehannocks), who had held out against them for over twenty years, they have become so insolent that they, talk only of breakng the missionaries' heads by way of beginning hostilities. Drunkenness, which prevails amongst them to a horrible extent, adds to it

and makes them brazen enough to attempt anything."

1675 — The Susquehannocks' New Home on the Potomac.

The Iroquois, assisted by the other tribes of the Five Nations, having about 1652 begun the great war on the Susquehannocks and carried it along about fifteen years or less, until about 1664 they were disheartened by their unsuccessful attempts on Susquehannock Fort, with the disastrous results before noticed; and they about that date being superseded in command by the Senecas as leaders of the Five Nations, which Senecas, carrying on the war, assisted by the other tribes of the Five Nations until 1675, utterly defeated them (the Susquehannocks); they were now driven from the Susquehanna river to a deserted fort on the Potomac,gradually having been pressed and driven southward, and their numbers having dwindled down to 300 by war and small-pox. This fate was sad enough, but as we shall show in later items a worse fate awaited the remnant that were left. So much murdering of whites now occurred in Maryland and the victorious Senecas so well succeeded in making the people believe the Susquehannocks were doing all of it (while in truth it was done by the crafty Senecas, and blamed on the Susquehannocks for political effect), that Maryland decreed the Susquehannocks must move up to the head of the Potomac, about 100 miles farther back into the country; and before the poor savages had time to do that Maryland and Virginia combined and made a cowardly attack upon them, precipitating a campaign of war and siege which ended in about two years in dissipating them so that those who were not killed were divided into small parties and were absorbed in other tribes. We shall now proceed to this sad chapter.

1675 — The Susquehannocks Seek Peace and Protection in Their New Home — Action of the Government of Maryland.

The Susquehannocks, being overcome by the Senecas and their northern allies, are now further tormented and harassed by marauding parties of their enemies, and in their desperation they turn to Maryland for a place to live under the protection of that government. Their old home and lands are infested with the victors. Volume 2 of Maryland Archives p. 428 sets out: "Some of the great men of Susquehannough were this day admitted (Feb. 19) to the Upper House and asked what part of the province should be allotted for them to live upon; but before this House answers, they desire to know the opinion of the Lower House."

In the Lower House, "The opinion of this House is that should the Susquehannock Indians be permitted to live among the respective tribes of friendly Indians this year it may be of dangerous consequence to the province:

(1) That their being among them may corrupt our Indians and mould them so to their own future designs, as will prove detrimental to this province.

(2) This House hath reason to suspect that the design of the Susquehannocks coming among the English and claiming protection may be out of a design purposely to discover the strength of the province and the advantage they may take for the future and will be dangerous.

(3) We have reason to suspect that the Susquehannocks and Senecas have private correspondence together notwithstanding the seeming war be-

tween them which may be dangerous to the province should they be permitted among our neighbor Indians.

(4) If they are absolute enemies of the Senecas yet it will so exasperate the Senecas for us to entertain them that should a war this ensuing year happen between the Senecas and them, the whole province must in general suffer, and therefore this House is of the opinion it will not be safe for the government to appoint a place for them above the falls of Potomac there being time enough to clean ground enough to plant corn this year, which is the only thing they seem to desire to live among the neighbor Indians for."

And page 429 it is stated "The same day the Upper House ordered that Harignera, the Great Man of the Susquehannocks, should be informed that when he was at Matapaine with the governor he told him he would be content if the English would let him and the Susquehannocks live at the falls of the Potomac—that the governor has moved the Assembly to let them live above the falls, and the governor was willing they should move above the falls, but not to plant corn any nearer the English as they and the English might fall out and fight. In answer after some tedious debate the Susquehannocks signify to the governor that they would be willing to condescend to move to the head of the Potomac."

This serves to show in what an attitude the Marylanders, especially the Assembly held themselves toward the Susquehannocks. All these steps tended toward one goal—that is toward war on the Susquehannocks by Maryland.This soon was the ripe fruit that the condition bore, as is shown by the following extract from the proceedings of the Maryland Assembly, page 462, of the same volume of Maryland Archives. "An act for raysing a supply for the governor and captain general to defray the charges of making peace with the Senecas and war with the Susquehannocks."

Truly the Susquehannocks were now in a pitiable plight. They were whipped by the Senecas and other northern confederates of the Five Nations; they were harassed and driven by them on toward the Potomac; they were suspected by the Marylanders, and not allowed to inhabit among other tribes of friendly Indians, for fear of stirring them up against the government; they were blamed for all the murders committed by the Senecas and finally they were ordered by the government to go up the Potomac, away from the English.

1675—The Act of Assembly Declaring War on the Susquehannocks.

The above cited Act is as follows: "An acte for Raysing a Supply to defray Charges of Making Peace with the Cynegoes (Senecas) and Making War with the Susquehannocks and Their Confederates if Occasion Requires."

"The two Houses of Assembly having received certain credible information of the many outrages and murders committed upon the persons and states of divers good people of this province in Baltimore county by the Susquehannock Indians and other their confederates by them countenanced and protected contrary to the articles of peace of your Lordship's council have agreed and concluded upon certain measures, upon which a war is likely to ensue and it being also concluded that it may be of great benefit and advantage to the interests of the province to make peace with the Cynegoes (Senecas) for the defraying of the expenses of

such warre or peace if it shall seem necessary to the captain general and council to make such warre or peace do pray it may be enacted:

And be it enacted, etc., that there be levied and raysed this present year the sum of fifty thousand pounds of tobacco by an equal assessment upon the persons and estates of the inhabitants of the province to be paid to his excellency, Charles Calvert, Esq., captain general of this province to be by him disposed of as he and his council think meet, for and towards the defraying of all such charges and expenses as shall be laid out and expended in and about the carrying on or making any warre or peace with the Susquehannocks or any of their confederates or with the Senecas if the council and governor think expedient to make such warre or peace this present year." See same, 2 Md. Arch. pp. 462 and 463.

1675—The Maryland Government Opens Hostilities Upon the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 15, p. 48 of the Maryland Archives, it is set out, "It is ordered that a regiment of horse consisting offive troops of fifty men in troop be forthwith raysed and fitted with sufficient horse and arms and ammunitition for the expeditions march against the barbarous enemy and to assist the Virginia forces now preparing to pursue their enemies the Susquehannock Indians, and demanding delivery of those Indians which lately committed the murders on his Majesty's subjects in Virginia; and it is further ordered that the said Susquehannock Indians be forthwith forced off from the place where they now are to remove themselves to the place they assured the last assembly they would go and seat themselves.

Accordingly Thos. Dent is dispatched away to Colonel Washington and Major Allerton with the following letter:

"You are to march to the north side of Piscataway Creek, where you shall advise upon the ways and means to prosecute the war against the Doegs and the Susquehannock Indians till the murderers are delivered and all passible satisfaction obtained for damages done." (At this time there were 6,610 taxables in Maryland). See same book and page.

About the same time an additional force was raised to go against the Susquehannocks, which is set forth p. 56 of the same book. "It is ordered that a party of 30 men be raised—15 out of St. Mary's and 15 out of St. Charles under Capt. Douglass and Sly to range the woods about Piscataway and the Susquehannock Fort to take up all such horses as they shall find were lost by the soldiers in the late expedition against the Susquehannock Indians." And page 58 it is stated: "The governor and council have taken into consideration the disbursements for provisions and other charges relating to the late Indian war with the Susquehannocks that the same be levied this year and be taken into consideration."

Thus from these items we see there was an expedition against the Susquehannocks by Maryland, and that in it many horses were lost of the 250 that set out and the expense of the late war was now a subject of governmental concern for Maryland.

The particulars of this expedition and the disreputable action of the whites in the same against the defenseless chiefs of the Susquehannocks, and the impeachment proceedings against the leaders of the expedition by the Maryland authorities

we will next take up and in doing so reveal a disgraceful page in colonial Indian policy.

1675—Virginia Asks Maryland to Join Her in An Expedition Against the Susquehannocks.

On Sept. 6, 1675 Col. John Washington, a great grandfather of George Washington,together with Isaac Allerton sends a letter to Maryland stating, that on Sunday the 5th inst. orders were received from the governor of Virginia to summon the militia on the north side of the Rappahannock and south of the Potomac, to make an inquisition into the murders and spoyl done by the Indians and ascertain by what nations done and to demand satisfaction and proceed to war if needed.

Wherefore the regiment of 5 troops of 50 men each as stated in the last item, were ordered raised. See 15 Md. Arch. 48.

1675—Maryland Sends Instructions to Co-Operate With Washington

Accordingly Thos. Dent was sent to Col. Washington with these instructions: "Gent. According to the promise made Capt. Lee and Maj. Youell we have this day taken your letter into consideration and for answer return you that we have ordered 250 horses and dragoon to rendezvous upon Thursday which will be the 23rd instant at the head of the Choptico Bay from whence they shall continue their march to the north side of the mouth of the Piscataway where they shall await your arrival and join with you where your commanders shall advise with you upon the ways and means to prosecute the war against the Doages and the Susquehannock Indians till the murderers are delivered and all possible satisfaction obtained from them for damages done his majesty's subjects. Ordered that Maj. Thomas Truman be commander of the expedition." See 15 Md. Arch. 49.

1675—The Mattawomen Indians Join the Expedition and Help Maryland and Virginia Against Susquehannocks.

This is set forth in 15 Md. Arch. 57 as follows, "The Council, taking into consideration the merits of the King of the Mattawomen, namely that he came first unto Major Truman voluntarily and offered all his men to serve us against the Susquehannocks and his women and children as hostages and that he continued all the time of the War with the English and in pursuit of the enemy, do humbly desire the government concurrence to an order that the said King may be presented with 12 match coats as a mark of gratitude and have of value 100 arms length Roanoke namely four match coats for every prisoner of the Susquehannocks that they have taken and delivered—the said match coats to be paid to the Indian that took the prisoner."

From this we see that this tribe of Indians through their King first offered his warriors to assist the Marylanders and Virginians in whipping the Susquehannocks, and to give assurance that he would not dessert in battle and go over to the Susquehannocks, he gave the women and children of his tribe as hostages into the charge of the English, who could have been enslaved or even slaughtered if the soldiers proved recreant. The above also states that he did remain loyal.

1675—The Great, Shameful Expediton of Slaughter and Dishonor.

The expedition against the Susquehannocks, who were huddled in a fort on the Potomac, about 200 strong

including women and children, began about the middle of September, and continued n a siege of about 6 weeks ending the beginning of November. In addition to the march on the Fort, as we have above seen the whites hired other Indians to sally through the woods and capture Susquehannocks. The white soldiers also ranged the woods for the same purpose. At any rate about the beginning of November the Indians left their fort one night and struck southwestwardly into Virginia and were the leading instigators of the Bacon Rebellion all of which we shall show later.

None of the government archives of Maryland state anything of the general result of the expedition, perhaps because there was so much disgraceful about it. Neither do any other public records tell the particulars of the struggle. However inferentially several things are plain. First that the war was of considerable expense to Maryland, and that her people contributed of their private means to its maintenance. In Vol. 15 Md. Arch. 56 under date of Oct. 13 it is "Ordered that proclamation be made by the several sheriffs of each respective county that all persons that have been at any charge or expense for provisions or ammunition about the late expedition against the Susquehannocks shall come to the next provincial court and deliver their claims to the sheriffs." This is historical testimony that the expedition was taken, and that it was ended by Oct 13 or nearly so. Secondly in the same book p. 58 it is set out "Whereas the King of the Mattawomen desires to inform himself for the security of himself and his people against the Susquehannocks, who are now his enemies only because he hath espoused our quarrel against them, the council do request that it be ordered that he have liberty to 'infort' himself and his people upon any place the governor shall see fit." Thus though the Susquehannocks as we shall see were driven out of their fort on the Potomac, and voluntarily went into Virginia, they still feared, because from their Virginia base they continually sent parties into their old country. This request of the Mattawomen king is dated 1675. Thirdly in the same year as shown in 15 Md. Arch. 59, something of the cost of the expedition is given us. It is stated "The governor and Council having taken into consideration that the disbursements for provisions and other charges relating to the late war with the Susquehannocks and that the same may be levied this year and having seen several papers and accounts thereto relating, but not the whole accounts, do appoint to meet Monday; and it is ordered that on Monday all the people exhibit their accounts or be debarred. It is also ordered that 85 pounds of tobacco per poll be levied as tax and be added to the former levy so that this year there be levied in the whole 165 pounds of tobacco per poll." We have seen in a former item that there were 6610 taxables in Maryland at this time and a tax of 165 pounds of tobacco per head would be about 1090650 pounds, of if it were worth 10 cents per pound it was equivalent to $109,065.00. So the six weeks' war was very costly, even if the whites did win.

Elaborate particulars of the war are however, told by a master hand, whose graphic description of it, we shall tell in the following several items, under the general title of "The Fall of the Susquehannocks."

1675—The Fall of the Susquehannocks

Chapter I (First Attack).

What I shall now give is verbatim S. F. Streeter, Esqr's account of the

last days of the Susquehannocks as an independent and powerful tribe. The account was given in 1857 and may be found in Vol. 1, of the historical Magazine, p. 65, found in the Historical Society, at Philadelphia. As I have said in an earlier item, the public records of the Maryland Archives give only the making up of the expedition which resulted so fatally for the Susquehannocks, and the march, and then are silent as to the character of the battle. But that there was a battle is evident from the discussions in Council and Assembly concerning the cost, the loss of horses, and the impeachment of Col. Truman, for despicable conduct in the flight.

Streeter says, "The brave but unfortunate Susquehannocks, driven from their original seat (on Susquehanna) by the conquering Senecas in the attempt to find a place of refuge became unwillingly embroiled by a series of untoward circumstances with the people of Maryland and of Virginia, and in the extremity of their despair rushed into a conflict which though brief, gave the finishing blow to their power and compelled the few survivors of this formerly dreaded tribe to seek a resting place in the wilds of the west or to incorporate themselves with the portions of the Powhatan Confederacy.

"The events connected with this struggle between the two races possess for us a double interest. First, they relate to a trying period in our own colonial history; and secondly, as they were closely connected with the occurrences in Virginia,which arrayed Nathaniel Bacon against the established government and aroused a spirit of resistance to Sir William Berkley, that ceased only with the death of the unfortunate leader and the expatriation or execution of many of his supporters, some of whom were among the most talented and influential men of the province.

"On a Sabbath morning in the summer of the year 1675 as the people of Stafford, at that time the most northerly county in Virginia, on the Potomac, were on their way to church they found a herdsman named Robert Henn lying across the threshold of his house and an Indian without the door, both terribly gashed and mutilated. The Indian was quite dead; but Henn lived long enough to declare that the 'Doegs' were the murderers. A boy was also discovered hidden under a bed from whom it was gathered that the Indians had made their attack and committed the murder about daybreak.

"Col. Mason and Capt. Brent, commanders of the militia of that county, on hearing of the bloody dead immediately collected a force of about 30 men and followed on trail of the retreating Indians. After a pursuit of about 20 miles up the Potomac they crossed the river into Maryland. Landing at daybreak they discovered two narrow paths, one of which was followed by Mason with a part of the men; and the other by Brent with the remainder. After advancing a short distance each party discovered in its front an Indian wigwam, which was silently surrounded.

"Having stationed his men Capt. Brent advanced to the wigwam and in a loud voice, in the Indian tongue, demanded a council with the occupants. A chief came forward apparently much alarmed, and would have fled, but Brent, seizing him by the scalp, told him he had come for the murderers of Henn. The chief pleaded ignorance of the whole matter, and managed to escape from the grasp of his captor; but as he turned to flee fell dead by a pistol shot from the

hand of Brent. This was the signal for action on both sides. The Indians within delivered their fire from the hut, and under its frail cover stood for a short time the volleys of the Virginians, but finally attempted to save themselves by flight from their murderous effects. As they thronged out of the door in a body, however, the unerring rifle did prompt execution and ten of their number were slain. A lad of eight years of age, the son of the chief killed by Capt. Brent, was the only one taken prisoner. The Indians so severely handled in this encounter belonged to the tribe of 'Doages' or 'Doegs.' Meanwhile Col. Mason's party had also been actively engaged. Scarcely had his men been arranged when they were startled by the din of the other assault, while the suddenly awakened and panic stricken occupants of the wigwam, in their extremity, without waiting for summons or attack, rushed to the door to make their escape. As they poured out they were met by the deadly fire of the Virginians, who supposed from the noise and the firing that Brent's men were warmly engaged with a hostile party, and fourteen of the Indians had already fallen, when one of them rushed up to Col. Mason through the heaviest of the fire and seized his arm and exclaimed "Susquehannocks netoughs" that is, "Susquehannocks friends," and immediately fled. Col. Mason at once caused his men to cease firing, since those who were the objects of their attack proved to belong to a tribe recognized as friends of Virginia.

"This tribe which had formerly occupied a considerable territory on the Susquehanna and at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and which was spreading terror among the tribes of the Patuxent and the eastern shore of the Potomac at the time of the arrival of the Maryland Pilgrims, had in its turn been made to feel the hand of the conqueror. The Seneca Indians, one of the most numerous and powerful of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, through whose territory in western New York the upper waters of the Susquehannocks flowed (as the governor and council of New York in an address to his Majesty, Aug. 6, 1691, say: the Susquehanna river, is situate in the middle of the Seneca country) had pushed their war parties down that river (Susquehanna), reducing the tribes on its borders to submission, or compelling them to seek new places of abode in more defensible positions with other tribes or within the sweep of the strong and protecting arms of the white men.

"The Susquehannocks, too proud, it would seem, to yield to those with whom they had long been contested as equals, and by holding the land of their fathers by suffrage, to acknowledge themselves reduced; yet too weak to withstand the victorious and domineering Senecas, had been compelled to forsake the river bearing their name and the head of the Bay; and had taken up a position near the western borders of Maryland below the territory of the Piscataway Indians."

(This is the end of Chapter I. The next item will take up Chapt- II and will be devoted to the new location of the Susquehannock Indians and of their weak neighboring and confederated tribes.

1675—Fall of the Susquehannocks. Chapter II (The New Fort).

"This tribe (Susquehannocks) originally occupied lands lower down the river (Potomac) about the Piscataway; but the year 1673 a tract at the head of the Potomac was assign-

ed them by the Assembly, somewhat above the former location, and every possible effort was made to establish themselves permanently at that place. Implements of husbandry were presented to them and a supply of provisions for three years guaranteed to free them from all apprehension on the care of subsistence and afford them full time to make these lands sufficiently productive for their own support. This spot was near where Washington now stands (Annals of Annapolis, p. 64). From this legislation it is evident that the policy of the province was to remove the Indians toward the western borders of its territory and thus at the same time to preserve for them a home.—to make room for the pioneers of civilization already pressing upon that quarter and to diminish as far as possible the chances of collision between the two races. The Piscataways however,were an unwarlike inoffensive people and were regarded as firm friends to both Maryland and Virginia.

"The Doegs" as they are styled in the Maryland records, occupied a portion of the territory between the Piscataway river on the north and the great bend on the Potomac on the south now forming the western part of Charles and perhaps a small portion of Prince George county. The tongue of land formed by Mattawomen Run as it flows into the Potomas still retains the name 'Indian Point' and may have been the spot on which the bloody scene which has been described was enacted. The lands of the Doegs extended to the Piscataway.

"The Susquehannocks had lately established themselves on the north side of that (Piscataway) river. There would seem therefore to have been no ground of suspicion either, in the mere fact that parties from both tribes were found occupying wigwams a short distance below the river and near to each other, as was the case with those attacked by Mason and Brent.

But murders had been committed in Virginia; the pursuers had as they believed tracked the murderers until they had suddenly fallen upon these parties. Had they found Indian families in the wigwams it would have been different—but they found armed warriors; and this in connection with the recent startling raids and evils were surely enough to excite suspicion. According to the dying testimony of one of the victims the murderers were Doeg, and therefore of the same tribe with those which Capt. Brent's party surprised on the Maryland side of the river; and this fact in their apprehensions afforded a good reason for the assault. There is no evidence that the Susquehannocks were the abbettors or ever the associates of the Doegs, or chargeable with any other fact or fault than that of unfortunately occupying quarters in the neighborhood.

"That Capt. Brent's party knew whom they were assaulting is likely from his parley with the chief before firing began; but that the attack of Mason's men thus precipitated by the noise of the other engagement, and that they were not aware of whom they assailed is evident from the fact that Col. Mason the moment he ascertained they were Susquehannocks, recognized them as friends and ceased hostilities.

"The truth is the Virginians were hot with passion and eager of pursuit. Their friends had been murdered and by Indians; they knew the perpetrators and started in pursuit; they came up with two bands

in junctos with the very tribe charged with the crime and in the direct line of their retreat; and concluding at once that these were the assassins, without pausing to deliberate, hastened to avenge the slaughter of their friends. In one of these cases at least the assailants were sadly precipitated.

"The murderous assault of Mason's party was entirely unprovoked, if we accept the assertion of the Susquehannocks, who charged the murders upon the marauding parties of the Senecas (and this is by no means improbable.) "The Senecas' war parties might at that time have penetrated Maryland and Virginia as they are known to have done within a very few years after, when they committed various murders, might naturally be expected to arouse their savage passions, and stimulate them to seek revenge, particularly as no attempt was made by the Virginians to explain the cause of the attack or to make preparation for the grievous injury inflicted. It may be the savage retribution and subsequent conflicts followed too closely upon this encounter to allow an opportunity for explanation. Several murders were soon afterwards committed in Maryland, and though guard boats were equipped to prevent interruptions and invasions across the Potomac one or two persons were also murdered in Stafford county, Virginia. The perpetrators of these cruel acts were not certainly known; but under the circumstances suspicion naturally fell upon the Susquehannocks.

"The presence of this tribe on their western borders had already exacted dissatisfaction among the people of Maryland, especially those whose plantations were situated near the Piscataway; and efforts had been made (the Indians being resolutely bent not to forsake their Fort (Ann Cotton's Account 1676, p. 1) to induce them to leave the position they had taken. This was on the north side of the Piscataway, in a strong Fort which had either originally belonged to the Piscataways or was built by the province years previous (In 1644 an act was passed to enable the Governor to establish and support a garrison at Piscataway (see Bacon's Laws) for the protection of the frontier settlements, and perhaps Maryland has left it unoccupied during the time of peace, which had preceded these occurrences. From its strength and construction the latter supposition seems most probable.

'The walls of the fort were high banks of earth having flankers well provided with loop holes and encompassed by a ditch. Without this was a row of tall trees from 5 to 8 inches in diameter set three feet in the earth and six inches apart and wattled in such a manner as at the same time to protect those within and afford holes for shooting through. These defenses were ingenious and strong and enabled the occupants to set at defiance any ordinary beseiging party unless provided with cannon or prepared to starve its defenders into a surrender. Here the Susquehannocks to the number of 100 with their old men, women and children established themselves,—here they were determined to remain.

"Remembering not only the deeds of violence that had been borne and taking counsel of their apprehensions forgetful as it would seem, of the outrages which had stung the savages into revengeful mood. the Marylanders determined to organize an expedition against them, and drive them from the province." All this is from Streeter's account as first stated.

1675—Fall of the Susquehannocks—(Chapt. III. The March).

"Doubting, however, the ability to carry out promptly and effectively their designs, and aware that the Virginians, like themselves, had of late suffered from midnight attacks and murders which from their share in the recent unfortunate assault on the Susquehannocks they were disposed to distribute to them as acts of revenge there was proposed to the Virginian's a union of forces and a joint expedition for the purpose of subduing their common enemy.

"The proposition was readily accepted and the two provinces raised a force of a thousand men to march against the Susquehannocks. The Virginia troops were under command of Col. John Washington, the great-grandfather of General George Washington; those of Maryland under Major Thomas Truman. On the morning of Sunday the 26th of September the Maryland forces appeared before the Fort, and the Virginians probably a little later. In the obedience to instructions from the government to settle matters with the Susquehannocks by negotiations if feasible, Major Truman sent to the Fort two messengers one of whom was well acquainted with the English language, to invite Harignera, one of the municipal chiefs, to a conference. Having ascertained that Harignera was dead, they requested that the other chiefs might be sent in his stead, whereupon six of their leaders came forth and met the commander of Maryland in the presence of his principal officers and several Indians belonging to neighboring tribes. Upon their demanding the reason of all that hostile array Major Truman informed them through the interpreters, that grave outrages had been committed both in Maryland and in Virginia, and that he had come to ascertain who had committed them. They replied it was the Senecas. The Major then inquired if they would furnish some of their young men as guides in pursuit, as several of the other tribes had already done; but they replied the Sencas had come four days and by that time must be near the head of the Tataysco. To this it was answered that the horses of the white men were fleet and the Indian runners swift and both ought easily to overtake the Senecas. They then consented to furnish the guides. During the conference Col. Washington, Col. Mason and Maj. Adderton came over from the Virginia encampement and charged the chiefs with the murders that had been committed on the south side of the Potomac; but they positively denied that any of their tribe were guilty. The Virginians, however far from being convinced by this denial, insisted that three of the Susquehannocks had been positively identified as participants in the outrages which had taken place.

"The chiefs then presented to Major Truman a paper and a silver medal with a black and yellow ribbon attached,which they said had been given to them by former governors of Maryland; this medal is exceedingly rare now; it is of silver, about the size and half the thickness of a crown piece, with a knob on the end for the insertion of a cord, so it may be hanged about the neck) as a pledge of protection and friendship as long as the sun and moon shall endure. These tokens were received by Major Truman with assurances that he was satisfied the Senecas had been the aggressors in the late outrages and that they need have no apprehension for the safety of themselves or their wives and children.

The officers, as it was near evening, then retired to their respective encampments and the Indians went back to the Fort."

"Early the next morning Capt. John Allen, a well known leader of rangers in Maryland service, was ordered to proceed with a file of men to the house of Randolph Hansom, one of the victims of the recent outrages, to ascertain if it had been plundered by the Indians and to bring any ammunition that may have been left on the premises. Capt. Allen promptly discharged this duty and returned with him the bodies of those murdered at Hansom's house."

"During his absence the Susquehannock chiefs had come out of the Fort probably by appointment on the preceeding evening for the purpose of renewing their conference with the Maryland and Virginia officers. They were again charged by the latter more vehemently than before with having been concerned in the outrages in Virginia; but the allegation was again met with an absolute and indignant denial. Upon this the chiefs were placed in custody of the Maryland and Virginia troops, and the officers retired to another part of the field to deliberate and decide what course to pursue."

"Unfortunately for the prisoners, in the midst of the deliberations, Captain Allen and his detachment made their appearance bringing with them the slaughtered bodies—the bloody evidence of savage barbarity and hate.The whole camp was aroused; Maryland and Virginia alike burned with indignation and thirsted for revenge. The council of officers was broken up and the feelings which had been stirred up by sight of their murdered countrymen found vent in an almost unanimous demand for the death of those now in their hands who were strongly suspected of being the guilty parties in this case and who had been so strenuously denounced by the Virginians as the known murderers of their people."

"Before, they might have listened to the voice of reason and justice; but now they thought only of the injuries that had been inflicted by savage hands and loudly called for vengeance on those unfortunate representatives of the race whose confidence in the efficiency of our tokens of the past and the sanctity of their present pledges had placed in their power. They forgot that those men had responded to a professedly peaceful summons. They had come out with the emblems of friendship in their hands; that they had received assurance of confidence and promises of protection; and hurried away by the fury of the moment, committed a deed, which as it violated the laws of God and of man brought upon them the condemnation of their own contemporaries as it must have done of their own consciences in after moments of coolness and reflection."

"Major Truman struggled against the excitement and pleaded for delay but in vain. The Virginia officers, confident of getting immediate possession of the Fort and professing to others that they were only a few hours anticipating, the fate of the prisoners and perhaps depending in part on the effect of so terrible a blow insisted on the immediate execution of the chiefs. Only one of them, for what reason we do not know, was spared; the remainder, five in number were bound, led forth from the place of their detention and, to use the plain phrase of our authority were 'knocked on the head.' So died the chiefs of the Susquehannocks, not with arms, but with the pledges

of the white man's protection in their hands; not in open field and with a fair fight, but entrapped by treachery, and encompassed by their enemies; not the death of warriors, but of dumb cattle. They died an ignominious death, yet their executioners, by their act covered themselves with a thousand fold deeper disgrace and shame.

"It is but just to the rank and file of the Maryland troops, to say that though one authority speaks of the 'unanimous consent' of the Virginians and the eager impetuosity of the whole field as well Maryland as Virginia, upon the sight of the Christians murdered at Hanson; another, alluding to the uphappy act, states that Truman's first command for the killing of those Indians was not obeyed and he had some difficulty to get any men to obey him therein. And after they were put to death no man would own to have had a hand in it; but rather seemed to abhor the act."

"If the Virginians were moved to take the lives of these chiefs by the expectation that they would surrender the fort, or hasten it, they greatly miscalculated. When those who had remained behind learned of what had been done; hate and desperation contended for the mastery in their hearts. The blood of their slaughtered leaders called for vengeance. The proved faithlessness of those who threatened their slaughter, forbade them to hope. They shut themselves up within the palisades, strengthened their defenses, and prepared for a desperate resistance. Whenever and wherever the besiegers prepared or attempted an assault, they were ready to meet them. Whenever a proposal was made for a conference or a surrender their reply was, "Where are our chiefs?"

1675—Fall of the Susquehannocks Chap. IV. (The Seige).

"The Susquehannocks had been too suddenly attacked to allow them to lay in supplies to stand a long siege, even if their mode of warfare had encouraged or their resources had allowed such a proceeding; and as the besieging forces cut them off from the surrounding country, they soon suffered for want of provisions. Not daunted by the prospect of starvation they made frequent and fierce sallies to the severe annoyance and loss of the besiegers, and at last in their extremity resorted to the expedient of capturing and feeding upon the horses which belonged to their assailants. These do not appear to have been opposed with much vigor either because the first rash step had so damped the ardor of the men or because it was the policy of the commander to starve rather than force the Indians to surrender. The fort also was too strong to be stormed. Its situation on low ground precluded the possbility of undermining the foundations and palisades even if the watchfulness of the dependers had permitted their approach; and they had no cannon with them to batter it down. So that they were compelled in fact to wait the time when famine would have weakened the enemy so as to render them an easy prey.

"But the Susquehannocks had no idea of such a termination of the struggle. After six weeks of heroic defense during which time they had inflicted much injury on their enemies, but with litle loss to themselves, they yielded, not to the prowess of the besiegers, but to the want of food, and prepared not to surrender but to evacuate the fort.

1675—Fall of the Susquehannocks Chap. V. (Evacuation).

It certainly gives a strong color of probability to the charge of neglect

of duty, on the part of the investing troops, that the Susquehannocks after destroying everything within the fort that could be of use to the assailants, and leaving behind only a few decrepit old men, marched out under cover of the night 75 strong, with their women and children, passed through the lines of the besieging forces undiscovered and on their way killed ten of the guards whom they found asleep.

"The next morning the united forces discovered that the prey had escaped and followed in pursuit; but either could not or would not overtake these desperate fighters, and fugitives for fear of ambuscade. Both detachments it would seem were heartily tired of the enterprise from which neither officers nor men were likely to receive honor or profit. We may therefore infer both parties readily relinquished pursuit; and after detailing sufficient force to occupy the fort and range through the adjoining country returned to their respective provinces, not merely willing but desirous that their exploits during the expedition should pass into oblivion.

1675—Fall of Susquehannocks Chap. VI. (Retreat).

"Not so the Susquehannocks. They left the last place of refuge on the soil of Maryland with a stinging sense of injury, a recollection of solemn obligation slighted and of murder yet unavenged. The voices of their slaughtered chiefs called upon them for the sacrifice of blood and as they took the leave of the territory of their enemies and crossing the Potomac directed their route over the head of the Rappahannock, York and James rivers, the tomahawk fell upon settler after settler. Sixty victims were sacrificed to atone for the slaughter of the heads of their tribe.

One of the sufferers at the head of the James river was a valued overseer on a plantation of Nathaniel Bacon; and it was the murder of this man, in connection with the distracted state of the country which caused Bacon's application for a commission to go against the Indians, a part of whom were Susquehannocks. His subsequent difficulty with Gov. Berkley, his rebellion, and his untimely death are familiar to all readers of the colonial history of Virginia.

" The Susquehannocks believing they have now sacrificed victims enough to redeem their own honor and to appease the angry spirits of their murdered chiefs are willing to enter into negotiations with Virginia. They sent to the governor a remonstrance drawn up by an English interpreter of the following purport:

(1) They ask why he (Virginia's governor) a professed friend, has taken up arms in behalf of Maryland, their avowed enemies?

(2) They express their regret to find that the Virginians from friends have become such violent enemies as to pursue them even into another province.

(3) They complain that their chiefs sent out to treat for peace were not only murdered but the act was countenanced by the governor.

(4) They declare that seeing no other way of satisfaction they have killed ten of the common English for each one of their chiefs to make up for the disrotation arising out of the difference of rank.

(5) They propose if the Virginians will make them compensation for the damages they have sustained by the attack upon them and withdraw all aid from Maryland to renew the ancient league of friendship; otherwise they and those in league with them will continue the war so unfairly begun and fight it out till the last man has fallen.

"This message to Governor Berkley notwithstanding its lofty tone made no impression and elicited no reply, and the Susquehannocks were left to fulfill their terrible threat. which they did to the letter. They succeeded in enlisting in their cause several tribes before friendly to the Virginians and their allies, and then addressed themselves with savage earnestness to their bloody work. So sudden were their attacks and so awful the inhumanities of which they were guilty that the frontier plantations were deserted; and it would seem that even Jamestown itself was not safe from their attack. (It will be remembered that Jamestown was burnt during Bacon's rebellion).

"A line of forts was established along the frontier to prevent their incursions; but like most similar intempts of the colonists, owing to their distance from each other, the want of sufficient garrison they failed entirely to afford protection. Bands of savage marauders watched their opportunity, passed between the forts, effected their murderous objects, repassed the lines and were beyond pursuit before the garrison could be alarmed and despatched to the point of assault.

"Yet these were after all the last desperate efforts of a despairing people. Few in numbers themselves, and leagued with feeble tribes they could only hope to inflict the utmost injury upon their adversaries with the certainty of finally perishing as individuals and as a people in the contest. Had not Virginia herself been crippled by a civil controversary they would have been crushed at once; but even as it was in the midst of all its distraction and its differences with the government, Bacon found time to avenge those of his friends and of the province who had fallen beneath the assaults, and reassured the desponding colonists. He swept the country of the tribe with whom the Susquehannocks had leagued themselvés, burned their towns, put a large number to the sword and dispersed the remainder The Indians fled before him, several tribes perished and those who survived were so reduced as to never again be able to make a stand.

Ann Cotton's Account, Written 1676.

A very plain an apparently lliiterate outline account of the end of the Susquehannocks as a tribe, is that known as Ann Cotton's account, written the year after the happenings. It is in the form of a letter and appears in Force's Facts, Vol. 1, No. 9. It is brief and as follows: ' The Susquehannocks & Marylanders of friends being ingaged enimyes, & that the Indians being resolutely bent not to forsake there forts; it came to this pointe, yet the Marylanders were obliged (finding themselves too weak to do the worke themselves) aide of ye Virginians put under the conduct of one Colonell Washington (him whom you have sometimes seen at your house) who being joined by the Marylanders invests the Indians in the forts with a negligent siege, upon which the enemy made small salleys with as many loss to the beseigers, and at last gave them the opportunity to desert the forte, after that the English had (contrary to ye law of arms) beat out the brains of 6 grate men sent out to treat a peace; an action of ill consequence, as it proved after. For the Indians having in the darke slipped through the leagure and in their passage knocked 10 of the beseigers on the head, which they found fast asleep leaving the rest to prosecute the siege (as Scorging's wife brooding the eggs which the fox has sucked) they resolved to imploy their liberty in avenging their commissioners' blood which they

speedly effected in the death of 60 inniscent soules, and then send in their remonstrance to the governor in justification of the fact with this expostulation annext, demanding what it was moved the Virginian governor to take up arms against them, his professed friends, in the behalfe of Marylanders, their avowed enimyes."

1675—Fall of the Susquehannocks. Chap. VII. (Slaughter in Virginia).

"Among those who were made to feel the avenging arm of Bacon was the homeless remnant of the Susquehannocks. His residence was on the James river at a point called 'Curles' in Henrico county; and as has been mentioned his favorite overseer had been murdered by those savages. The confidence the frontier settlers had in his courage and ability made them anxious to obtain him as leader against their enemies. He was willing to take command of an expedition but he had no commission from the Governor, for raising military forces. After many difficulties a commission was promised him and he commenced his preparations but in the midst of them ascertained the Governor had acted the part of a hypocrite and did not intend to fulfill his promise."

"Roused by the discourteous and distrustful procedure, Bacon at once armed his servants and called together the frontier settlers and placing himself in command went into the forest to pursue and punish the Susquehannocks. Advancing to a village occupied by a tribe of the Occonegies he was received by them in a friendly manner and informed in regard to the place where the Susquehannocks had fortified themselves and perpared for a desperate resistance in case of an attack. He pushed forward without delay and found them strongly posted in a rude fort; but this did not deter him. He led his men to the assault and after a fierce struggle succeeded in forcing his way into the fort and put 70 of the defendants to the sword. See ("Strange News from Virginia,—London, 1677," a report of the affair in a London paper). A few of the original tribe may have survived but the information we possess relative to the diminished number of the tribe at that period justifies the conclusion that this severe blow completed their extinction."

1675—Fall of the Susquehannocks—Chap. VIII, (Extinction as a Tribe).

So disappeared the stout Susquehannocks from the page of aboriginal history. They met the first white man who set foot on their soil with firm and unyielding front. They resisted for years the attempted negotiations and encroachments on their territory; yet pressed, hard pressed, at least by powerful enemies of their own race, they yielded to necessity and accepted his proffered friendship; for a quarter of a century they held the sacred pledges of Lord Baltimore, and kept the peace; during which time, driven by the Senecas from their homes they were forced into a position which brought upon them the hostility of the people of Maryland; they accepted proposals for negotiations, only to find their leaders entrapped and put to death; they defended themselves bravely in their strongholds and rather than surrender they retreated to another territory, and thereafter sending to the authorities with a proud and unshaken spirit the choice between the hand of friendship and the tomahawk, accepted the latter alternative as that alone was left to them. Then came the deadly struggle in the crisis of which though individuals survived and were incorporated into other tribes, as a distinct people they perished in a manner most glorious to their vengeance, in the blaze of the

burning mansions, the ruin of cultivated estates, with the shriek and the supplication of the murdered white man ringing in their ears and their hands red wth human blood."

"Yet the act which in the commencement of their difficulties drove them to extremities and which was in fact the cause of their destruction, was not allowed to pass unrebuked."

1676—Fall of the Susquehannocks—Chap. IX. (Attainder of Major Truman).

"After the return of his detachment to Virginia, Colonel Washington on the 5th day of January, 1676 took his seat as a member of the Assembly. In his opening address on that occasion, Governor Berkley alluded to the late Indian disturbances and in reference to the chiefs who had been put to death at Piscataway, used the following emphatic language: "If they had killed my grand-father and my grandmother, my father and mother and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat in peace, they should have gone in peace." His opinion of the deed therefore is sufficiently evident; but whether the mass of the people, imbittered as their feelings were by the recollections of recent Indian outrages, would have joined him in the condemnation may be doubted. The pressure of events, however and the necessity for self-protection within and without soon absorbed the attention of the Governor and Legislature and the people; and the life or the death of a few savages became a minor consideration."

"In Maryland the case was different. The detachment of Major Truman having returned with the exception of one company under Captain John Allen to guard the frontier, the murder of the Susquehannock chiefs became the subject of public discussion and legal inquiry.

On May 16, 1676 Major Truman was arrested by order of the Legislature then in session to answer the charge of impeachment brought against him by the lower House, charging him with having broken his commission and instructions, in that he received as friends six Indians sent out by the Susquehannocks as Ambassadors to treat with him and after giving them asurance that there was no intention of using force against them and that no damage should be done to them, their wives or their children, did without calling a Council of Mary land officers, in a barbarous and cruel manner cause five of the said Indians to be killed and murdered contrary to the law of God and of Nations."

Depositions having been taken and witnesses examined for and against the accused, he declared through Mr. BenjaminCrozier his counsel assigned him that, "He confessed his fault and did in no way intend to stand upon his justification," but humbly prayed permission to read a paper which he hoped would somewhat extenuate the force of the charge brought against him so that they should not appear so grievous as in the said impeachment they were set forth to be." This petition was granted. What was the nature of the justification the record does not show; but that it was enough to vindicate him appears from the fact that after a full hearing he was found guilty by unanimous decision of the Upper House of having "commanded five of the Susquehannock Indians that came out to treat with them to be put to death, contrary to the law of Nations and in violation of the second Article of his instructions by which he was ordered to entertain any treaty with the said Susquehannocks."

"The duty now devolved upon the Lower House of drawing a bill of At-

tainder against Major Truman,but although it was upon its (the Lower House) own impeachment that he had been tried and found guilty, influenced as it appears by attenuating circumstances afterwards brought forward, that body prepared a bill which while entitled an Act of attainder, only proposed a fine instead of the penalty of death. The Upper House returned the bill, remonstrating that it corresponded neither to the impeachment nor to the crime of which the accused had been found guilty and insisting that it was due to the Government to vindicate it from the shame and wickedness of countenancing such a deed and urging that if crimes so heinous deserve no severer punishment than they inflicted by the Act, offenses of a lower nature would not require any. Not only would no satisfaction be given to the heathens with whom the public faith had broken but no confidence would be placed on any treaty which in that dangerous juncture of affairs might be offered to the Indians unless such offense were not only publicly disowned but also punished without severity which it deserved.

The Lower House in reply after recapitulating the extenuating circumstances in the case stating its opinon that the offense was not premeditated or out of design to prejudice the Province but merely out of ignorance and to prevent a mutiny of the whole army refused to modify its former bill, whereupon the Upper House admitting that the crime was not maliciously perpetrated, denied that the facts charged as true were any extenuation; and declaring anew its abhorrence of the Act reminded the Lower House that by its refusal to draw up a bill of Attainder in full, it must make itself responsible for the consequences that might ensue to the people of the Province. The Lower House did not hesitate to take the responsibilty. Unfortunately the journals for this period are lost and we are left in ignorance of what the conclusion of the controversy was. A petition to his Lordship in behalf of Truman is mentioned in the records of the Lower House for June 12, 1676. Perhaps this was for his pardon and for this reason, (it may be) the subject is no more alluded to in the journals which remain."

"Whatever may have been the decision of his Lordship, Charles Calvert, or of the Legislature and the people of that day, there can be little hesitation at the present in deciding that the execution of men who came out as agents to treat for peace with pledges of peace in their hands, unarmed and trusting to repeated assurances of safety, was a violation of the laws of God, of Nations and of man—a cruel unjustifiable murder."

This is a detailed history of the battle, retreat and execution of the Susquehannocks in the Fall and Winters of 1675 and 1676 given by Mr. Streeter in his Admiral Paper, entitled, "The Fall of the Susquehannocks" which may be found in the Historical Society at Philadelphia as I have stated above.

1676 — Proceedings Against Major Truman for Slaughterng the Susquehannock Chiefs.

In Vol. 2 of Md. Archs., page 475, under the date of May 16, the following proceedings in the Lower House were had: "Ordered that Captain John Alden and Dr. Charles Gregory do with all expedition make their appearance before the right honorable, the Proprietary and his Honorable Council, sitting in Assembly to testify the truth of their knowledge, touching the late barbar-

ous and inhuman murder of five Susquehannock Indians; and that the said Captain Allen give strict command to his Lieutenant to continue ranging the woods, in his absence."

1676—Ninian Baell Called as a Witness.

In the same Volume of the Md. Archives, page 476 it was "ordered Ninan Biell do with all expedition make his appearance before the right Honorable, the Lord Proprietary and his Council now sitting, to testify the truth of his knowledge, touching the barberous and inhuman murder of five Susquehanna Indians."

1676—Questions Decided on to Propound Against Major Truman.

In the same book and at the same page it is recorded under the date of May 16, that the following interrogatories, concerning the late expedition against the Susquehannock Indians should be propounded to John Shankes and other witnesses to be examined:

"(2) Whether the said Major Truman with the forces at his command was at the North side of the Piscataway Creek and did these expect and meet the Virginians?"

"(2) Whether the said Major Truman consulted with his officers and those of Virginia or held any discourse or treaty with those Susquehannock Indans which came out of the Forte: also whether it was with the knowledge of any of his officers that he treated and endeavored to make the Susquehannocks believe he intended no harm or disturbance to them, and what officers or others he knows were present when orders were given by the Major for putting those great men to death?"

"(3) Whether he knows at any time the officers of Virginia did desire or put Major Truman upon any design, pressing him to employ his soldiers about or upon any service during the siege; and if Major Truman did any time execute anything at their request by reciving instructions and directions from them?"

"(4) Whether did Major Truman bid the Susquehannocks not to fear him or tell them that he came only to seek the Senecas and that he would lodge that night hard by them, ther wives and children not to be afraid; or that any other expression to that effect was made by him?"

"(5) What former articles of Peace or amity did the Susquehannocks ever produce to Major Truman?"

"(6) Did the Susquehannocks ever show a medall (medal) of silver, with a black and yellow ribbon?"

"(4) Did they show said ribbon and medal as a pledge of amity given them by the former Governor of this Province and was the said medal given to Major Truman or to any other Englishmen, or was it carried back again into the Forte? (Note:—When they gave it up war was meant).

"(8) Did Major Truman stay on the North side of the Piscataway Creek till the Virginians came thither or did he there treat with them, concerning the management of the war against the Susuesannocks?"

"(9) Did the Susuehannocks ever offer any treaty of Peace or desire to continue friendship; and whether did Major Truman ever demand satisfaction from them for any injustice done or tell them they were the persons which we suspected had injured us?"

At the same time it was "ordered that for the more expeditious return of the examinations of John Shankes to the several interrogatories on the murder of the Susquehannocks, that Mr. Russell is hereby empowered to presse boat and hands and other

necessaries to the said expedition." This shows that Shankes was at some distance, and, at this time and these interrogatories for him to answer were being sent to him:— See this in Vol. 2 of Md. Archives, p. 477.

1676—Answer of the Witness Against Major Truman for Killing the Susquehannock Chiefs.

Under the date of May 19 in Vol. 2 of the Md. Archives at Page 481, the answer to these interrogatories are set forth as follows: "The answer of John Shankes to said interrogatories: —This deponent saith that he was with the Maryland forces being at the fort of the Susquehannocks on the Sabbath day. He was sent up to the Fort to desire one of the great men by name, Harignera, to come and speak with Major Truman, and the said Harignera being dead this deponent desired some other great men to come and speak with the said Major: upon which message of his, there came out 3 or 4 of them and this deponent was commanded by the said Major Truman to tell them of the great injuries that had been done to the country and that he came to know who they were that had done it. And the great men replied that it was the Senecas; and this deponent saith that there being present other Indians from other towns, the Major desired some of their young men to assist as pilots as well as the neighboring Indians had done to join in the pursuit against the Senecas. And the said Indians replied that the Senecas had been gone four days at this time they might be at the head of the Patapsco River; to which Major Truman returned that he had good horses and as they were good footmen and they they should go with him, and the said Indians replied that they would.

This deponent further saith that in the morning following, the Susquehannock great men being at the place of meeting before the Marylanders and Virginians more highly than before taxed them of the injuries done by them in Maryland and Virginia; and they utterly denied the same. Thereupon this deponent was commanded to declare to them that they should be bound; and this deponent saith further that there was an old paper and medal showed by these Indians and they did say in the very first day, in the evening thereof, that the same was a pledge of peace given and left with them by the former Governor as a token of amity and friendship as long as the Sun and Moon should last. And this deponent saith that to the best of his remembrance all the Virginian officers were present when the Indians were bound; and this deponent saith that the first night of meeting with the said Susquehannocks, he was ordered to declare to them that Major Truman did believe the Senecas had done the mischief, and not they and that he was well satisfied therein.

1676—Testimony of Captain Allen, Another Witness Against Truman.

This testimony is reported also in Vol. 2 of the Md. Archives, Page 482 and it is as follows:—Touching the murder of the Susquehannock Indians Captain John Allen being sworn and affirmed and examined saith, that about the 25th or 26th of September on Sunday morning, the Maryland forces appeared before the Forte under command of Major Truman, who sending Hugh French and another to the Forte, there came out two or three of the Indians and more afterwards to the number of 30 or 40

and the Major examined them concerning the mischief that was done to Mr. Hanson and others and if they knew what Indians they were that did it, and they told him it was the Senecas, during which discourse with the Major there came over Colonel Washington, Colonel Mason and Major Alderton; and they likewise taxed them with the murders done on their side (in Virginia) by them; but they made the same reply as to Major Truman that it was none of them. So when they found that they could get nothing out of them, then they made it appear that three of the said Susquehannocks were those that did the murder on the other side.

On Monday morning early the Major commanded Mr. Good and two or three ranks of men, whereof himself was one, to go to the house of Mr. Randolph Hanson to see if the Indians had plundered it, and if they found any ammunition to bring it away,which accordingly they did and after the return to the forte, the deponent saw six Indians guarded with the Marylanders and Virginians and the Major with the Virginia officers, sitting upon a tree some distance from them and after some while they all arose and came toward the Indians and caused them to be bound; and after some time they talked again and the Virginia officers would have knocked them on the head in the place presently; and particularly Colonel Washington said,'Why should we keep them any longer; let us knock them on the head. We shall get the Forte today.' But the deponent saith that Major Truman did not admit of it but was overswayed by the Virginia officers; and after further discourse the Indians were carried out from the place where they were bound and they knocked them on the head."

1676—The Articles of Impeachment Against Major Truman.

The witnesses having given the above testimony, the Lower House now considered they had sufficient reason to prefer Articles of Impeachment against Major Truman. These articles are found in Vol. 2 of Md. Archives, Page 485.

"May 20th, Articles of Impeachment in the Lower House:—We, your Lordship's most humble, true, faithful and obedient people, the Burgesses and Delegates in your Lower House in Assembly being constrained by necessity for our fidelity and conscience in vindication of the Honor of God, of the Honor and welfare of your Lordship and this Province, do complain and shew that the said Major Thomas Truman, late Commander-in-chief upon an expedition against the Indians at the Susquehanna Forte, hath by many and sundry ways and means committed divers and sundry enormous crimes and offenses to the dishonor of Almighty God, against the laws of Nations, contrary to your Lordship's commission and instructions and to the great endangering of our Lordship's peace and the good and safety of your Lordship's Province, according to the Articles hereafter mentioned, that is to say:

We find upon the reading your Lordship's commission and instructions and affidavits, which we herein send to your Lordship and to the Upper House of Assembly and which we humbly submit to your Lordship's examinations and serious consideration."

"(1) That the said Major Truman hath broken his commission and instructions in this—that the said Major Thomas Truman having received 6 Indians sent out by the Susquehannocks as ambassadors to treat

with him; on Sunday, after the arrival of the Maryland forces; and received their paper and medal by which we find they were received as friends and in amity with us and had liberty of going back to the fort and were assured that no intention of force was to be used against them; and that no damage should be done to them, their wives or children; and that they did that night go into the Forte; and the next morning did return again with the like number, only an Indian changed; and supposed to come on purpose to treat and not in any hostile manner; yet the said Major Thomas Truman, without calling any Council of Warre of your Lordship's officers under his command as he ought to have done, did in a barbarous and cruel manner cause five of the said Indians to be killed and murdered, contrary to the laws of God and Nations and contrary to your Lordship's commission and instructions":

"(2) That the said Major Truman ought, according to your Lordship's instructions, to have acquainted your Lordship before he caused the said Indians to be executed, for our Lordship's advice and directions, in the case which we do not find he did":

"(3) That he hath broken your Lordship's instructions in this alsoe, that if the Virginia officers did advise and consent to the killing of said Indians, that he did not in an open Council of Warre cause the same judicially to be entered, in writing by his clerk or Secretary and such the desire and consent of the Virginians for the doing thereof, to be signed under their hands and to be kept for justification of himself and the people of this Province."

"Therefore for that by the said Article it appears that the said Major Thomas Truman hath broken his commission and instructions in murdering the said Indians, to the dishonor of God and of your Lordship and this Province. They humbly pray that your Lordship and the Upper House of Assembly will take such action with the said Major Thomas Truman as may be just and reasonable in terror of others to beware in the future; and your Lordship's most humble and obedient servants as in duty bound shall daily pray for your Lordship's long and happy dominion over us, etc."

1676—Appearance and Answer of Major Thomas Truman.

In Vol. 2 of the Maryland Archives at Page 494, Truman's answer to his impeachment appears as follows: "Saturday, May 27th, the Upper House met in the afternoon. Major Thomas Truman having on notice given him on Thursday last to prepare for his trial this afternoon, being called did make his appearance and the Articles of Impeachment against the said Thomas Truman being and after this the several depositions annexed thereto, which also were sworn to by the deponents in the presence and the hearing of Major Thomas Truman, Mr. Keneline Chisledyne, his Lordship's Attorney-General, Colonel William Berages, Mr. Robert Cailvile and Mr. W. Stephens, according to a preceding order of the Lower House did manage the said Impeachment and urge the several evidences against the said Major Truman. And the said Major by Mr. Benjamin Crozier, his counsel assigned to him, did confess and declare that the said Major did no way intend to stand upon his justification. After the confession and declarations the said Major by his said cousel did humbly pray that this House would admit the reading of a certain paper which the said Ma-

jor hoped would somewhat extenuate and mitigate the crimes before by him confessed, so that they should not appear so grievous and enormous as in the said impeachment they were held forth to be. And the said Major Thomas Truman by his said counsel was permitted to make a defense, whereupon and upon full hearing on both sides and after reading of the said Major's commission and instructions from his Lordship and counsel, it was put to the question whether Major Truman be guilty of impeachment exhibited against him, which the Lower House voted nemine contradicione (unanimously) that the said Major Thomas Truman is guilty of the first Article of Impeachment for commanding five of the said Susquehannocks that came out of the Forte to treat with him to be put to death, contrary to the law of Nations; and the second Article of his Instructions by which he was ordered to entertain any treaty with the said Susquehannocks."

"Upon which vote it was ordered that a messenger be sent from this House to the Lower House to desire them to draw up a Bill of Attainder against Major Thomas Truman."

1676—Bill of Attainder Against Major Thomas Truman.

In the second Vol. of the Md. Arch. page 500 it is set forth, "May 31st, the Lower House sent up a Bill of Attainder against Truman," which did not please the Upper House as the following items now show.

The Act of Assembly formulating the Bill of Attainder is lost. It does not appear in any of the Archives and therefore, the contents of it, we can not give, however it will be gathered from what now follows that the penalty prescribed in it was that Truman should be fined simply therein but not be put to death.

1676—The Upper House Now Consider the Bill of Attainder and the Punishment of Truman.

In the same book and page last cited, the action by the Upper House upon the punishment of Truman is set out as follows:

"Then was taken into consideration the Bill of Attainder against Major Thomas Truman sent up from the Lower House yesterday; and upon serious consideration and debate thereupon this House do judge that the Act drawn up against Major Truman does in no way answer or justify the said impeachment upon which it was grounded, for that in said impeachment the said Truman stands charged of crimes committed against the laws of God and of Nations, this Province as also against the commission and instructions given him, viz.: for the barbarous cruelty in causing to be put to death and murdered the five Indians—of which he being found guilty, the punishment perscribed in the said Act of Attainder does no way agree nor answer the nature of the offense. It being greatly dishonorable as well as unsafe and dangerous to lay any fine in such cases and where such horrid crimes have been committed."

That the Lower House of Assembly having laid the Impeachment so high and no higher than the nature of the crime well deserved it will be much wondered at by those who shall hear and view our proceedings with so slender and slight a punishment being no more than what crimes of a more inferior nature might have deserved; that by the Act of Attainder the Government will not sufficiently be cleared nor have it made appear to the world how much the wicked-

ness of that action is detested and dishonored by us, nor in any sort will the Lower House of Assembly make out that great sense which in their Impeachment they have expressed to have of that action, and which may much concern the interest and safety of the Government. It will not give any satisfaction to the heathen with whom the public faith hath been broken; and until such actions are not in a more public manner dishonored that the Indians may take notice thereof, it is not to be expected that any faith or credit will be given to any treaties, we shall have with them in this dangerous juncture of affairs; and the country will stand in need of, and on which seems in some measure depend, as the Lower House of Assembly were of the opinion when they sent the paper in answer to captain Allen's longer ranging.

"And so all authority will become ridiculous and contemptible. In fine by this Act the Lower House of Assembly will have owned the actions of the said Truman more than (as they ought to have done) detested and abhorred them, and so render the Government odious to all people that shall become acquainted with the prceedings."

From all this it is evident that what the Lower House did was to attaint Truman so that his property should be forfeited and that his blood should be corrupted, that any future property that he acquires could not pass to his children at his death but go to the Province of Maryland. This they considered a grievous punishment and they added to it simply a fine. The Upper House felt that the offense was too greivous and of too dangerous a character to the Province to let Truman off so easily, and they demanded that he should either suffer death or a long term of inprisonment and did not agree to join in the bill passed by the Lower House in order that it might become law; so the proceedings were broken.

1676-The Lower House Further Contend in Truman's Favor.

The Lower House's answer may be found in Vol. 2 of the Maryland Archives, page 501, dated June 2nd, as follows:—"This paper being read in the Lower House and the debate resumed in this House touching the said Bill of Attainder, it was voted nem. con. (unanimously) that the said Major Truman for his crime does not deserve death in regard that several circumstances that appeared at his hearing or trial do extenuate his crime very much as the unanimous consent of the Virginians and the general impetuosity of the whole field, as well Marylanders as Virginians upon the sight of Christians murdered at Mr. Hanson's, and the very Indians that were there, (Susquehannocks) killed being proved to be the murderers both of them and several other Christians and in regard also that it apears to this House that the said crime was not maliciously perpetrated or out of any design to prejudice the Province but merely out of ignorance and in prevent a mutiny of the whole army, as well Virginia as Maryland. Wherefore this House do not think fit to recede from their former vote."

1676-Final Reply of the Upper House, Insisting on Severe Punishment for Major Truman.

The Upper House adhered to its demand that Truman should be severely punished and in Vol. 2 of the Md. Archives, Page 503, under the date of June 3rd, it is set forth in answer by the Upper House to the Lower House, read on June 2nd, touching the

Bill entitled An Act of Attainder, etc., "His Lordship and this House do conceive it not safe for them to vote the killing of the five Indian or Susquehannock Ambassadors not murder; for to them and all the world it does and will certainly appear the greatest murder that hath ever been committed. The unanimous consent of the Virginians, if true does in no way alter the nature of the crime; nor since the said Truman had instructions plain enough to have made him abominated and abhorred so black an action can as little serve for an extenuation thereof. And whereas, in the said paper for a further extenuation it is signified that the Major to prevent a mutiny of the whole army was compelled and drawn to that action, this House are of another opinion, for at the said Truman's trial it did so plainly appear that his first commands for killing those Indians were not obeyed and that he had some difficulty to get his men to obey him therein. And that after they were put to death not a man owned to have had a hand in it but seemed rather to abhor the act and until now hath been termed by all persons (those that were in its execution only excepted) the most execrable of murders.

"That the crime was not maliciously perpetrated as to authority, this House doth believe; but that it was done treacherously and that in it a great and unheard of wickedness was committed, can not be denied by the Lower House; and whether by that action the province will not be prejudiced and many English be murdered, his Lordship and this House leave to the future consideration of the Lower House,—no way pressing them to recede from their so positive vote, only desiring them that they will take notice that what is now undone lies at their doors and not with us, who are positive of this, that his Lordship's Upper House dare not and therefore resolve not to proceed upon an act which only bears the title of an Act of Attainder."

In this the Upper House plainly say to the Lower House that if the Lower House insist on so light a punishment for so grievous a crime that the Upper House absolutely refuse to join in the Act or allow it to become a law and that the Lower House may do as they choose and the Upper House will throw all the responsibility for its effect on the Province at the doors of the Lower House.

The result of all this was that Major Truman remained some time in jail and as no law was passed to fix his punishment, eventually he was let go; and that was the end of it.

1676—A. L. Guss's View of the Susquehannocks and Their Position During This Struggle.

Among the effects of the late Samuel Evans of Columbia, was found a letter dated March 16, 1883, written to him by Prof. A. L. Guss whom I have before mentioned and in it he says, "The Susquehannocks that visited Smith in 1608 were beyond Iroquois. I do not mean of the Five Nations but of that stock, and spoke a dialect of that language they bore the same relation to the 'River Indians' on the Delaware that the Mohawks did to the Hudson River Indians. I have no doubt that prior to Smith's days and afterwards they were confederated with other tribes on the Upper Susquehanna River and branches in manner similar to the Five Nations. The Minquas who captured the three Dutchmen in 1616 lived on the Susquehanna River about Tioga and there were brought down by them by the river to the mouth of

the Schuylkill where Hendrickson ransomed them—Vol. 2, Pa. Archives Page 11. When Champlain in 1614 made his expedition on the Onondagoes' Fort these Minquas were called Carantowns and were a powerful foe just at the gates of the confederates. When in 1640 the Dutch began to arm 'The Five Mohawk Nations' with guns and furnish them ammunition, they soon wrought a great change in the several tribes of the valleys of the Upper Susquehanna. The Five Nations had two wars with the Minquas, first 1662-3 and second in 1675-6 'The second time we were at war with them we carried them all off'—See Treaty at Lancaster, 1744. The assertion of writers that prior to 1600 in a ten years' war the Susquehannocks nearly obliterated the Mohawks is a great mistake. The Jesuit writers said the "Andastes" and the word then was not identical with Smith's Susquehannocks. The fact is the Susquehannocks were descended most nearly from the Mohawks, and the Mohawks took no part in their subjugation in 1676, nor did they even attend the Treaty in Lancaster in 1744., when payment was demanded for the 'Conquest Lands.' It was the Senecas and Cayugas who "passionately desired it," that is, their subjugation. This throws great light on the Susquehanna land question. When the armed Five Nations' people came to war with the Susquehannocks, alias Minquays, alias Conestoga, they found them partly armed by the Swedes and the Marylanders and able to hold their own; and in fact in 1662-1663 they gave the Western confederates by far the worst of the conflict. But decimated by small pox and deserted by Maryland, they at last had to succumb. The English had to adopt the Dutch tactics. (See Second Series of Pa. Arch., Vol. 5, pp. 538 to 541). They pledged themselves not to hate the Ondiakes (Andastes) with whom they were then still at war and the Five Nations afterwards made the English promise accomodation, that is protection in case they got worsted in their fight with the 'Three Nations above mentioned.' This proves how tremendously they feared even this remnant of the Andastes, for they 'proposed' these articles and the English felt friendly to the Minquas but dared 'to promise them nothing, it not being proper as not in our power', (See Sec. Series of Pa. Arch., Vol. 5, pp. 676-678-681-682-686 and 687. The remnant became a tributary outpost."

I cite this letter from Mr. Guss because of his acknowledged learning and because it gives an additional view of this discussion of the tribal power of the Susquehannocks in 1676.

1676—Maryland Gives Presents to the Indians, who Helped to Defeat the Susquehannocks.

In the Second Maryland Archives, p. 489, it is set down that the House "voted that corn, powder, shot and match-coats be purchased and forthwith be delivered to the friendly Indians by way of gratification for the services done by the said Indians in the late war against the Susquehannocks and that the match-coats distributed to the number and in the manner following, viz.: to the Piscataways, 80—to the Chopticos, 30—to the Mattawoman, 30—to the Mangern, 10—in all 150. The powder, 45 pounds—the shot 150 pounds and the corn 100 barrels."

Susquehannocks Desire Peace Again With Maryland.

In the 15th Maryland Archives, p. 120, we find the following overtures

made by the Susquehannocks and suspiciously received by Maryland. This was toward the end of July or the beginning of August and on that subject the following appears, as showing the Views of Council. "At a Council held Sunday, August 6:— Letters from Nathaniel Stiles and Jonathan Sibly which bring intelligence of some Susquehannock Indians being at the head of the bay (Chesapeake) and more upon their march thither and of their desires and designs of peace with us and their intentions for (to go to) St. Mary's for the purpose of protection (were read) from which news we believe it is probable from their conditon in Virginia, fom whence it is supposed they come (that) they wthout doubt were in the incendaries of the mischief which makes them desperate by either the neighbornig Indians being likely to do them no good by war. This occasioned these Susquehannocks to leave them and return to their own fields and habitations; and likewise that they have made peace with their old enemyes (the Senecas), their prentensions for peace is a matter of weighty consideration.

It is probable that these Susquehannocks have not only blown the coals but made the fire and the flame of troubles that now burns in the breast and in the bowels of our neighbors, the Virginians, to our great sorrow and grief. To make peace with these Susquehannocks is a matter dubious and worthy of good consultation and requires correspondence with Virginia. But it may be in no ways inconsistent to treat with these Susquehannocks and to send them and Jacob Young as protection. And for a meeting at Mr. Mertyes's is ordered."

1676—Susquehannocks Make Partial Peace Again With the Senecas.

In Vol. 15 of the Md. Arch., p. 122, it is stated in a letter that "word was received from the head of the bay,that the Susquehannock Indians have gone back to their old Fort about 60 miles above Palmer's Island and have been there so long that they have corn fit to roast." In the same letter it is stated that "a peace was made last summer between the Susquehannocks and the Senecas so that they are now at ease and out of our reach." This apparently fixes the time when the Susquehannocks again got back on the River and when they began to be friendly with the Senecas again.

1676—New Light Upon the Location of the Susquehannock Fort.

In Vol. 15 of the Md. Archives, p. 122, it is stated that the Susquehannock Indians have returned to their old fort "about 60 miles above Palmer's Island." Palmer's Island is practically a few miles below the mouth of the Susquehanna River. According to the Pennsylvania railroad map Columbia is 43½ miles from Perryville. Now if Palmer's Island is 15 miles below the mouth of the Susquehanna River, this would bring a point of 60 miles above Palmer's Island in the neighborhood of Columbia, a couple of miles below which has generally been accepted as the location of the old Fort. However, it depends on how near 60 miles mentioned in the letter is the accurate number of miles.

1676 — Edmund Andros Encourages the Susquehannocks to Reurn to Pennsylvania.

In 1674 James, Duke of York received from his brother, the King of England, among other lands, a grant of the territory from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River; and on July 1, 1674 he gave a commission to Edmund Andros to be Governor over it, (Second Ser. Pa. Arch., Vol.

5, p. 639). And November 5, 1675 Edmund Andros began to buy from the Indians lands west of the Delaware River, (Do. p. 673), and continued buying until he owned a great deal of land extending from Delaware River westward toward the Susquehanna River. Then hearing of the hard fate of the Susquehannocks, by a letter from Captain Cantwell on the Delaware, and hearing about them coming northward again toward Susquehanna, at a Council held July 28, 1676 it was resolved (Do. p. 681), "to write to Captain Cantwell still to encourage the coming of those Indians, till when not to promise anything to them, but if they desire it, the Governor will endeavor a composure of all things in Maryland and a perfect peace with the Maques an Sinnekes (Senecas), after which the said Indians (Susquehannocks) may return to their lands as they shall think good.

"If the said Indians do comply, that Captain Cantwell to give notice of it to the Governr here, and to the Governor of Maryland ,and let them know that the Governor hath given him the said order, thinking it the greatest service, he could do them, so to take in the said Indians,—lest going to the Maques and Senekes, they might induce them to make inroads, upon the Christians, which none of us could remedy.

If the said Indians will come in, that he give notice (ask) where they are most inclinable to go, for the present, being either at the Falls, or the middle of the River at Delaware."

So the Susquehannocks now find new friends—the Governor of New York and his people, owners of all the land from Connecticut River almost to the Susquehanna. The ruler of these new friends now asks the Susquehannocks to come under his protection on the west side of Delaware River either at Trenton Falls or higher or lower until he shall compel the Maques and Senecas to make peace with them, when he promises they may go back to their old lands on Susquehanna. This invitation was given by Edmund Andros July 28, 1676.

1676—The Susquehannocks Again Back to Their Old Place on the Susquehanna River.

In a communication found in the 5 Md. Archives, pp. 134-135, in a complaint dated Aug., 1676 by prominent citizens of Virginia, it is stated among other things that "the Susquehannock Indians returned meanwhile to the Susquehanna River again, and cut off several families at the head of the Bay and thus all the Indians are encouraged. who call the Christians cowards and children to fight with. But the Governor of Baltimore to cloak his policy with an Assembly, condemned his Major Truman unto a fine of 10,000 pounds of tobacco and imprisonment during pleasure for having suffered the five Susquehannock Indians to be killed, notwithstanding the Assembly cleared Truman. upon the producing of Lord Baltimore's order, yet to keep the people from complaining to England he keeps this all a secret."

1676—Word Sent to Virginia that Maryland Will Make Peace with the Susquehannocks.

On the 6th of August, 1676 it was ordered by Maryland that a letter be sent to the Governor of Virginia to give him notice that the Deputy Governors and Council of Maryland are "upon making terms of peace with the Susquehannocks which may be for the safety as well of that Government as of the Province, which is as followeth from said letter: 'We have lately received intelligence from the

head of the Bay that the Susquehannock Indians have resided at their old Fort about 60 miles above Palmer's Island for so many months that they now have corn fit to roast; that they shortly expect the remainder of their troops and as many of the western Indians near or beyond the mountains as they have been able to pursue to come and live with them. We are further informed that by the means of Colonel Andrews with the Governor of New York a peace was made last summer between them and their old enemies, the Senecas so that they are now at ease and out of our reach. Notwithstanding this they have applied themselves to Captain Edward Cantwell the Deputy Governor of New Castle and requesting a peace and trade as formerly with the English and in order to come down with Captain Cantwell and Jacob Young, our interpreter, to the house of Mrs. Margaret Penroy at the head of the Bay near Palmer's Island and from thence sent a pass to come down to St. Mary's. We have therefore sent them safe conduct to come down and treat with us.'" (See 15th Maryland Archives, p. 122).

1676 — Maryland Council Send a Letter to Lord Baltimore About Peace With the Susquehannocks.

On page 123 of Vol. 15 of the Md. Archives there is set forth a letter by the Council of Maryland to Lord Baltimore to let him know of their intentions of a treaty with the Susquehannocks and advising him of affairs in Virginia. It is as follows:—"May it please your Lordship:—At a council held this day (Aug. 6, 1676) at Manakowick's Neck, we have considered the overtures of the Susquehannocks for a peace deeming it a blessing for God unhoped for, we thought it not to be slighted; and therefore sent a passport to them and Jacob Young the interperter to come and to and return safe from the treaty to be held at Murtyes, at any time within one month and we have written to Berkley and a Council of Virginia to give hm notice. So stand your affairs now with the Indians but as to the English under Colonel Bacon, they stand not so fair; for we have cause to suspect he intends to embroil the Province in a warre; and that he will make pursuit of the Piscataways his pretense to enter here and use young Guiles Brent and his vain title to his mother's crown and sceptre of the Piscataways, as his father used the phrase it and other desperate persons in those parts, to bring on disquiet here." This needs no comment except to notice that while everything was going in the direction of peace in Maryland, it was quite otherwise in Virginia.

1676—Maryland Advises the Other Tribes to Make Peace With the Susquehannocks

In Vol. 15 of the Md. Archives, p. 126, the following complaint is set forth. The Emperor of Piscataway and the King of the Mattawoman Indians came to council and it was ordered to tell them "that the Susquehannocks have sent to us to make peace and if we think it fit to make Peace with them, we will certainly include the Piscataways and Mattawoman Indians in it. And since they are unwilling to have us make peace with the Susquehannocks though we include them in it, let them be asked whether they will march with the English to the New Fort they have built and likewise pursue the Susquehannocks and be obedient to the English commanders with whom they have been ordered to march. They observed by Schotickeko, their speaker, that they are ready to go.

Here we see that the English in Maryland did not have exactly the smoothest sailing in getting the general peace established.

1676—Maryland Citizens Loudly Complain of the Treatment of the Susquehannocks.

In a communication dated the eighth day of August, this year there is a complaint to Lord Baltimore against the action in both Virginia and Maryland concerning the Susquehannocks and in the course of the complaint the authors say, "Old Governor Berkley, altered by marrying a young wife from a wonted public good to a covetous fool's age, relishes Indian presents so well that the Indian blood is pukketted up with other mischiefs in so much that his lady would have it, though it would overthrow the country. Now there is an opportunity to give Virginia a good blow by Maryland Indians on account of the Piscataways have gone over to the Virginia to do mischief. The Piscataways have united the Susquehannocks to their assistance, whereby a greater incursion being feared and unforseen, Gov. Berkley was persuaded to send Colonel Washington and Allerton to cut them off. At least they raised a force above 1000 men to protect the Province and so burdened Virginia to destroy them and therefore ordered Major Truman to besiege the fort which might have easily been taken, being not quite finished and not 100 fighting men in it besides women and children. And thus the soldiers were misled and intrentched and the Susquehannocks sent out five men whom the soldiers knowing to be some of the murderers, would not let come to the treaty but killed them. And thus were 5 or 6 weeks spent to consume the King's subjects and put both Provinces to an increased charge and a general alarm for the Indians often sallied out killing many and took their spades and arms and made themselves stronger and stronger. They "kroak" that shameful siege (Susquehannock Fort) up with the loss of above 200 soldiers and thirteen hundred thousand lbs. of tobacco to the country besides Virginia charge; the Indians but losing now and then one by chance, and in Virginia afterwards they (Susquehannocks and others) destroyed 500 or 600 men, women and children without resistance, until Squire Bacon moved by the people's and his own loss repulsed the Indians which hath taken full effect, if not hindered by some ill-wishers, who have brought the country into the present confusion." This is quoted simply to show that issatisfaction had arisen by reason of the treatment of the Susquehannocks as above set forth. (See 5 Md. Archives, pp. 134-135).

1676—Edmund Andros Criticizes the Raising of False Alarms About the Susquehannocks.

Under the date of August 11, 1676 at one of the Council meetings held under Andros, having received a letter from the Delaware of the alarm given by Mr. Herman's letter, "resolve to send a check or rebuke to Captain Cantwell for making so rash an alarm but to advise that he be not careless, and that he send forthwith to the Susquehannocks to know their intent about their coming in (joning in a friendly way with the English) which if they do not,—then to be careful to promise them nothing; it not being proper as not in our power, and if they do come in, it be to live peaceable, as the rest of the Government doth." (See Second Ser. Pa. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 682). In this we observe efforts are still being made by the English, who are now owners of the Delaware and of much

land which they bought from the Indians, almost to the Susquehanna, looking toward bringing the Susquehannocks into complete friendship with them. Edmund Andros seemed to be a sincere friend of these Indians.

1676—Andros's Instructions to Captain Collyer on the Delaware and Susquehanna.

In the last quoted book, p. 686, under the date of September 23 of this year there is set forth several instructions from Andros to Captain Collier from the management of Indian affairs in eastern Pennsylvania, and among them is this instruction that he (Collier) is to acquaint the Governor of Maryland "with the great inconvenience that hath been bound Eastward by the several nations of Indians joining, whereby the late mischiefs have happened; and that the Christians have received a greater service from the Maques and other Indians above Albany; they therefore desire their resolves about the Suspuehannocks and to acquaint them that he wishes to admit them within the Government, rather than hazard their being obliged to refuge with a grudge in their hearts, further away and out of our reach." The instruction further goes on and says: "but the Susquehannocks having had warr with Maryland, though now in peace, I have delayed making this conclusion, though it will be of advantage to all" The instructions then further state, "the Susquehannocks are to be used friendly and as many as will are to come to me at this place (New York), for which all freedom and furtherance is extended to them; and let them know it is their good hearts and not riches that I value, therefore they need not trouble themselves about presents" I cite this merely to show the good feeling which Edmund Andros had for the Susquehannocks.

Further steps in this matter appear by the following extracts from a letter sent by Endmund Andros, Governor of Maryland, dated the 25th of September, 1676 and found in the last named book, p. 687. "If some course be not speedily taken they (The Susquehannocks) must all necessarily submit to the Minques and Senecas who passionately desire it; but it would prove of a bad consequence. I have therefore dispatched Captain Collyer to you to let you know if I may be serviceable to you therein to employ me and whether you judge the late peace with Susquehannocks sufficient, their continuing where they now are or being removed from these parts best. I have some interest with the Maques and Senecas and I can best deal with them; but some speedy resolution is necessary as it will concern the peace of all his Majesty's subjects in these parts." (Signed) Edmund Andros." This shows that constant watchfulness was required to prevent the now beaten Susquehannocks from being utterly exterminated by or assimilated with other Indians of powerful tribes.

1676—A Small Encounter Between the Senecas and Susquehannocks.

In a letter found in the 5th Md. Archives, pp. 152-153 reference is made to "a small encounter" in the beginning of last December (1676) between the Senecas and Susquehannocks in which the writer says that "the most considerable affair that I am about to acquaint you with is about the Seneca and Susquehannock Indians who have had at the beginning of December, last a small enconnter at Jacob Young's house, which intelligence came to me by

Tuesday night last, (Jan., 1677); upon which I have taken the most effectual care I could at present for the security of Baltimore and Cecil counties, and I send you herewith original letters I have received from the head of the Bay relating to it. I have inquired how we shall treat with the Indians as soon as the Spring approaches, for if we be not timely in adjusting all matters with them in the Spring, we shall be surprised by them and your Lordship's province will receive much damage before we are sensible where our mischief proceeds. Therefore I shall take all care to be peaceable with the Senecas and the Suspuehannocks, especially care to be peaceful with the Senecas (if it be obtained) they being the greatest and most considerable Nation, and our league wth them will occasion our security from the Delawares or Macquas; and if the Senecas war with them they can not make incursions as they usually do and invade us. Otherwise it is probable they say, especially if they and the Susquehannocks confederate they will invade us; they being both Nations of the bloodiest people in all these parts of America." This letter is dated Jan. 22, 1677, and therefore the affair referred to was in 1676.

1676—The War With the Susquehannocks Makes the Taxes High.

In the Md. Archives, pp. 137 to 140, under the date of December 9, of this year there is remonstrance by the Governor and council directed to Lord Baltimore, setting forth the true state of Maryland and of the reasons of the high taxes and among other things it states, " it is now so that the people are likely to run into rebellion against this Government and we may be involved in intestine war as it is in Virginia. The great clamor is against the greatness of taxes; and the debarring of some freeman from voting. As to the taxes we appeal to the whole world whether our Lord Proprietary was not forced into the expensive war against the Susquehannocks last year; and whether he sought not all means of pacification that could stand his honor and safety of the people before he engaged in it. If the taxes continue this year, and it is the same necessity of protecting the people, much trouble will ensue." The result of the Susquehannock expedition is now very plain in this item.

1676—Maryland Now Takes Hands Off the Senecas and Off of the Susquehannocks.

In the Second Md. Archives, p. 545 it is said that the end of the Sessions of 1676, the Assembly repealed the Act for the preservation of certain articles of Peace made with the Susquehannocks in 1674. This was done so as not to give any offense to the Senecas. And also at p. 547 of the same book it is set out that the Act for raising a supply to pay the charge of making peace with the Senecas and war with the Susquehannocks and their confederates, which passed in 1674, was also repealed. This was done so that the Susquehannocks should not be offended with Maryland for showing an undue favoritism to the Senecas and for allowing to let stand up-repealed the declaration of war against the Susquehannocks.

1677—Upland Court Acts on the Threat of the Senecas to Kid-Nap the Susquehannocks.

In the record of the Court at Upland "at a meeting held by ye Commanders and Justices att uppland uppon the news of the Sineco Indians comming downe to fetch the Susque-

hannos, that were amongst these River Indians, etc., March 13th., annoq. Dom., 1677. It was concluded upon the motion of Rinowehan the Indian Sachomore that Captain Collyer and Justice Israell Helm goe upp to Sachamexin where att present a great number of Sineco and other Indians were, and that they endeavor to pursuade the Sineco and Sasquehannos on these Rivers to send each a Deputy to the Governor of New York and that Israell Helm goe with them. (See records of Upland Court, p. 49; also see the same referred to in Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, p. 237).

The meaning of all this is that the Senecas of New York, who had already forced one branch of the Susquehannocks to come and live with them, were now determined on swallowing up the rest of the tribe who are scattered along the Lower Susquehanna, near the Old Fort.

1677—Maryland Appoints a Commissioner to Make New Peace With the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 5 of the Md. Archives, p. 243 the following interesting commission is to be found entitled in the said book, Copy of a Commission Granted by the Governor and Council to Henry Coursey, Esq., for making peace with the Indians; "To Thomas Nally, Esquire, Greeting:—Whereas the Susquehannocks, Senecas and divers other nations of Indians, inhabitants to the Northward of this Province have formerly committed divers murders and outrages within the Province upon which there hath ensued a war between his Majesty's subjects, residing in this Province and Government as well as those residing in Virginia, and the Susquehannocks; and whereas the said Susquehannocks have since and lately desired to come to a treaty of peace with his Lordship and have submitted themselves and put themselves under the protection of the Senecas, etc.: Know ye that I have constituted, ordained and authorized Henry Coursey, Esq., one of his Lordship's Council for this Province as ambassador or envoy to treat with and conclude a firm peace with the said Susquehannocks, Senecas and any other Indians unknown to us, inhabiting and residing to the Northward of us within or without the territory of his Royal Highness and from whom we have already received injury by the confederacy between them and the Susquehannocks, upon such reasonable terms as to him shall seem meet and convenient according to his instructions. And for as much as the said Indians do now reside for the most part within the territory of his said Royal Highness's (viz.: the Duke of York's domain North of Maryland and including Pennsylvania and New York, the Susquehannocks having gone back to the Susquehanna River), and can be treated with only by a journey to be had through his Royal Highness's territory, I do hereby ordain and appoint said Henry Coursey to treat with Edmund Andros, Governor General under his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, and desire him leave to pass through said territory to treat with the Indians and I do request that the said Henry be received according to the law of Nations. Given at St. Mary's April 30, 1677."

1677—Instructions Given by Maryland to Henry Coursey How to Treat with the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 5 of the Md. Archives, pp. 244-245 the further directions in making a treaty are set out as fol-

lows, "You are with all convenient speed to begin your journey toward New York by way of New Castle on the Delaware in order to your going into Albany to treat with the Susquehannocks; and on arrival at New Castle to signify to the Deputy-Governor there in general terms that you are sent to Colonel Andros by his to come to a treaty with the Senecas at Fort Albany or elsewhere; and you are to inform yourself from Captain Collyer and others of the true state of the Susquehannnocks what numbers there are, upon what terms they are received by the Senecas, and if any such be under whose protection they live and how they may be treated with all in order to the settling and universal peace between us, and the Susquehannocks and the Senecas and the rest of the Indians to the Northward as also between the Indians and all the low land Indians in league and amity with us.

You are to apply yourself to the Governor of New York and render him to assist in procuring a treaty for you both with the said Senecas and Susquehannocks if there be such a nation left.

When you are come to a treaty with the Senecas you are to let them know that we had no knowledge of them but by the Susquehannocks' report; that they from time to time told us that the injuries we had received in our Government and the murders of our people were all prepetrated by the Senecas, that we afterwards found out that these very murders which the Susquehannocks fathered upon the Senecas were committed by the Susquehannocks themselves and that that was the real cause of the war between us; and the injury to us was the greater because the Susquehannocks by the articles of peace between us were obliged to give us 20 days' warning of intentions to war if at any time they grow weary of peace with us, which notwithstanding they, in an open, horrible manner, with the major part of their forces, and some if not all of their great men present, assaulted the house of Randel Hanson standing within three miles of their fort and there continued to fight one whole day after all which they had confidence to endeavor to persuade us it was the Senecas that committed the outrage."

We readily see in this that though Maryland very atrociously mistreated the Susquehannocks yet they still contiued to blame the Susquehannocks for the murders which the Senecas committed; and used that protection as an excuse for making the war on the Susquehannocks instead of the Senecas though it is pretty certain that the Senecas were the real aggressors. The whites evidently took this course because the Senecas were now supreme and the Susquehannocks were almost annihilated by them and completely under their control.

1677—Henry Coursey's First Steps in Making Peace With the Susquehannocks.

In the 5th Vol. of the Md. Arch. pp. 246-247 the next step in effecting peace with the Susquehannocks is shown. This is set forth in a letter from Colonel Coursey to P. Nolley's on the Delaware River dated May 22, 1677, which is as follows:—Right Worthy Sir: On the 19th inst. I wrote you from New Castle. On the 20th came Jacob Young from Maryland which gives me a better account than I received before, which is as follows, 'Them that killed Richard Milton's family were eight Susquehannocks, and that upon doing the

killing they immediately fled to the Senecas and that all the mischief that hath been done hath by their (Susquehannocks) several troops as they came out of Virginia (They are now retaliating for the killing of their five chiefs) and the two persons this year shott were by two Susquehannocks that came with the trops of Senecas, that carried the Susquehannocks from the place since which the same troops took the chief warriors into Susquehanna River, being 30 in number who had then been hunting to make a present to you for peace (the Susquehannocks were hunting for furs to make a present) among which was the young Indian I had talked with at Jacob Young's. Old Collyer was coming himself but was by the rest pursuaded to desist for the want of a present? I have now sent for him and one other great man to come to me, where I now stop for them. There are about 26 of them (Susquehannocks) left here; still I propose to persuade them to go with me to New York, it being Governor Andros's ordered to Captain Collyer to send them. The Senecas intend to be at Palmer's Island when the corn is half a leg high.I likewise find it necessary to carry Jacob Young with me without whom I can do nothing; and that truth is from him and none else. He tells me that the Senecas having marched 10 days then fell at some difference among temselves how to divide those Susquehannocks they had with them, they being of two several forts and upon the division the Susquehannocks were much displeased, and some of them got away, the rest they bound and carried with them, but it is judged not to hurt them, for every one of the forts strive what they can to get them to themselves, and Governor Andros to get them to the Masaques (Maques), for it was told me by Captain DeLavall that if they had them they would make war immediately with the French.

This 23rd. instant came to me four Susquehannocks and with them the Emperor of the Delaware Bay Indians and upon discourse, I find them all inclined to peace. It seems a custom to give a present by any one that speaks a treaty. I am ready to take horse again for New York where I hope to be by Saturday night, Signed, Henry Coursey." This is how the Susquehannock Indian history after the year 1776 became linked in with the Seneca history, who were their merciless masters.

1677—Further Steps in Making Peace Arrangements.

In Vol. 5 of the Md. Archives, p. 248 is Thomas Notley's reply to Coursey's letter and it is as follows: "I am heartily glad that you have made so great a discovery in so short a time as to the state of the Indians, especially the Susquehannocks. I am glad Jacob Young goes with you; and that you have so good an intelligence from him. One thing I must add that if upon the whole consideration you shall think it more necessary to let the Susquehannocks live in this Province (Maryland) than elsewhere, then endeavor so to order it. If not however, leave no gap but make a thorough conclusion with all the Indians. In this I depend upon your discretion."

1677—Henry Coursey's Proposal to the People and the Indians.

Under the date of June 22, this year, in 5th Maryland Archives, p. 251 further steps of the arrangement for peace are set out by Henry Coursey in a message to the Senecas as

follows, "We formerly had peace with the Susquehannocks which they perfidiously broke, not only killing single persons but at last with the greatest part of their forces assaulting a whole family in a house and to amuse us they told us that those outrages were committed by the Senecas thereby to engage us in a quarrel with you. We found their perfidiousness and breach of faith fell upon them and have now so near destroyed them that they are forced to seek shelter under you who were before their enemies. Now so there shall be no cause of quarrel between us and you and that we may now live in peace as brethren granted by the same God, though not known to one another, we desire that all of the Susquehannock Nation as shall come under your protection, may be by you obliged not to do any violence or wrong to any Christian inhabiting either in Maryland or Virgnia. In case any injury shall hereafter be done by any of the Susquehannocks living under the protection of you Senecas, or by any of your own nation, you shall deliver him to us or to the Governor of New York to be proceeded against according to his demerits." This shows again the great earnest desire of the Maryland people to establish good will with the Senecas in order that the Senecas keep the Susquehannocks from renewing their slaughter of the whites as they had done after they left the fort on Potomac, vowing vengeance until they had killed ten white men for every one of their number which they lost.

1677 — Answer of the Onondagoes to the Proposal for Peace.

In Vol 5 of the Maryland Archives p. 255 is set forth the views of the Onondagoes on the question of the terms of peace with the Susquehannocks, which were proposed by the whites of Maryland and New York: the answer is as follows, "A belt was sent to us by Colonel Henry Coursey authorized by Maryland that we might make greater haste to come down which we have done and he saith that none of us shall, for the future injure any persons in Maryland. We thank the gentlemen that they do exhort for peace, we are so minded ourselves but we acknowledge that we have killed of your Christians and Indians formerly whereof Jacob Young, (who helped the Susquehannocks and lived with them) my friend, was a great occasion; but we desire now that all be past and buried in oblivion. A belt of 13 rows deep we now give you. We say again that Jacob Young was a great captain and leader against them whereby the wars have been continued but now we desire peace and that the Almighty God who dwells in Heaven may give his blessings thereunto.

We let you know that there are of ours, four castles of the Senecas out fighting against the Senecas—you may therefore warn your Indians that there may be no injuries or damages done hereafter, and so to contine the peace we do give two beavers." The Onondagoes here seem to show a very honorable disposition and a fervent spirit towards peace.

Their referring to the "Almighty God who lives in Heaven" seems to indicate that the Jesuits had effected quite a good work among them in matters of Christianity.

1677—Answer of the Maques to the Proposition for Peace With the Susquehannocks.

The view taken by the Maques on the question of Peace may be found in Vol. 5 of the Maryland Archives,

pp. 257-258, and it is as follows: "We are glad the King's Government of Maryland and Virginia have sent you to speak of peace and that this place, Albany is fixed for all nations to make peace. We return hearty thanks and will speak with one heart and one head. The Senecas were on their journey with 600 men to come here but for fear turned back; but we were not afraid. We return you hearty thanks for releasing the two sons of Conondondans and likewise that you beheaded the Sachem of the Susquehannocks named Achnaetsachawey,who was the cause of their being taken prisoners; and we do present five beavers."

At the conclusion of this treaty these Indians sang a song after their manner by their method which they do undertake to hold firm and they give a beaver and a dressed Elk skin. And then they sang another song, the meaning of which is that their people may now forget what is past between them and the Colonists but might always be mindful of what has now happened in this house and if the Senecas appoint any other place, it will not be accepted but this place to be the only appointed and perfixed place now dedicated to this great treaty with all our tribes."

These Maques also show a very honorable and equitable spirit which shows both their honest and their simple nature.

1677—The Oneidas, Senecas and Some of the Onondagoes Refuse to Obey the Peace Above Refered to.

In Mombert's History of Lancaster County, p. 23 he says, "Notwithstanding a treaty of amity concluded between Maryland and the Five Nations in 1677, some of the Oneidas, Onondagoes and Senecas who were not present at the time of the treaty, fell upon the Susquehannocks who were in league with Maryland, killed four of their number, took six prisoners, five of them fell into the share of the Senecas, were in conformity with the treaty, sent back, but the sixth was detained by the Oneidas. Overtures and remonstrances on the part of Maryland and Virginia proved unavailing and after a few years of hostilities broke out with increased violence and only ceased with the final overthrow of the Susquehannocks by the Five Nations. It appears from a minute examination of imperfect and somewhat contradictory data, exhibited at length by Foulke, that the Lancaster lands fell into the power of the Five Nations some time between 1677 and 1684." This shows the difficulties that were constantly encountered in perfecting permanent peace with different tribes of Indians, some of whom were honest and others treacherous, and all of them being more or less under political obligations to various contemporary tribes. It appears that when a treaty was made, another tribe would claim that it was made without their advice and presence and they would repudiate it, so that the Susquehannocks may be said to have been between the upper and lower mill stones a great deal of the time.

1677—Governor Dungan's View of the Might of the Five Nations and The Fate of the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 5 of the Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 755 Governor Dungan makes a report dated 1684 in which he refers to some things which happened in 1677 and among other things he says, "I have sent herewith what the Nations that conquered the Susquehannocks

desired of the King in my Lord Effingham's presence and I believe it to be of dangerous consequence if denied." This demand on the part of the Five Nations was that the whites should not interfere with the relation between the Five Nations and the Susquehannocks for the Five Nations had conquered them and thought this interference was meddling.

As to the Five Nations at this time Governor Dungan says: "The Five Indian Nations are the most warlike people in America, and a bulwark between us and the French and all other Indians. They go as far as the South Sea the Northwest Passage and Florida to War. New England in the last war with the Indians would have been ruined, if Edmund Andros had not sent the Five Nations to their assistance. All the Indians in these parts of America are tributary to them." By the South Sea is meant the Pacific Ocean and the Northwest Passage is at the Arctic Ocean. So these great Indians that whipped the Susquehannocks had a reputation for war all over North America with the exception of the South West section toward Mexico.

1677—Other Authorities on the Overthrow of the Susquehannocks.

Lewis Evans in his "Analysis,"printed by Benjamin Franklin and published in London in 1755 on the fall of the Susquehannocks says, "The Susquehannocks after a great defeat by the Marylanders, were easily exterminated by the Confederates (Five Nations). So that those Nations who are now on the Susquehanna, are only such as the confederates have allotted that River for; as the Nanticokes, from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Tuteloes from the Mehenin River in Virginia and the Delawares, under which we include the Minnesinks and the Mandes, or Salem Indians"—(p. 14). At pp. 11 and 12 he also says, that "they (Five Nations) gave the finishing stroke to the extermination of the Susquehannas."

To show further that the Senecas or the Five Nations as a whole did overthrow the Susquehannocks about 1676-77, we quote from the 4th Colonial Records, p. 712 in which is set forth the speech of Tachanoontia,one of the orators of the Five Nations at the treaty held June 27, 1744 in the Lancaster Court House, where in speaking of the lands on Susquehanna, he says, "All the world knows we concurred the several Nations living on Susquehanna, Cohongoronta, and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia." We see from all this that there is no doubt about the defeat of the Susquehannocks by the Five Nations.

1678—The Shawanese Now Come to the Susquehannock Country.

In this year the Shawanese came to Conestoga. They were a small tribe and from North Carolina. They settled on the Pequea Creek. It is generally said that they came in 1698. See Vol. 4 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 517, where it is stated that they were Southern Indians and came to Conestoga in 1698 to the number of 60 families. Gordon also says in his history, p. 514 that they came in 1698. But Redmond Conyngham, Esq., in 15 Haz. Reg., p. 117 says that the original manuscript from which the notes were prnited states that they came n 1678! This error he says is plain because these Shawnese were here before William Penn came,which was in 1682. The Dauphin County Pamphlet on Indian History, p. 43 also says that the Shawnese were at the William Penn Treaty in 1683. A very famous descendant of these Shawanese called Red Pole is buried

in Trinity Church Yard at Pittsburg he having died there in 1797 and his monument says that he died at that date, "Lamented by the United States,"—(See 12 Haz. Reg., 63-64).

1678—Rumor that the Susquehannocks, After Conspiring with the Senecas, Incite the Senecas to Invade Maryland and Fall on the Piscataways.

In Vol. 15 of the Md. Archives, p. 175 under the date of June 13, 1677 at a council held at the old Court House the following appears: "The common rumor that the Seneca Indians by instigation of the remaining part of the Susquehannocks, now living among them, are designed to come down to make war upon the Piscataways toward the latter end of the Summer (which the Piscataways do generally believe) was taken into consideration; and it was ordered that Jacob Young be impowered to go to the old Fort on the Susquehanna and treat with the great men of the Seneca Nation, touching the said rumor according to such orders and instructions as he should receive from the Governor.

In pursuance whereof the Honorable Thomas Notley, Esq., did empower the said Jacob Young upon his instructions under hand seal, to go accordingly to the old Susquehanna Fort and address himself to the great men of the Seneca Nation and by presents or otherwise according to their custom to remind them of the League of Peace which they had lately entered into with the Piscataways."

In this we have some important Historical facts, (1) that the Senecas and Susquehannocks or some of the Susquehannocks were in strong league and friendship with each other at this time, (2) that the great men of the Senecas or some of them were living among the Susquehannocks in the neighborhood of the old Susquehannock Fort on the Susquehanna River. (3) that the Senecas were making tools of the Susquehannocks, which later was to result in a disagreement between them and the Susquehannocks and bring on another fight, and (4) that the Senecas would not rest until they had subjugated the other Pennsylvania tribes, to do which they did not scruple to violate any treaties which they formerly made.

1678—Maryland Helps the Piscataways Against the Susquehannocks and the Senecas.

In 15 Md. Archives, p. 183, at a Council held August 19, 1678 it appears as follows, "Then Council met, according to appointment by previous order of Cuncil, the Great men of the Piscataways and it is ordered that the said great men be given to understand that the Governor and Council understand that a few of the Piscataway Indians have been killed by some of the Senecas and Susquehannocks as they believe; and told them, Maryland would send to Albany to converse with the Governor of the Senecas about this matter."

1679—An Encounter Between the Susquehannocks and Piscataways.

In 15 Md. Archives, p. 213, we are advised instead of the Senecas coming themselves, they sent the Susquehannocks to fight the Piscataways. This is set forth as follows,"then was taken into consideration the state of the Indian affairs and the matters which lately passed between the Governor and Council the Piscataway Indians, touching the murders committed and it is advised to send for the Emperor

dians and remind them of the League of Peace and that we are desirous to speak with them in relation to a late encounter between them (The Piscataways) and the Susquehannocks and that the said Council had something to propound to his Lordship for their security against the Foreign Indians."

In this it is hinted that Maryland is about to raise a force to secure the Province against these Senecas, who were mis-leading the Susquehannocks and we shall see that this finally brought on the Ninan Beall expedition.

1679—The Susquehannocks Divided Into Two Divisions by the Five Nations; One Kept in New York and the Other Established at the Old Susquehannock Fort; Further Deluded by the Senecas Against the English.

Under the date of March 19, 1679 in Vol. 15 of the Maryland Archives, pp. 238-240 the following may be found, "Present at a Council, the Speaker and the great men of the Piscataway: The interpreter was ordered to tell them that we are lately informed that there was one among them that lately came from the Senecas and that his Lordship had a great desire to speak to him. The said Indian that came from the Senecas being made acquainted with his Lordship's desire to hear him gave the following account. He begins by laying on the table five single acorns some small distance from each other and four together at one place which he signifies the four towns of the Senecas, from which he came—the four next single acorns he likewise declared to be four other towns of the Senecas, with the two middle most whereof the Susquehannocks had divided themselves amongst; and lived there, to say, one-half at one town and one-half at the other. The fifth and outermost of the five single acorns he declared to be a place inhabited by the English where the Senecas used to treat and whither he was sent from the four first towns with a present which he delivered; but by the description of the said place, to be a place of great resort and trade for the said Indians for powder and shott. It appeared to be Fort Albany and they were Dutch to whom he had delivered the present."

He said the towns were all peaceable and quiet excepting only the two towns among which the Susquehannocks had divided themselves. He declared that in every fort there were some English. He further said that the Senecas allowed him to go to see his friends freely; and so he is here; and that he would weight his mind and the English and tell them who it was that had done the English all the mischief; viz.: those two nations amongst whom the Susquehannocks now live and that they would do more mischief yet, both to the Piscataways and the English. They told him he must return in ten days.

He was asked whether those two nations with whom the Susquehannocks lived were at war or peace with the other four nations, and he answered that they were all together in peace and amity with one another; and that the Susquehannocks go from town to town peaceably as friends and netophs (netoughs) that is children or cousins, but that the four nations now seem to blame the English very much for letting so many of the Susquehannocks escape as they did for they are of such a bloody and turbulent mind that they will never cease doing mischief both to the English and Piscataways so long as one remains alive.

He was asked whether those two forts with whom the Susquehannocks

lived be of the same bloody mind as the Susquehannocks themselves, to which he replied at first, that "they were not, but by instigations of the Susquehannocks he does believe they are now become as one. He also says the Susquehannocks laugh and jeer at the English, saying they can do what mischief they please for the English can not see them. He said those forts were three moons from Piscataway as he was three moons in coming. He was asked whether the Susquehannocks did intend to come down against the Piscataways and the English and in Virginia, and he said that a great man of the Susquehannocks made a speech saying, he was pretty well satisfied with the revenge he had taken of the Virginians by the help and assistance of those Indians and now intended to fall on the Piscataways and English in Maryland for they (the Susquehannocks), had done little or nothing there yet and that a considerable party had gone forth 20 days ago. This he said he had heard from an Indian that had escaped from the towns in which the Susquehannocks lodged. He said the forces of those two towns or forts were so strong that he could not express it, and that the great men of the Susquehannocks said that they would never have any peace with the English of Maryland or the Piscataways or the Chopticos or any other Indians on the south side of the Patapsco."

In this we see that the revenge which the Susquehannocks swore on the whites of Maryland and the friendly Indians with Maryland for slaughtering their great men at the Potomac Fort was still in their hearts and that they were determined to carry it out. We can not suppose that this story was a series of falsehoods against the Susquehannocks because it was given by a friendly Indian who was captured by the Secenas and had leave of absence; and because it seems exactly in line with what the Susquehannocks declared to do. However, there may have been intrigue in it and a well formed plot to get the Susquehannocks in trouble with Maryland again for it must be remenbered that a year before the Susquehannocks were begging Maryland for peace. However, it seems that it was only that small branch of the Susquehannocks who were living at the old Susquehannock Fort that were asking for peace; and it is likely that the other and greater branch of the Susquehannocks who were living in these two Senecas forts in New York were very revengful against Maryland as this messenger said. We also see here that it is proved beyond doubt that a great body of Susquehannocks did go and live with the Senecas of New York. Another thing is noticeable and that is the wisdom of the Five Nations in statecraft,they very wisely determined to establish some of their tribes with some of the conquered Susquehannocks in the old Susquehannock Country to preserve their rights and look after their conquered lands in Pennsylvania; as well as to take the remainder of the Susquehannocks with them to New York—for the double purpose of keeping the Susquehannocks weak by dividing them and of keeping them among themselves in a friendly way to consolidate the Susquehannocks with themselves for the purpose of further enlarging the great confederacy of the Five Nations.

1680—The Piscataways Much Frightened by These Movements of the Susquehannocks and the Senecas.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 277 we now see the result of the

revengful heart of the Susquehannocks. At a Council held on the 31st. of March this year at Notley Hall, the following is set forth, "At this time and place the Emperor and great men of the Piscataways came to acquaint his Lordship that they had a great desire to make peace with all the Northern Indians, both the Senecas and Susquehannocks and to that end had prepared several presents wherewith they had desired to send some agents of theirs to the Mattawomans to desire their assistance."

And in the same book, p. 279 under the date of April 1st., the following letter was given by the Council of Maryland:—"To Our Civil and Military Officers in the Province and other Good People: Whereas the Empereor and great men of the Piscataways in behalf of himself and the Indians under his subjection are desirous to conclude a general peace with the Northern Indians, including the Senecas and Susquehannocks and have sought of us liberty so to do and ask a letter of consent, granting free pass to their agents:—This is to allow their agents, two men and a woman quietly to pass, etc., which we hereby grant unto them."

1680—The Senecas and Susquehannocks Building New Forts from Which to Fight the Piscataways.

Under the date of May 12, 1680, it is set forth in 15 Maryland Archives, p. 280. "On Monday the 10th Instant, in the evening came down from Piscataway Fort an Indian to inform me that the Senecas and Susquehannocks Indians had built them a fort within sight of the Piscataway fort. They judge it to be about 500 yards distant and that there are about 300 of them. When our Indians discouraged them they immediately engaged with them which had been the best part of two days when the Indians came down to us. I understand their desire is that they might have some English to assist them; therefore I thought fit to acquaint you. In their engagement I understood from this Indian that they several times discoursed with each other and that they likely scattered about and killed several horses for their provisions." This is all of a letter of William Chandler, High Sheriff of Charles County on the River that the Senecas and Susquehannocks have come down to the Piscataway Fort.

On the same day that this letter was read it was concluded, "that Captain Randolph Brandt be commanded with one squadron of his troop, consisting of 20 men whom he shall deem fit forthwith to march to Piscataway Fort and there fully to inform himself of the truth; and that John Stone be commanded to accompany him to the Fort and assist the gentlemen of Charles County, and also to take report by Monday next," (See 15 Md. Arch. p. 281).

1680—Captain Brandt's Report About the Susquehannocks and the Senecas.

Under the date of May 17, this year this report was made and is as follows: "In obedience to your Lordship's command we have been with the Piscataway Indians, who seemed much concerned that we came not sooner; but have given them satisfaction in that particular. What they say in touching the Senecas and Susquehannocks is that they came upon the Forte on Sunday last, their number was supposed to be about 200, and several times firing upon the Fort, and at last they came to a treaty. The Piscataways would have bought their peace, proffering a pre-

sent; but the Susquehannocks told them they would have revenge for the great men killed in the late war, and that they expected to have their Indians who were taken by the English restored. They several times asked about this when the Englishmen were at the Piscataway side, and in a skirmish one man was wounded in the foot, being then in the Emperor's Cabin. Sundry shott were made at the Fort and many horses killed by them. The Senecas left them Wednesday and went very much dissatisfied. They expect them back daily in great numbers. A boy of Mr. Lines being sent from his quarters to look for a horse lot himself in the woods and by chance came on the Fort, and confirms this also. The Piscataways ask for more powder having spent much of their store; and they ask to be allowed to move down to the Mattawomans."—(See 15 Md. Archives, p. 283).

1680 — Council Decide to Help the Piscataways Against the Susquehannocks.

In 15 Md. Archives, p. 284, under the date of May 17, it is set forth, "The proprietor and Council take into consideration the present condition of the Emperor of the Piscataways and the Indians under his command oppressed by the Senecas and Susquehannocks. And the Emperor of the Piscataways having declared that he will not stay at the place of his wasted habitation, but for security remove himself and his men and their wives and children to the Mattawomans or other places of safety. His Lordship commanded the several articles of peace with the said Emperor and nations under him to be read of 1666-1670. He also, with the advise of his Council doth hereby appoint Nanticoke River for the place for the said Emperor to receive his men, women and children until such time as they have heard what peace their ambassador lately sent to the Senecas and Susquehannocks can procure and in the interim powder and shott be sent them for better defense against the Susquehannocks, if a war come on."

And a few days later May 22, it was ordered "that the Emperor of the Piscataways be given to understand that the Susquehannocks say if all the Chopticos and the Mattawomans were at Piscataway with the Emperor they would not then even be able to fight the Senecas and Susquehannocks who are over 1000 men; and that the Virginians do not believe that the Senecas murdered these people and say all the murders now committed are by the Piscataways. And the Council think better for the Piscataways and Mattawoman to remove with their wives and children to the Nanticokes for some time till the Virginians do say that the Senecas and Susquehannocks murdered the people and that we may have time to procure them a firm peace with the Senecas and Susquehannocks."

At the same place it is set forth that the Emperor of the Piscataways was lately at the Susquehannock Fort, conferring with the Susquehannocks before he confers with the English again.

1680—The Piscataways and Mattawomans Blame the English for Making Them Enemies of the Susquehannocks.

In 15 Md. Archives, pp. 299 and 300 under the date of June 1, Captain Randolph Brandt gave this report, "In obedience to your command of the 23rd. ult., I have communicated with the Piscataways and Mattawomans and Mr. John Stone who

conferred with them and they say they will not remove but will use their power to defend and when they can not hold out any longer, they will thrust themselves amongst the English; and they also say they are become enemies of the Susquehannock Indians and all other Indians through the means of the English and for that reason they will not leave us. And the King of the Mattawomans allegeth that the Eastern shore Indians are as much their enemies as the Susquehannocks, occasioned by their going with us against the Nanticokes about two years ago."

1680—Susquehannocks and Senecas Moving Foul on the Piscataways.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 302 under date of June 5, 1680 is set forth a note from John Munn's relating to the Piscataways and it says:—"I suppose the great men had been down before this, but I hear the Susquehannocks and Senecas have been foul of them on Friday last, they having killed 7 of the Picataway men. This information I have of James Jefferson, who came from the fort and brought a horse from there lately shot with an arrow."

1680—Susquehannocks Desert From the Seneca's Armies and Tribes.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 305 under the date of June 16, 1680 it is set out in a communication to Lord Baltimore as follows: "I have endeavored to inform myself by all ways and means what Indians did the late murders but they are still unknown. But I am of the opinion it was some of those Susquehannocks fled from the Seneca army and happily it may be those that did the mischief, for the several foregoing years along the same river. It does not appear to be the Senecas as I feared at first."

We begin to see now that the Susquehannock Indians among the Senecas are held among them by force and that they are trying to escape from them. We shall see shortly that the Senecas quickly resented this and determined to butcher a lot of them which brought on the appeal by the Susquehannocks to Maryland for help and Ninan Beall then led the expedition to their aid.

1680—The Beginning of Conestoga, Etc.

Mombert in his History of Lancaster County, p. 25 says that about this year "a settlement was planted by the conquerors at Conestoga which became the chief and place of Council seated on the Susquehanna below its fork. The residence were of the Five Nations, chiefly the Seneca Tribe but comprising some times Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras." By the Conquerors here he means the Senecas and others of the Five Nations whom we have been talking about.

This is further attested to by the Dauphin County History Pamphlet, where the author says that "the Indians whom Penn found in this locality were beggar Iroquois (and that in 1682 there was not one of the Susquehannocks dwelling on his ancient seats) and were representing themselves as Conestogas, not in blood but in occupation." Facts seen to prove him not entirely correct in this statement.

1680—Mattawomans Fear the Senecas and Their Susquehannock-Slaves.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 313, under the date of July 6, it is set forth that "the King of the Mattawomans shows a medal in token of your Lordship's friendship to him and begins now to be in fear of the Susquehannocks and Senecas and

pretends a want of arms and ammunition and intends speedily to make his address to you and the Piscataways and sending scouts out daily have discovered the enemy (the Susquehannocks) and are in some doubt they will be foul of them before the Fort is Finished."

1681—More Light on the Location of the Susquehannocks Fort.

In a communication found in Vol. 5 of the Maryland Archives, p. 272, dated January 25, 1681 it is stated that "the petition of Mr. Penn is read concerning a tract of land to be granted to him in America, but that it appeared by John Verden's letter the part of territory desired by him is already possessed by the Duke of York. He must apply to his Royal Highness for adjusting this respective pretention; and Mr. Penn being acquainted with the matter from the letter of Lord Baltimore's Agents, he does agree that the Susquehannock Fort shall be the boundary of the said Lord Baltimore's Province; and as to furnishing arms and ammunition to the Indians Mr. Penn declares himself ready to submit to any restraint his Lordship may propose."

This item seems to refer to something that passed between Penn and authorities representing Lord Baltimore at home in England because the date is before his arrival here. He seems to have had knowledge of the location of the Susquehannock Fort before coming to Pennsylvania. For our purposes it is interesting to some extent as fixing the location of this famous old Fort. This is a proceeding which took place in England as is very evident from Hazard's Annals, pp. 475 and 476 and what the Maryland Archives quote as simply a report of it which was made from England to Maryland.

1681—The Piscataways Much Frightened.

In Vol 15 of the Md. Archives, p. 336 it is set down that "the Piscataways and Mattawomans are very much frightened at the approach of the Susquehannocks and that they are now in the Piscataway Fort for safety and dare not stir out of it. They claim that the help which they gave the English as against the Susquehannocks caused them this trouble."

1681—The Susquehannocks Turn Out to Be Thieves.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 372 it is stated that "a certain Indian woman being examined for being accused of stealing a certain apron says that one of her children found them upon the ground and that she bought them from the Susquehannocks at their Fort; and that they stole them. Being further examined she says that she thinks it was not the Susquehannocks but the Senecas that killed the English."

1681—Maryland Determines to Rid the Province of the Susquehannocks.

In Vol 7 of the Maryland Arch., p. 111, under the date of 1681 is set forth a speech of the Governor of Maryland to the Assembly, in the course of which he says, "You have not been called together for a long time....., and had there not been some Indian murders by some Indians not yet discovered, I should not have called you until October next; but being duly alarmed by the approach of a considerable party of Indians that have been discovered and discoursed with by Captain Brandt and very much apprehending a sudden attempt by them on our inhabitants, it is absolutely necessary you should meet to renew speedily

those Articles of Peace made some years ago with the Senecas. We ought to cherish their friendship for it must be by their means and assistance that we are able to hope to rid the Province of these Susquehannocks and other mixed Indians that come early down and infest both Maryland and Virginia. Therefore I earnestly desire you to take this great and weighty affair into serious consideration and by some early course secure the Senecas to be our friends that they may be gained to aid and assist us in cutting off these enemies of ours (the Susquehannocks) that certainly design our destruction as soon as they have taken from us our friends and neighbor Indians."

In this we see again how determined the Susquehannocks were to revenge themselves for the killing of their five chiefs in 1676. They seemed never to forget the slaughter. Another thing is noticeable here and that is that the extracts stating that Ninian Beall slaughtered the Senecas in order to assist the Susquehannocks are wrong as we shall show later. That slaughter if there was such was simply to rid the Province of Maryland of both Senecas and Susquehannocks alike.

1681—Susquehannocks Again Become Fearful of the Mischievous Senecas.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 374 it is set out under the date of June 25, 1681 that a Council held a letter of Colonel Brandt was received saying, "I give you an account of my being at Zachariah Fort where I found the Indians much troubled for the loss of 13 of them being stolen away by the Senecas and in daily fear of being destroyed. Yesterday they say they discovered a Seneca near the Fort. The Senecas laid their corn fields down. I am apt to believe these Indians are not Senecas but Susquehannocks separated into several parties; and the Susquehannocks are not now as friendly as the rest of us."

1681—A Mattawoman Prisoner Who Escaped from the Senecas, Tells of the Condition of the Susquehannocks.

In Vol 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 390, Jackanapes an Indian belonging to the Mattawomans declares that on New Years day he was taken a prisoner by the Senecas from the Mattawoman Fort, that when they came now lately before Zachaiah Fort, he came with them; that about a day or two before they came to the Fort they sent out two canoes, in one 10 Senecas and in the other 10 Susquehannocks and a Piscataway prisoner whom they had taken as guide, with orders to go down the Potomac River and so to Patuxent to hunt for Indians who might be among the English.

And on page 383 of the same book, under the date of June 30, Jackanapes describes the location of the Susquehannocks and others at that date. He says that the Senecas live in four towns at the head of a great River that comes to the Bay (The Susquehanna), that East of them live the Quiaquas supposed to be friends and eight Susquehannocks with them and that East of them the Onondagoes and 14 Susquehannocks with them, farther East on a branch of the River and its source 17 Susquehannocks, and further four towns of Senecas and that where the river and its branches come together is a place of rendezvous of all these Nations.

This shows the southern boundary of New York along its whole length to have been the location indicated.

1681—Maryland Orders No Quarter to be Given to the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 15 of the Maryland Arch., p. 384 under the date of June 30, 1681 instructions are given by Maryland to Captain Brandt as follows: "Since we have certain intelligence that there have been 10 Susquehannocks and 10 Senecas dispatched from this great party down the Potomac, with a prisoner for their guide to try what Indians they can surprise, and since we have certain intelligence that when the Susquehannocks meet either Indians or English they give no quarter, it is appointed that the Northern Indians refuse to treat with Captain Brandt at Zachaiah Fort is out of a design to do him mischief, to prevent this you are to demand:

(1) Ten Piscataway Indians as guides to find those Northern Indians to treat with them;

(2) Secure those Piscataway Indians from all violence;

(3) If foreigners assault you, to defend against it;

(4) Make no peace unless it include the Piscataways and the Mattawomans;

(5) Let the foreign Indians know that we had several murders committed of late, that we know there are 10 Susquehannocks and 10 Senecas sent down to fall upon the English."

All this shows that the Senecas and with them the Susquehannocks are still murdering the English and as we shall soon see are fast drifting into a war with Maryland which turned out very disastrous to the Indians.

1681—The Senecas and Susquehannocks Make Overtures for a New Fort on the Susquehanna River.

In Vol. 17 of the Maryland Arch., p. 4, there is an item dated August 22, 1681 in which the Senecas make it appear that the Susquehannocks show a redress to trust their fortunes again to Maryland. They seem now to be in fear of their old conquerors the Senecas. The item is as follows:—Jacob Young who was a friend of the Susquehannocks and it seems had married a Susquehannock squaw now came (with several Northern Indians, and in behalf of them all), and says: "They desire they may have a house built at the Falls of the Susquehanna River and that they may have the liberty of trading with the English when they come down and if any English desire to go to their country they will be safely conducted."

This request is made by 10 Senecas on behalf of their troop of 300 warriors. This is really a trick on the part of the Senecas to mislead the Marylanders and also the Susquehannocks.

1681—State of the Susquehannocks Among the Five Nations.

In Vol. 17 of the Maryland Arch., p. 5 appears the following information given by the Onondagoes, Senecas and Oneidas who appear before Council and are asked how many Susquehannocks are there among them. They say "There are in all four forts—Onondagoes, 300 men—Oneidas, 180 men—Quiagoes (Cayugas), 300 men—Mohawks, 300—and among these four Nations are some Susquehannocks but how many they can not tell. Some are among the real Senecas and they believe were the Susquehannocks, all together they would make about 100 fighting men. There are 14 Susquehannocks with the Oneidas, 7 with the Onondagoes but the chief of them are with the Mingoes joined to the Sennondonianes, but the chief of them are with

the Cayugas." They also say there is another small nation called the Black Mingoes joined to the Sennondonianes, who are to the right of the Senecas. This shows the scattered condition of the Susquehannocks at this time; part of them were down the river and part of them amongst the various tribes of the Five Nations.

1681—The Iroquois Now Are Very Bold, Etc., And Threaten to Destroy the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 62 of the Jesuit Relation, p. 169 it is reported as follows: "that the utmost efforts must be used to prevent the Iroquois ruining the European Nations as they heretofore ruined the Algonquins, Susquehannocks (Andastes), Loups, Abenaques, and others," as these successers have made them very bold and haughty.

1682—The Senecas Now Make Bold Preparations to Invade Maryland.

In Vol. 7 of the Maryland Arch., p. 270 under the date of May 4, 1682 is an article showing how Maryland tries to defend against the Northern invasions. It is there set forth as follows: "We hope both houses will consider:

(1) That the Piscataways became enemies to the Susquehannocks merely upon the score of Articles of Peace made with Honorable Leonard Calvert, Esq., at first and afterwards by assisting us against the Susquehannocks in the year of 1676. That it is the remnant of these Susquehannock Indians that engage those Northern Indians with whom they are now incorporating to revenge. Thereupon the Piscataways reminding them that they (the Piscataways) formerly killed some Northern Indians at St. Mary's because those Northern Indians had murdered English in Patapsco and other places and rendered the Piscataways suspected of being our friends.

(2) That if we abandon the Piscataways they must incorporate themselves with the Northern Indians and in that case become another engaged enemy with the Susquehannocks against them.

(3) That then no Nation (not even the Northern Indians themselves) will ever trust us more; and the Nanticokes and the Eastern Shore Indians must follow their example and leave us friendless and utterly unable to deal with the skulking enemy who war only by surprise."

Efforts were now being made by the Senecas to bring this about so that a seperate invasion might be made into Maryland.

1682—The Susquehannocks Incite the Senecas to Fall Upon Maryland.

In Vol. 17 of the Maryland Arch., p. 100, the following is set forth as instructions to Colonel Coursey. "There hath been some discourse as if those Northern Indians would be hired to cut off the remnant of the Susquehannocks. If you find any truth in that fail not pursue that point and purchase the peace of this Province from the Senecas by extinguishing that viper's (Susquehannocks) brood that never fails to kill all English whenever they are the greater number in any party and make us feel the effects of war though they live under the shelter of Nations that pretend a peace with us; and be sure to inculcate into the Northern tribes upon all treaties for the Piscataways, showing the northern Indians that we are doing no more in protecting the Piscataways than they do in protecting the Susquehannocks and that they ought in reason to allow us the same liberty that they take to themselves."

It is now evident that the relations between the Five Nations and the English of Maryland were very much strained and liable to produce the flame of war at any time. And this we shall see did shortly happen by Maryland protecting herself.

1682—Colonel Ninan Beall Made Ranger.

In Vol. 17 of the Maryland Arch., p. 72 it was "ordered that six men in arms under the command of Colonel Ninian Beall be commanded out to continue ranging between the head of the Patuxent River and the branches there about, up to the Susquehannock Fort for the discovery of any Indian enemy that may appear."

1682—Ninian Beall's Expedition and Slaughter of Indians at Susquehannock Fort.

From all we can gather is seems that it was about this year that Ninian Beall got into a bloody conflict with the Senecas and Susquehannocks under the Senecas. The writers of Maryland History all take the ground the Beall had this fight with the Senecas to help the Susquehannocks. I do not believe that the real history sustains that. I believe that the Susquehannocks were in enmity at this time as intensely as the Senecas, and all which we have just been citing undoubtedly shows that. There is, however, only small proof that there was a great slaughter and the historical writers take it for granted. They further show their unreliable information by not being able to fix the date. Lewis Evans in his "Analysis" which I have cited before at pp. 11 and 12 says the Five Nations "gave the finishing stroke to the extermination to the Susquehannocks. But Beall in the service of Maryland at the Fort whose remains are still standing on the East side of the Susquehanna about three miles below Wright's Ferry by the defeat of many hundreds had given them a blow which they never recovered of and for this reason the confederates (The Five Nations) never claimed back to the Conewago Falls."

Evans and Ellis in their history of Lancaster County say, "the Government selected Ninian Beall to command the troops (to help the Susquehannocks). At last a commander was chosen who was no coward. He marched with his forces up the left bank of the Susquehanna River to the town and fort which stood on what is now Witmer's farm. Colonel Beall took several small cannon with him. The exact date of the march and the time when the sanguinary battle was fought are not given but it must have been in the year 1675 or 1676. Mr. Johnson in his history of Cecil county placed the period in the year of 1682."

In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 387 in the 22nd of July, 1707 one of the spokesmen of the Conestogas was asked by Governor Evans how long the Indians of that neighborhood were at peace with the Five Nations and the Indian replied 27 years. That would make the date of peace in 1680 and of course the expedition if it was to help the Susquehannocks would have been before the Susquehannocks were at peace with the Five Nations. I believe however, that the answer of the Indian was wrong and that peace was not established before the year 1682.

The best authority we have on both whether there was an expedition against the Five Nations and when it occured is to be found in Vol. 5, Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, pp. 731 to 734. It is there

set forth that a treaty of peace in that year was being made between the Five Nations and the Governor of Maryland and the proceedings of the treaty are there set out at large. At page 734, the Agent for Maryland, Colonel Henry Coursey says, to the different tribes of the Five Nations who were present, "You have killed our horses, cattle and hogs and robbed our houses and killed some of our subjects, whereby we were justly provoked to have made a war upon you, and dispatched away our troops to your country to have revenge for the several mischiefs done to us." He then goes on to tell them at the same time the soldiers went to make the war, he now comes to make peace. This happened the 4th of August, 1682. I would not know what else he could mean by saying that "we dispatched away our troops into your country to have revenge" unless he meant to refer to Colonel Beall's expedition. We have noticed in a former item that Beall was made Ranger at the beginning of the year 1682. I have no authentic proof that Beall had cannon with him or that he slaughtered many Senecas. I do not believe that there was an extensive slaughter and the authorities which I have just quoted would seem to show that Beall was only sent to frighten the Senecas and that before he did much killing peace was arranged. There is only one thing more to add and that is that this was the last warfare between the whites and the Indians on Pennsylvania soil in these early days until the French and Indian war broke out in 1755. This expedition of Beall thus happened a few months before William Penn arrived in his Province.

1682—The Impeachment of Jacob Young.

In Vol. 7 of the Maryland Archives, p. 370 an impeachment against Jacob Young is set forth charging:

(1) That Jacob Young not regarding due obedience which he as one of the people of this Province ought to his Lordship hath endeavored to alienate his affection from the Proprietary and the better to do it did contract marriage and take to wife an Indian woman of the Susquehannock Nation; by whom he had several children one or more of which is now among the Indians and he the said Jacob Young is more concerned for them than is this province:

(2) That the said Jacob Young has so far espoused the interest of the Susquehannocks and other Northern Indians that in 1675 and several years since at Cecil county, even when the said Indians were enemies, did succor aid and assisted the Susquehannocks against the Piscataways:

(3) That the said Jacob Young to show his affection and kindness to those Susquehannocks has often in years and places aforesaid, given out in speeches and declared that the Susquehannocks are an innocent and harmless people and has palliated their rapine and justified their murders:

(4) That while employed by the Province to help bring about peace between the Province and the Northern Indians, causing great outlays of tobacco, Jacob did secretly instigate hostilities to be continued and prevented peace:

(5) That Jacob further declared his adherence to the said Susquehannocks and other Northern Indians by carrying on an oppressive war against the Piscataways on no other account than that the Piscataways did not assist the Susquehannocks in the late war by them made against the Proprietor and did make it his business to move and stir up the

Susquehannocks to make war on the Piscataways; and did take upon him to travel to several parties, to the Susquehannocks then scattered in several parts of Maryland and Virginia and rallying them did encourage them in hostile manner to invade this Province:

(6) And since his imprisonment he gives out that he has so much influence over the Susquehannocks that he can make them do what he pleases; and when he was put in irons he now declares he will have revenge on those who put him in irons."

No comment is needed on this impeachment as it explains itself. One or two points are worthy of notice, to wit: that the Susquehannocks were yet a source of annoyance and terror to Maryland and they evidently had influential friends such as this man Jacob Young and others of a similar standing.

1682—Jacob Young's Answer.

Jacob Young filed his answer to the above impeachment saying:

(1) "That he denies he is an enemy of the Government.

(2) He denies that he married a Susquehannock Indian woman and never had any children by such wife; and never was concerned for the Susquehannock Nation against Maryland:

(3) That in 1675 he did not live in Maryland but in Delaware and was sent for to come to Maryland to interpret for Maryland the Susquehannock language and that he several times at the risk of his life induced the Susquehannocks to be loyal to this Government and to stay within its bounds; and that he persuaded the Susquehannocks that were gone over the Delaware to come back, at great hazzard he sought out the said Susquehannocks and found them." (See 7 Md. Archives, pp. 386 to 391).

1682—Susquehannocks Still Among the Senecas.

In Vol. 17 of the Maryland Arch., p. 110 under date of May 30, 1682 is set forth that "an express from New York brings advise that some hosts of Northern Indians are set out for these parts; and those that already set forth were headed chiefly by the Susquehannocks and other war captains and are ill effected toward the Governor of Maryland. Therefore, to prevent blood-shed and surprise all the military commanders are to have timely notice."

On the same subject there is a letter to Captain Blockhouse found in 17 Maryland Archives, p. 203 which states, "Our humble request is that you will by the first opportunity that comes this way send a power from your hand to us to dispatch away from hence persons that we may employ for our money to present the Northern Indians; which are commanded by the Susquehannocks of whom we have too great cause to fear for their designs against the Christians."

From this we see that the Susquehannocks living among the Senecas were great agitators of strife and kept the Colonists in mortal dread. They had military power and were natural leaders; and are now found commanding and leading forth to pillage bands of other Northern Indians.

1682—Peace Between Maryland and the Five Nations, (Including the Susquehannocks Under Their Control.)

In Vol. 5 of the Second Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, pp. 731 to 739 is set forth an extensive treaty between Maryland and the Five Nations; it is a long treaty and is as follows:

(1) That the parties will keep perfect faith with each other:

(2) That they will not join together so as to overcome the other provides:

(3) That if any Indian among any Christians or any of the Christians living among the Indians commit murder upon the other party that those so committing the murder shall be punished:

(4) That the friendship with the Piscataways shall be kept and that all these provisions will be kept.

This treaty also provides that if either parties have prisoners among them that they will give them up; this includes the Susquehannocks.

1682—The Susquehannocks Indians Meet William Penn.

Rupp in his History of Lancaster County, p. 24, says, "that when the first grand treaty with the Indians" was held that Indians were present "from the shores of the Susquehanna." The same is set forth in Lyle's History of Lancaster County, p. 3.

Mombert in his History of Lancaster County, p. 49 says, "There were at least three Indian tribes present at the great treaty the Lenni Lenapes living near the Delaware; the Mingoes from Conestoga and the Shawanese from the Susquehanna. Penn was accompanied by a few of his friends." Mombert also quotes Janney in saying, "It was near the close of November, 1682, the loftiers on the banks of the Delaware had shed their summer attire, the ground was strewn with leaves, and the Council fire burned brightly fanned by the breeze." He then goes on to tell how the Indians sat at the treaty and of their peculiar dress; that the chiefs were in front of the aged men in the form of a half moon; the young men and aged women and further back the youth of both sexes. He says that Penn was dressed like the rest of his comrades, except he had a sky-blue sash of silk net-work around his waist.

Gordon in his History at page 603 in a note says that the Indians at Conestoga in 1722 showed Governor Keith a roll of parchment containing a treaty which Penn made with them and he says it was the great treaty. He also quotes Mr. R. Cunningham saying that he, Cunningham, discovered an envelope in a bundle of papers relating to the Shawnese Indians with the following endorsement, "Minutes of the Indian Conference in Relation to the Great Treaty made with William. Penn at the Big Tree, Shackamaxon on the 14th of the 10th month, 1682." The papers are not to be found. As further proof that the Conestogas were at Penn's treaty or met Penn at one of the early treaties at Philadelphia, this note sets out that Tawenna a Conestoga chief at a treaty held under Governor Gordon, May 26, 1729 made reply to a speech which he the Indian Chief said Penn had made to them under the Elm tree. Mombert also says at p. 48, citing Watson's Annals that William Penn in 1682 endeared himself to the Indians, and that "he walked with them, sat with them on the ground and ate with them their roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed delight and soon began to show how they could hop and jump, at which exhibition to cap the climax, William Penn sprang up and beat them all." This is given for what it is worth.

Hockwelder in his narrative on the Indians, p. 77, in commenting upon the Paxtung murder of the Conestogas that "they were the descendants of those ancient Conestoga Indians who welcomed him upon this first arrival and presented him with venison, etc." He would therefore

have us believe that when the Indians of the Susquehanna Territory went to the great treaty and welcomed William Penn that they took venison and meat along as presents.

1682—The Susquehannocks Move to Turkey Hill.

Lyle in her history states that in this year the Susquehannocks moved to Turkey Hill on the Susquehanna. Turkey Hill is in Manor Township three miles below Columbia—(See Lyle's History, p. 20). At the same page this history says that this time Penn visited the Susquehannocks. I am inclined to think it was a year or two later; and this history also states that Penn gave them their Indian town of 500 acres in Manor Township about this same time—(See same page Lyle's History).

There is no doubt that there was always a good feeling and amity beeween Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna Indian tribes and without a ripple. On p. 15 of Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records is set forth the treaty with the Susquehannock Indians concerning lands in 1701, and the second paragraph states, "Hitherto there has always been a good understanding and neighborhood between the said William Penn and his Lieutenants since his first arrival in this Province and the several nations of Indians inhabiting in and about the same." This all shows that there was very early friendly communication and general good understanding between the tribes of Indians on the Susquehanna River and the Government of William Penn.

1683—Consultation on Jacob Young's Alleged Conspiracy With the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 7 of the Maryland Archives pp. 475 and 476 it is stated that the following proceeding took place before the Maryland Council relative to Jacob Young. I quote it as follows: "The House find against Jacob Young that in 1677 when Colonel Henry Coursey was empowered by commission from Thomas Notley to go to Albany to negotiate he took Jacob Young as an interpreter, and when Coursey after coming to Albany told Jacob Young that his commission was to conclude a peace Jacob answered that if he had known so much before he came thither that the Susquehannocks were not to be included in the peace he had rather given 20,000 pounds of tobacco than to come along and that in 1682 when the Northern Indians came and besieged the Piscataway Fort, Colonel Coursey and Colonel Stevens sent as agents and Young as interpreter, Young inquired why the Northern Indians came down to war with the Piscataways contrary to treaties which Young was to ask them, the said Young said nothing for some time but afterwards answered that if he had thought he was to have spoken of any such thing he would rather have given 20,000 pounds of tobacco than have come. Since his imprisonment he has said the Susquehannocks are an innocent people and that he can make them do what he will."

The two Houses took this matter up but they finally disagreed about Jacob Young's punishment and, after being imprisoned for some time he was discharged.

1683—The First of Penn's Purchases From the Indians of the Susquehanna River.

The first purchase by Penn of land on the Susquehanna River which I can find is shown by a deed from Kepelappan found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 67. It is as follows: "I, Kekelappan, of Opaiskunk,

for me, my heirs and Assigns, do hereby give and grant unto William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of ye Province of Pennsylvania, etc., his Heirs and Assignes, that half of all my lands betwixt Susquehanna and Delaware, which lyeth on the Susquehanna side; and do hereby further promise to sell unto him at ye next Spring, at my return from huntting, ye other half of my land, at as reasonable rates as other Indians have been used to sell in this River. In witness whereof I have hereunto sett. my hand and seal at Philadelphia ye 10th of November, 1683."

Just to what point the land extends we can not now ascertain but we will notice that the deed recited that it is land between the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, lying on the Susquehanna side, therefore, it is a part of our county now.

It seems that almost as soon as this purchase was made Penn's troubles began with the Five Nations, who as we have seen before were the owners of all this land by conquest, having subjugated the Susquehannocks. They made their dissatisfaction known to Governor Dungan of New York who sent a letter dated the 18th of September. 1683 to the Indian commissioners of New York which may be found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Arch., p. 74 and is as follows: "Gentlemen: I have this day advised with the Councill, and after a serious consideration as a cause of so great Importance require, it is for good and weighty reasons thought very convenient and necessary to putt a stopp to all proceedings in Mr. Penn's affairs with the Indyns until his bounds & limits be adjusted, att ye determining of which I think either to be personally present or else send some person. You are, therefore, to suffer no manner of proceedings in that business, until you shall have positive orders from mee about itt, and Mr. Haige, Esqr., Penn's Agent, is to be acquainted with the contents of this Letter. Gentlemen, I am, assuredly, Your Faithful Servant,

THOMAS DUNGAN.

As this letter plainly shows Dungan says it was necessary to put a stop to all Penn's proceedings with the Indians on the Susquehanna at present. The Susquehannock Indians who sold Penn land here plainly were imposing a fraud upon him, they knew that the Five Nations owned the land and that they had no right to sell it.

1683—Another of Penn's First Purchases From the Indians on the Susquehanna River.

In Vol. 5 of the Maryland Archives p. 402 there is a letter written by William Penn, dated at New Castle, Oct. 16, 1683, which is as follows: "I do hereby declare that I have bought of Machaloha all his land and rights by the Delaware River and the River of Susquehanna and Bay of Chesapeake. And I do warn all persons that they presume not to settle thereon without my leave and that those that actually are or hereafter shall settle upon any part of the same do behave themselves justly and lawfully towards him and his fellow Indians."

Machaloha was one of the inferior chiefs of the Susquehannocks but I am not able to say whether he was a pure Susquehannock or a representative of some of the Northern confederates. But further particulars of this purchase may be found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 67 where this Machaloha under the date of October 18, 1683, in a deed says that he is the owner of all the lands from the Delaware River to the Chesapeake Bay and up to the Falls

of Susquehanna and that he does sell the same unto William Penn and acknowledging that he has received part of the purchase money and that the remainder is to be paid in the Spring. This is delivered in the presence of Edward Cantwell, Lasse Cock and several others.

1683—The Next Step Taken by the Susquehanna Indians About Their Lands.

Something of Penn's manner of dealing with the Indians is told us by Mombert in his History, p. 51, where he says that on one occasion Penn unrolled a parchment and explained the articles of a treaty of purchase and said by these that they would be protected in their lawful pursuits even in the lands which they had given away. Then, says Mombert, Penn laid the roll of parchment on the ground and told them to observe it as a sign that the land should belong to both. That then he took the parchment again and handed it to the Chief and told them that they should keep it safely for three generations so that their children might know what had taken place.

These Indians after having sold Penn two tracts of land above mentioned now sell it all to Governor Dungan of New York. We can not tell whether they did this because they were afraid of the Five Nations or because they wanted to give Penn more trouble. We shall see a little later that the Iroquois demanded that Penn should not settle any white people on the Susquehanna River. Governor Dungan himself tells about his getting possession of the lands on Susquehanna and speaking about the Indians who lived on that river he says, "They have all of them agreed to give Susquehanna River to me and I have it under their hands to show for it. All that I desire of you for my own security is that you will engage in case his Royal Highness be fond of their gift, that you will save me harmless,"—(See Vol. 1 of Penna. Archives, p. 77).

And under the date of October 22, 1683, Dungan writes another letter to Penn and says, "All business goes here to great satisfaction; the Susquehanna River is given me by the Indians by a second gift about which you and I shall not fall out. I desire we may join heartily together to advance the interest of my master and your good friend."—(See Vol. 1 of Penna. Archives, p. 80). Penn had a good deal of reason to be suspicious of these New York transactions. One of his friends John West in a letter dated October 16, 1683, which may be found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 79, writing from New York says," "Your affairs about the Susquehanna land are well effected, though the people of Albany, jealous of their trade much oppose you interest therein; for the particulars of which I refer you to the Commissioners."

A few months later as may be seen by Thomas Dungan's letter to William Penn in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 84 relations were quite strained between him and Penn; and he wrote under the date of March 17, 1684 from New York to Penn and among other things he says, "I fear you coveting your neighbors' lands would do much prejudice, and this I say out of a concern and sense of kindness for you."

We may observe here that Penn did have a great deal of difficulty in getting these lands back and it was not until 12 years later, in 1696; that he succeeded in having them deeded back by Governor Dungan. But this we will notice later.

There can be no doubt that they were conveyed by Dungan from what I have said above but there is an additional evidence in Vol. 4 of the Colonial Records, p. 708 where Canassatego, an orator of one of the Five Nations making a speech in the Lancaster Court House on June 26, 1744 said to the Governor of Maryland, "We are now straitened and sometimes in want of deer and liable to many other inconveniences since the English came among us, and particularly from the pen and ink work which is going on at the table (pointing to the secretaries), and we will give you an instance of this. Our brother Onas a great while ago came to Albany to buy the Susquehanna lands of us, but our brother the Governor of New York, who as we suppose had not a good understanding with our brother Onas advised us not to sell him any for he would make ill use of it; and pretending to be our friend, he advised us, in order to prevent Onas's or any other persons imposing on us and that we might always have our land to put it in his hands and told us he would keep it for our use, and never opened his hands and let it get out. We trusted him, we put our lands into his hands, and charged him to keep it safe for us but he went away to England and carried our land with him and then sold it to our brother Onas for a large sum of money; and when, at the instance of our brother Onas we were minded to sell him some land, he told us that we had sold it already to the Governor of New York and that he bought it from the Governor of New York, and that he had bought it from him in England; though when be came to understand how the Governor of New York had deceived us, he generously paid us for our lands over again."

All this goes to show that about 1683 either through deception or otherwise these Susquehanna lands were put into the hands of the Governor of New York as we have above stated.

Further reference as to the Susquehanna Indians making their title over to the Governor of New York may be found in Vol. 3 of the Col. Records, p. 97, where James Logan while at Conestoga told the Indians that they knew "the Five Nations had long since made over all their rights to the Susquehanna to the Governor of New York." And likewise at p. 101 of the same book he says that the Five Nations had frequently acknowledged that they had sold the Susquehanna lands to Governor Dungan.

Therefore whether this was done for the benefit of Dungan because the Iroquois were angry on account of the petty Susquehanna chieftains having sold a couple small tracts to Penn and thus determined to put it out of their power to do so we can not tell; but at any rate it caused Penn a great deal of trouble to get the title back again.

1683 or 1684—Penn's First Visit to the Indians on and About the Susquehanna River.

By some historians it is taken as proved that William Penn was among the Indians of the Susquehanna River twice, once in 1683 or in the early summer of 1684 just before he departed for England in the Fall of 1684 and once in 1701 immediately before leaving for England the second time. Other historians doubt that the first visit was made.There is no absolute proof that it was made but there is a considerable amount of evidence at hand; and I will now give from the books those facts which are considered proof that Penn visit-

ed these Indians of the Susquehanna River in 1683 or 1684. There is no doubt, whatever about his second visit and that we will take up in its order.

Penn perhaps about 1683 or 1684 sent parties to view the Susquehanna River. In Vol. 19 of the Second Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 13 there is a letter written by William Penn to his cousin William Markham and others, dated 1686, in which speaking of the Susquehanna and land there he shows much familiarity with that river saying, "I hereby order you to take up the most convenient place, that is to say the canoable branch of the West side of Schuylkill about 30 miles from the town (Philadelphia) 10,000 acres for my daughter Gulielma Maria Penn; 'Tis that which goes towards the Susquehanna by which they rode when Ralph Frewell went to view the river."

I quote this simply to show that before Penn left Pennsylvania for England in the Fall of 1684 he sent Fretwell to view the Susquehanna. I shall now adduce some facts which tend to show that Penn hmself followed and investigated the Susquehanna Country for himself.

(1) In Vol. 1 of the Colonial Records, p. 114, under the date of June 11, 1684 it was reported to Council that "Samuel Land's letter was read informing the Governor and Council that Jonas Askins heard Colonel Talbot say that if Governor Penn should come into Maryland he would sieze him and his retaine (retinue) in their journey to the Susquehanna Fort." It was also the same day ordered that William Welch shall take, under oath, the statement of Jonas Askins concerning what Talbott said.

In this it will be plainly seen that Talbot speaks as if it was the custom of William Penn to go to the Susquehanna Fort and it to my mind is a strong proof that Penn prior to this date, 1684 was personally on the Susquehanna River conferring with the Susquehannock Indians.

(2) When Penn put out the prospectuses of his town which he intended to build on the Susquehanna found in Vol. 1 of Hazard's Reg. p. 400 under the date of 1690, he said in the prospectus "that which recommends this settlement is the known goodness of the soil and situation of the land which is high and salubrious, also the pleasantness and largness of the River being clear and not rapid and broader than the Thames at London Bridge many miles above the place intended for this settlement." He also then tells of the timber growing there saying that it is oak, ash, chestnut, walnut, etc.; he speaks of the native fruits which were grapes, pawpaws, chestnuts and others, of the fish and wild animals of the place.

In this he shows such a familiarity of the Susquehanna River as would lead one to think that he actually saw it up to the place where this settlement was to be located, viz.: from the mouth of the Conestoga Creek 15 miles northward. If he did see it before 1690, it must have been before 1684, since as we have stated before he left Pennsylvania for England in the Fall of 1684.

(3) About 1685 William Penn wrote what is called "A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania." This he wrote while he was in England. It was a very rare pamphlet and would sell at an enormous price. It is dated Worminghurst Place, the 12th of the 10th month, 1685. In this account he says speaking upon the seasons, etc., "I have made a discovery of about 100 miles West and

find those black lands richer in soil, woods and fountains than those by the Delaware, especially upon the Susquehanna River."

In this he almost in as many words says that he personally made this discovery and if that is so then he visited this Susquehanna River and the Indians living upon it before 1683.

(4) In a letter which Penn wrote dated the 14th of August, 1683 to the Lords of Trade and Plantations found in Vol 1 of Proud's History, p. 267, speaking of the difficulties which Penn had with Lord Baltimore, he says at page 271, "I sent an express to pray the time and place where I should meet him (Lord Baltimore). I followed close upon the messenger that no time might be lost. I sent three gentlemen to let me know if he would meet me at the head of the Bay of Chesapeake; I was then in a treaty with the Kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met 10 miles from New Castle which is 30 miles from the Bay."

In this it may be said that the treaty he spoke of with the natives for land in this neighborhood about the head of the Chesapeake Bay might indicate that Penn was about the Susquehanna River at that time, there is no absolute proof of this, however. Proud's History in another place tells of him attending Quaker meeting in Upper Maryland on the west side of the Bay before 1684, and there is at least strong likelihood in this that he stopped to see these influential Indians on the Susquehanna River on such trips.

In Vol. 1 of Proud's History, p. 209 is contained an account of Penn's visit to Chesapeake Bay as early as 1683 and attending Quaker meeting there.

(5) In Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals, p. 209, Mr. Watson speaks of Nebowaway an Indian chief of the Delawares. Watson says that this chief's name appears among the signers of the treaty at Conestoga in 1718 and in his childhood he is said to have seen William Penn on his second visit in 1701 (to Conestoga). If Watson considers this visit of Penn in 1701 as the second visit of Penn to Conestoga, he himself believes there was a first visit, which of course was prior to 1701, and as Penn was in England from 1684 to 1700 it likely refers to a visit in 1684.

(6) In Vol. 1 of Proud's History, p. 214 one of the old Conestoga chiefs in 1721 is quoted as saying in the conference held at Conestoga that they never should forget the Counsel that William Penn gave them and that they would always keep it in mind. This may have reference to his early visit up into this Country.

(7) Oldmixon in his history of Pennsylvania in 1706 speaking of Penn's visit says that some time prior to the year of 1685 Penn made a journey into the interior of the Province (See Oldmixon's History in Vol. 5 of Haz. Reg., p. 164). What Oldmixon says is, "Mr. Penn in the year 1683 travelled into the back country to make discoveries, came to a wigwam where the Captain-General of that Nation lived. The Captain happened to be ill of fever and was about to try their usual remedy to cure himself. His wife had prepared a little bagnio like an oven and put several great hot stones on each side of it, which gave the man an extreme sweat while he lay or sat along side the oven." Just what this back country was, we do not know but it would seem likely that he would visit this powerful tribe of Indians on the Susquehanna River.

William J. Buck in his book called "William Penn in America," p. 132 commenting upon this says that the journey was made on horse-back and it may possibly be one of those to which Thomas Fairman alludes as having accompanied him. The particular object was says Buck to become more acquainted with the Province and its natural produce as well as the Indians living therein. From actual observation Buck also says, p. 132 that it is to this journey that William Penn refers when in 1685 he states that he has made a discovery of the fertile lands on the Susquehanna River. This seems to be another proof that Penn visited the Susquehanna River in 1684.

(8) In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 553, under the date of 1712 it is stated that several Indians from Conestoga came to Philadelphia and the war-captain of the Conestogas in his speech said that the Proprietor Governor Penn "had at his first coming among them made an agreement with them that they should always live as friends and brothers." It may be seen that in the words "coming amongst them" this Indian refers to Penn coming up to the Conestoga and Susquehanna and not simply to his coming to Pennsylvania, and as it refers to his "first" it may refer to a visit of 1683 or 1684.

(9) In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, p. 154 it is stated under the date of 1721 quoting a speech again of Captain Civility that "William Penn made a firm peace and league with the Indians in those parts (Conestoga) nearly 40 years ago which has often been renewed and never been broken." And again at page 11 of the same book under the date of 1722, Governor Keith at Conestoga said "the last time that I was with you at Conestoga you showed me a parchment you had received from William Penn," which may again refer to this early visit.

(10) In the American Weekly Mercury of May 30, 1728 where there is an account contained of the journey made by Governor Keith to the Conestoga Indians on a treaty, the report after giving a growing character of the treaty states that the Indians said they "never had such a satisfactory speech made to them since the great William Penn spoke to them hence." This seems to refer to William Penn coming to see these Indians when he first came to his Province likely some time in 1683. An account of this same visit is found in the Colonial Records, and also in Rupp's History, pp. 198-199.

(11) A thing which may be considered somewhat confirmatory of Penn having been about the Susquehanna in 1683 is found in Vol. 1 of Watson's Annals, p. 143. at which place he says that a treaty was made on the 30th of July, 1685 for land to extend two days' journey or as far as a man can go in two days back into the country, which was back to the Susquehanna River, and it is likely that Penn examined this land and knew what it was.

(12) Penn may be referring to the land along the Susquehanna River in his letter to the Free Society of Traders written in 1683, found in Vol. 1 of Proud's History where he says at page 247, "the back lands are generally three to one richer than those that lie by the navigable rivers."

He speaks here as if he saw the back land personally and it is well know that the Susquehanna was not navigable, therefore we give this as one of the items of proof with the others which may show that Penn was among the Susquehanna Indians as early as 1683.

These we consider the chief reasons which prove or tend to prove that William Penn paid the Susquehanna River and its natives the compliment of a personal visit some time in 1683 or 1684. We do not contend that it is absolutely proven but there is much in what we have just quoted to conclude that he was here. He also shows at another place considerable familiarity with this country where he says in the same letter in Vol. 1. of Proud's History, concerning the Indians that, "I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon treaties for land and to adjust the terms of trade." And in the same book, p. 262 as a part of the same letter, he says concerning the location of the Susquehanna that "the Susquehanna tends to the heart of the Province and on both our own land." This may further indicate that he saw the Susquehanna River.

1684 — The Susquehanna Indian Tribes Debauched by the Maryland Rum Sellers.

In Vol. 1 of Proud's History, p. 284 he says that it was about this time (1684) that the laws to prevent liquor being sold to the Indians did not answer the purpose for the English of Maryland in a clandestine manner still procured rum. All that William Penn could do did not help matters very much and much blood-shed occurred because of the drunkenness about the Susquehanna River.

1684— Governor Dungan Gives Penn Advice About Susquehanna Indian Trade.

In Vol. 5 of the Sec. Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 754 is found a report of Governor Dungan dated 1684 in which he says page 755 in reference to the Susquehannocks that "those Indians about 40 years ago annexed their lands to this Government and have renewed the same with every Governor since but I can not get out traders to live upon the Susquehanna River." As to this annexation see p. 33 ante.

Dungan also says, in speaking of the Susquehannocks' land union with New York Indians and Penn's desire to buy the Susquehanna lands, "I can not believe that it was the King's intention to grant away so much of this Government....if therefore his Majesty were pleased to have a line run from 41° 40' in Delaware River to the Falls upon the Susquehanna and let Mr. Penn keep all below that it would be sufficient for him the bounds below it would contain more than all England besides the lower Counties which is near upon 100 miles from the Cape to the River and breadth more than 30 miles."

The New York Governor here thinks it a great mistake that Penn's Province should extend so far as its present boundary and that Indian difficulties arise from this cause.

1684—Dungan Proposes a Fort on the Susquehanna River to Command Indian Trade.

Governor Dungan in Vol. 5 of the Sec. Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 756 says, "to preserve the Beaver and Peltry Trade for Albany and to encourage our beaver hunters, I desire to erect a campagne Fort upon Delaware River in latitude 41° and 40'; another upon the Susquehanna where his Majesty shall think fit that Penn's boundary should terminate; and another at Oneigra near the Great Lake the way where our people go beaver-hunting, it being very necessary for the support of trade and maintaining a correspondence with the Indians."

In this we see that the Governor

of New York was determined on controlling the trade of the Susquehanna Indians for which purpose he wanted the Fort at the Falls of the Susquehanna, and by which means he wanted to take about half of the Province of Pennsylvania.

1684—The Five Nations Oppose William Penn Settling the Susquehanna River, Instigated by Governor Dungan.

In the same book last quoted, p. 753 we are given a glance of what the Onondagoes, Cayugas and others think of Penn's Susquehanna activities. It is there set forth by these two tribes of the Five Nations that they have put themselves and their lands under the protection of the King and have given the Susquehanna River to the Governor of New York; they propose that "Penn's people must not settle under the Susquehanna River." The writer then goes on to say, "my Lord Effingham is desired to take notice that Penn's agents would have bought the Susquehanna river of them, but they would not, but fastened it to the Government of New York; they being a free people uniting themselves to the English,it may forever be in their (Susquehannocks) power to give their lands to what Sachem they please."

It is not difficult to see here how much influence the Five Nations acting with the Governor of New York had in seducing the Susquehannocks away from Penn's interests, thus giving Penn very serious problems to deal with.

As further evidence of the difficulty that William Penn had in buying the Susquehanna lands from the Indians I quote what one of the Five Chiefs said at Philadelphia on July 3, 1727, concerning these purchases in 1683 and 1684. This chief was at Philadelphia with several others and he said that when Penn was at Albany trying to buy the Susquehanna land, he (Penn) said to the Five Nations, 'Well, my brethren you have gained the victory. You have overcome the people and the land is yours. We shall buy them of you. How many commanders are there among you? And being told there were 40, he said: "If you will come down to me I will give each of these commanders a suit of clothes such as I wear,"—(See 3 C. R., 372). From this we see that Penn had to go to New York to deal.

1685—Penn Succeeds in Making Another Land Purchase, Stretching Back to the Susquehanna River.

In Vol. 1 of Watson's Annals, pp. 142 and 143 is set forth a land treaty under the date of the 30th of July, 1685 between Penn on the one part and Shackoppoh, Secane, Malibore and Tangoras, Indian Shackamakers and owners of the land between Chester Creek and Dublin Creek beginning at Conshohookin (Matson's Fort) on the River Schuylkill then to go northwestwardly to the woods to make up two full days' journey, as far as a man can travel in two days, which Watson says extends back to the Susquehanna River and no further at that time in that treaty, the consideration is 200 fathoms of wampum, 30 guns, 60 fathoms of strawdwaters, 30 kettles, 30 shirts, 20 gun belts, 12 pairs of stockings, 30 pairs of scissors, 30 combs, 30 axes, 30 knives, 20 tobacco tongs, 30 bars of lead, 30 pounds of powder, 30 awls, 30 glasses, 30 tobacco boxes, 3 papers of beads, 44 pounds of red lead, 30 pairs of hawks' bells, 6 drawing

knives, 6 caps, and 12 hoes. We can not tell much about the boundaries of this strange sale of lands, but the deed for the same may be seen in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 92. There is, however a letter by Thomas Holmes to the Indians above named briefly describing this land dated the 7th of July, 1688 which may be found in Vol. 3 of the Memoirs of the Historical Society, Part 2, p. 131. As it is connected with this purchase but at the same time contains items falling under 1688, I will notice it at large under the latter date of 1688 to which date the reader is referred for the full particulars under an item entitled, "The Boundaries of the Walking Purchases of 1685 and 1686 extending to Susquehanna River, and the Fixing of the Boundary lines Thereof."

1685—Another Tract Purchased by Penn Which May Extend to the Susquehanna River.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives. p. 95, there is set forth a deed from Petkhoy Kekelappan, Feomus Mackaloha and Packenah and several other Indians for all the land between Duck Creek and Chester Creek along the West side of the Delaware and between the two creeks back ward as far as a man can ride in tw days with a horse for the consideration of 20 guns, 20 fathoms of Matc coats, 20 fathoms of strawdwater, 20 blankets, 20 kettles, 20 pounds of powder, 100 bars lead, 40 tomahawks 100 knives, 40 pairs of stockings, 1 barrel of beer, 20 pounds of red lead, 100 fathoms of wampum, 30 glass bottles, 30 pewter spoons, 100 awl blades, 300 tobacco pipes, 100 hands of tobacco, 20 tobacco tongues, 20 steels, 300 flints, 30 pairs of scissors, 30 combs, 60 looking-glasses, 200 needles, 1 skiple of salt, 30 pounds of shugar, 5 gallons of mollasses, 20 tobacco boxes, 100 juice harps, 20 hows 30 gimlets, 30 wooden borers, and 100 strings of beads.

Two days of horse-back riding would bring one to the Susquehanna River but at what part of the river this land joins it, we cannot tell either to what extent the Susquehanna Indians joined in the deed but we to recognize in it the names of Mackaloha and Kepelappan, who by prior deeds each sold small pieces of land towards the Susquehanna River as the deeds themselves show, for which see ante.

This tract is also similar to the one preceding and therefore Thomas Holmes' letter likely refers to it as well as to the preceding tract for these are both "walking purchases." See under the date of 1688 the letter of Holmes and the other explanations under the title "The Boundaries of the Walking Purchases of 1685 and 1686 Extending to the Susquehanna River, and the Fixing of the Boundary Lines Thereof."

1687—Council Orders that No Offense be Given the Susquehanna Indians.

The first few years of Penn's Government gives us very little on the subject of the Indians of the Susquehanna Country. It is said that they were present at the great treaty at Philadelphia and frequently went to Philadelphia, but there is very little official record of it. However, at the Council meeting on the 10th of May, 1687 it was ordered that "as to the Susquehanna and Schuylkill Indians, we hope such care and diligence will be taken as will give no just occasion for offense." This order was called forth because a letter from the Governor of New York stated there was likely to be difficulty between the

Susquehanna Indians and the New York subjects.

1687—Indian Road or Trail from the Susquehanna River to the Delaware River.

William Penn writing in 1690 says that "three years ago" a road was definitely cut and laid out between Philadelphia and the Susquehanna country which he says is the course the Indians on the Susquehanna took when trading in Philadelphia. He says they also had a way by water going up a branch or tributary of the Susquehanna (which I believe is the Conestoga), thence down a branch which flows into the Schuylkill 30 miles from Philadelphia (which I believe is French Creek). The sources of the Conestoga and French Creek are only a few miles apart and this was likely the Indian course. What Penn says of the trail may be found in Vol. 1 of Hazard's Reg., p. 400. I cite this to show that there were Susquehanna Indian trade activities at this time with the Philadelphia settlement.

1687—Ralph Fretwell's Visit to the Susquehanna Indians.

In Vol. 19 of the Second Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 13 there is a letter from William Penn referring to the Susquehanna Country dated 1687 and in it he speaks of Ralph Fretwell having ridden out to view that river, the Susquehanna. What Fretwell's mission was I can not tell except it may have been connected with the Susquehanna project and it may have been taken before 1687 but we can not tell anything about that. It is quite certain, however, that he had a conference with the Indians in that section for the benefit of the Province of Pennsylvania.

1688—The Boundaries of the Walking Purchases of 1683 and 1686 Extending to Susquehanna River, and the Fixing of the Boundary Lines Thereof.

Under the date of the 7th of July, 1688 Thomas Holmes wrote a letter to the Indian Chiefs who sold to Penn in 1683 and 1686 the land stretching from the Susquehanna River to the Delaware River, which letter may be found in Vol. 3 of the Memoirs of the Historical Society, part 2, p. 131 and is entitled "A letter as to Indian Lands at Susquehanna and the article in which it occurs is called "Indian Treaties for Lands Now the Site of Philadelphia" by John Watson. This letter is as follows: "To My Very Loving Friends: Shakahoppah, Secane, Malibor and Tangoras, Indian Kings, and to Mackecarbo, Wawoan, Tenoughan, Tericha Neson, Haiken, Indian Shackamakers: Whereas I have purchased and bought of you, the Indian Kings and Shackamakers for the use of William Penn all your lands from Pamapeck Creek to Upland Creek and so backward to Chesapeake Bay and Susquehanna two days' journey—that is to say as far as a man can go in two days as under the hands and seals of you the said Kings may appear; and to the end I may have a certain knowledge of the lands backwards and that I may be enabled and be provided against the time for running the said two days' journey I appoint and authorize my loving friend Benjamin Chambers, of Philadelphia, with a convenient number of men to assist him to make out a westerly line from Philadelphia to Susquehanna, that so the said line may be prepared and made ready for said two days' journey backward hereafter when no-

tice is given you, the said Kings.... ....Witness my hand & seal the 7th of the fifth month called July, being the fourth year of the reign of the Great King of England and the eighth of our Proprietor William Penn's Government."

(Signed) THOMAS HOLMES.

In the same book and on the same page John Watson says, "The foregoing is recorded in a large folio in the Land Office at Harrisburg in Book 14, 'Old Surveys and Registry of Land Warrants.' With the same paper is a diagram of the ground plot of the survey. It goes in a direct line from Philadelphia to a spot on the Susquehanna River about three miles above the mouth of the Conestoga Creek near a spot marked 'Fort Demolished.' The lines cross two Indians paths, running each Northwest by North, the first at 15 miles from Philadelphia, at 'Rocky Run' and the other 38 miles distant near 'a rivulet' two miles beyond 'Doe Run.'"

It might be a matter of curiosity at this day to observe and ascertain the precise locality of those primitive roads and passes used from time immemorial by the aborigines probably the only ones so specificially marked in our country.

It will be observed that even before Penn's day there had been a Fort constructed by some Christian people upon the shores of that (Susquehanna) river.

This throws some light on both of the walking purchases and shows that they both extended back to the Susquehanna River. As to these purchases see the Articles under the date of 1685, setting forth these two purchases the one as far back as a man could walk in two days the other as far back as a man could ride in two days, both reached the Susquehanna.

There is a tradition that the Indians were much dissatisfied with a purchase that Penn had made from them to be measured by walking and the objecton that the Indians made was that while it was to be measured in that manner the young Englishmen walked farther and faster than they expected, in fact they complained that they ran or as they put it, "young brother make a big walk." This as we have said before is also another authority on the location of the Susquehanna Fort, to wit: three miles above the mouth of the Conestoga Creek which would place it on the rocky cliffs between Highville and Creswell, a place absolutely inaccessible from the Susquehanna River and being that great rocky bluff over 200 feet high, extending perpendicularly to the edge of the river through which the low grade branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad has recently constructed at the cost at that place of nearly $1,000,000 a mile. When this Fort was demolished can not be ascertained but under the date of 1664 it is stated that "Francis White is by an order of the House gone on a special service for the Province of Maryland to the Susquehannock Fort, etc." See Vol. 1 of the Maryland Archives, p. 511.

This would indicate that the Fort was standing at this time but Holmes says in 1688 it was demolished and it is so marked on his draft. The location of the old Susquehannock Fort has given rise to a great deal of speculation.

That a definite line in 1688 should be run from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna River, to a point 3 miles above the mouth of the Conestoga Creek, to a specific spot "Demolished Fort" is very remarkable and noteworthy. This was only six years after Penn's arrival and before even

Indian Traders from Philadelphia were here. It shows that at that time there were occasional searchings into the woods and that not only the Susquehanna, but also the Forts were well known. Our Indians no doubt journeying to Philadelphia as we see by the Colonial Records they did during and before this year, give accounts of the Glories of the Susquehanna River.

1689 — Rumor that the French and Senecas are Coming to Destroy the Conestoga and Surrounding Settlements.

By the year 1689 it would appear a great change had come over the Five Nations as to their attitude toward the Indians of the Susquehanna country. It seems that the French by this time had won them over from the English. At any rate under this date in Vol. 1 of the Colonial Rec., p. 299 it is set forth that the Governor acquainted the Council that he called the Council together for the particular reason that it was rumored that 8000 French and Indians in conjunction with the Papists were coming toward Conestoga and Maryland and that neighborhood for the purpose of ruining the Protestants in Maryland and Delaware, and that the Sheriffs and Justices of the Counties of Delaware are coming themselves for defense. He further stated that he had received a letter from "Captain Letort, a Frenchman living up the country, agreeing therewith." This rumor first arose in April of 1689 and grew out of two letters sent to the Council by the Justices and Sheriffs of Sussex County, stating there was an intended invasion on Maryland "by Sennekers (Senecas) and French." This latter reference is found at page 277 of the same book. It turned out to be unfounded but it shows the continual fear to which Conestoga was subject. A subsequent article will also show that the Senecas had not drifted from the English to the French but were the friends of the English and our Indians on the Susquehanna and that the only foundation for this rumor was that a company of Senecas had a misunderstanding with the French and intended to come to the Susquehanna to live.

1689—The First French Traders Up Among the Indians of Susquehanna.

At p. 299 of the book cited in the last item we have a reference to "Captain Letort, a Frenchman living up the country." This was the famous James Letort who with his wife Ann were Indians traders along the Susquehanna River. I do not know just where he lived at this time but it is likely that he was among the Indians of this neighborhood because a few years later he was known as an old resident about Conestoga. It is likely too that he had associate traders as early as 1689 because in Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 131 under the date of 1704 it is stated that Martin Charter "has lived a long time among the Shawnese Indians and upon the Susquehanna." And 1698 is not even a long time before 1704. So that we deem it safe to say here that these two were the earliest traders among the Susquehanna Indians. Rupp also says in his history of Lancaster County, p. 53 that Martin Charter had a trading station among the Shawnese at Pequea near Conestoga. As to this man James Letort, while he was a Frenchman it is stated at p. 100 of Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records that he was "bred in it (Pennsylvania) from his infancy," so it appears that he was a

long time in some part of Pennsylvania.

1690—A Commissioner Sent Up to the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Country Indians.

In Vol. 10 of the Colonial Records, p. 334, under the date of 1690 it is stated that Lassie Cock intends to go up the Schuylkill among our Indians and he was instructed to make particular inquiry concerning the ammunition which the few French families had, who lived up on that river. Here again we see the fear of French invasion and the danger of the French weaning our Indians to them at this time. We must also notice that the French were actually living on the Upper Schuylkill and our Indians were very much afraid because of it.

1690—Susquehanna Indians Trading With Philadelphia.

It will be remembered that William Penn in the year 1690 in his prospectus concerning the settlement and a new County on the Susquehanna, which is set out in Vol. 1 of Haz. Reg., p. 400, speaks of the Susquehanna Indians trading with Philadelphia at this time and prior by means of a branch of the Susquehanna River which lies near a branch of the Schuylkill. We have spoken of this before but I quote it now merely for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that there was Indian trade at this time west to the Susquehanna River; its common course by water was up the Conestoga to its source then three or four miles over-land to the source of French creek then down French creek to the Schuylkill and down the Schuylkill. William Penn speaks of it as follows, saying that this was the "common course of the Indians with their skins and furs into our parts and to the Province and East and West Jersey from the Western parts of the continent, where they bring them." He also says that they had a more direct course "laid out between the two rivers very exactly and conveniently at least three years ago." All this goes to show that the Susquehanna tribes of Indians were trading at this date with Philadelphia.

1690—Campanius on the Minquas and Other Indians of the Susquehanna.

We have spoken before under a much earlier date (as early as 1640 to 1650) of the trade which Old Campanius says existed between the Susquehannocks and the Swedish settlements. He wrote however, about the year 1690, and from his writings we infer that what he said existed earlier continued at this latter date and for a particular description of it the reader is referred to ante, p. 26.

1690—A Branch of the Senecas At Enmity With the French Design to Come to Susquehanna and Live.

In Vol. 8 of the Maryland Archives, p. 181, there is a letter from Jacob Young to Hanns John Good, Commander-in-Chief of Maryland, near the Potomac in which he says:—"Sir I have no great matter further than this at this time. There are at my house 14 Chinockes (Senecas), and they tell me they have cut off the principal place of Canada, except the place where the Government doth reside. They likewise tell me they have at the fort they belong to Unandake (Onondago) above 100 prisoners of the French and the rest of the posts have rather more. These Senecas came from their own country about the last of April and their intent is to settle among the Susquehanna Indians here upon the Susquehanna River for there are some of

every fort of the Senecas coming down to them and they tell me that their great men will be down very shortly. I do desire your Honor's instructions what I may do with them as soon as possible you can. Nothing else at present but my services to your honor, I am yours to command," (Signed) Jacob Young.

I believe from this it will be plain to see the Sheriffs and Justices of the counties of Delaware were entirely mistaken in their report that 9000 French and Senecas were coming down to destroy the settlements at Conestoga, on the Susquehanna and through Maryland. I believe that this article explains it fully that it was nothing more or less than these Senecas coming down among our Susquehanna Indians; and also that it is not true that the French were with them but these Senecas plainly show they had severed friendly relations with the French and because of the enmity between them and the French large numbers of them intended to settle on the Susquehanna among the English. We also see here how exaggerated the reports of Indians invasions were likely to become, the actual coming of a couple of dozen was rumored to be 9000. It shows to us very clearly the nervous and fearful life the early Colonists lived.

1690—The Senecas and Susquehanna Indians Want to Confirm Peace With Maryland

In Vol. 8 of the Maryland Archives, p. 207 there is a letter from Mr. Neal Blakiston to the Governor of Maryland in which he says that the Piscataway Indians complain that their men are being killed in Maryland and they think that the Susquehannocks are doing it. The letter then proceeds to say, "The Indian Convention for this Province is to meet at St. Mary's the 29th. When there we expect to see some of the Senecas and Susquehannocks who have sent to the Governor expressing their desire to treat with us and to confirm the former league of friendship to which the Committee return them a very amicable answer signifying our readiness to embrace and ratify the same; and in case they could not afford us an interpreter, then a time is to be fixed and a place is to be appointed for that purpose, and we will furnish an interpreter."

This amicable spirit of the Susquehannocks shows itself quite plainly here.

1692—An Indian Expedition Up the Susquehanna.

In Vol. 8 of the Maryland Archives, p. 343, there is a letter dated July 18, 1692 which is written by John Thomas to Mr. George Ashman and it is as follows: "I have been up at Captain Richardson's this very day with 16 horse and we were going up to Mr. Thurston's hut, I was very well informed that the Indians were gone away up the Susquehanna, and they were peaceable and did nobody any harm and very friendly they were. But later the Indians did fire off several guns at the hogs and killed some of them." From this it appears that Maryland Indians were journeying back and forth in business intercourse with the Susquehannocks.

1692 — Testimony Concerning the French Among the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 8 of the Maryland Archives pp. 517 and 518 there appear certain depositions taken before the Council of Maryland on the subject of improper friendliness between the French and the Susquehannock Indians. It is there stated that Captain

Herman and Jacob Young were called and examined and they say that the Susquehannock Indians now brought down declared that they know those other Indians at the head of the Bay to come from the Southward and are called the Stabbernowle; and that generally all the Indians in their parts know them to be the same; then the Frenchmen and Indians were called in, viz: one Susquehannock and another a King of the Southern Indians. Demand was made of the Susquehannock Indians how long the Frenchmen have been among them. The Susquehannock Indians said, "When those strange Indians went Northward then the Frenchmen came to them nearly two years and have since been traveling toward the Southward before they found a convenient place of setting down and there they lived three years. The Seneca woman told him, the said Indian, that a Frenchman about five years ago ran away from the Northern Indians to the Southern Indians being reduced to a small number and as it were newly grown up, they desire the power of the Governor and Council that they may have liberty to come and settle upon their own lands and the Susquehannock Fort and to be taken and treated as friends and have liberty to come among the English without molesttation."

It was answered that their fort, as they called it falling within the limits of another government, viz: Pennsylvania, this government can take no notice thereof and if as they pretend they are in league with the Mohawks, our friends, we shall not disturb them as long as they live peacebly.

It was then decided as far as the Susquehannock Indians were concerned that they may continue at their fort and as they are inclined to enter into a league with us there, may be some of their great men may come down to confirm the same, and if they do they shall be kindly treated, and then also must make choice of some great man to preside over them as Captain Civility formerly did and as they now desire. Then the interpreter asked the Susquehann Indians, since the Government have declared their opinion concerning the strange Indians what nation they were of; and the Susquehanna Indians replied that there are two parties of them, one going to the Northward, designing to join the Senecas in their war, and those here who have desired to settle among us and be at peace and are called the Stabbernowle Indians."

The whole tenor of this interview shows that there is a pretty sound peace now established between the Susquehanna Indians and Maryland and also between them and the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. It must be remembered however, at this time there were no Pennsylvania inhabitants in and about Conestoga except the one or two traders of whom we have already spoken.

1693—The Letorts Suspected of Disaffection Against the English

In Vol. 1 of the Colonial Records, p. 396 under the date of 1693 is set for an information against Ann Letort who several weeks before the date of the complaint had some conversation with an Indian King who resented the unkindness of the English and said that the English would soon all be driven out and that the French were making overtures to the Pennsylvania Indians again for the land and will take it from the English. This Indian King said that

Peter Bassillion and Madam Letort told him this and that they were interested in helping the French.

The information further sets forth that about a year before strange Indians came to Letort's plantation and would not tell anything about their business; at another time Anna Letort said that there was no path for the Swedes and English rogues through the country near her house and she also ran and got a horse whip and lashed one of the men and called for others to help her. This complaint also states that about a year ago Bassallion and Mrs. Letort sent a lot of letters to certain strange Indians.

As a result of the complaint Mrs. Ann Letort was brought before Council to make an answer and it appeared that she and her husband and some other Frenchmen were rather dangerous.At any rate the next month a warrant was issued out against her and Bassillion and several others to come and stand trial. At the hearing she denied everything and she was left off rather easy.—See (C. R., p. 435.)

I cite this in connection with Lancaster County Indian affairs because Ann Letort and her husband lived mostly at Conestoga; and Peter Bassallion did part of the time. As to Bassallion see 2 C. R., p. 186. The purpose of the article is to show simply how much care was required to prevent the French from weaning away our Indians in this neighborhood.

1694—The Delaware Indians Visit Philadelphia.

I speak of the Delaware Indians as a tribe of the Susquehanna Country because as we shall show later (2 Col. Rec., p. 469) they moved from the Schuylkill River to the Susquehanna River in 1709. They were the Indians who after Braddock's defeat did the murdering and scalping about Carlisle and Shippensburg and other central points of Pennsylvania.

In 1 C. R., p. 447 under the date of 1694 eight of the Delaware chiefs visited the Council at Philadelphia and represented to the Council that the Five Nations especially the Senecas had sent them, the Delawares, a belt of wampum, stating that "you Delaware Indians do nothing but stay at home and boil your pots and are like women, while we, the Onondagoes and Senecas go abroad and fight against the enemy." They further complain that the Senecas want them to be partners to go and fight against the French, but they say that they, the Delawares are peaceful Indians and do not intend to go, and are going to the Indians of the Susquehanna river which River they afterwards made their home.

1694—Two Susquehannock Indian Chiefs Visit the Council.

In Vol. 1 of the Colonial Records, p. 448, it is stated that at three o'clock on the 6th day of July, 1694 it was decided to send the belt back.

This is sufficient to show the relation of these Delaware Indians with Lieutenant Governor Markham; and his Council were acquainted that Kyanharro and Oriteo two Susquehanna Indians present and had something to say and in replying could not be understood, and desire Menanzes to speak for them.

Their message to Council was that a certain Indian come from the Cayugas to the Susquehanna's (Kyanharro's) house to see him, and that on the way they had to fight the Titwas or naked Indians. And the Susquehanna King desired that the Government would allow these visiting Indians to live with at Susquehanna

under protection.

1694—The Five Nations Desert the English; and Join the French, and Want to Compel the Susquehanna Indians and Other Pennsylvania Indians to Desert Also.

Under the date of the 23rd of May 1694, in Vol. 1 of the Colonial Records, p. 459 is set forth a statement of Governor Benjamin Fletcher, who at this time was Governor of Pennsylvania as well as New York, the King of England having taken the Government out of Penn's hands) to the effect that "the Five Nations were now debauched to the French interests and are entering into a league with the Governor of Canada." Fletcher then says, "I must assure you that our Indians here will be compelled to join in this fatal confederacy."

Nothing need be added to this except that consequences of a very serious nature are about to befall the Indians of the Susquehanna River; and that they are now evidently between the Devil and the deep sea.

1696 — Susquehannocks, Senecas and Shawnese Now All at Peace with Maryland.

It would seem that the defection of the Five Nations to the French did not last very long because at this date only two years later it is stated in 19th Maryland Archives, p. 319 at a Council held in Maryland, that "Colonel Herman acquaints the House that the Senecas, Susquehannas and Shawnese Indians have desired peace with this Province and also that they might be in league and trade with us."

So here it appears that at least the Senecas, if not all of the Five Nations want both peace and trade arrangements with the English in Maryland.

The same facts are noticed in the proceedings of the Assembly of Maryland, in Vol. 19, of the Maryland Archives, p. 363 where it was "resolved that his Excellency the Governor be acquainted that this house have discoursed with Colonel Herman, who acquaints them that the Relique of the Senecas and Susquehannas with the Shawnese had desired peace with this Province, and that they might be in league and trade here; and that the House desires of his Excellency, if he think it may be beneficial to this Province to enter into peace with them."

1696—Letort and Bazallion, the Susquehanna River Indian Traders, Also Operate in Maryland.

In Vol. 20 of the Maryland Archives, p. 470 is set forth a part of a letter from William Markham, Governor of Pennsylvania to the Governor of Maryland as follows: Sir:— Upon a copy of what Colonel Herman gave unto your Excellency and Council, I shall require security for Bassallion and Letort, though I know will still be uneasy until he gets all the Indian trade himself. I have known Colonel Herman a long time and that he trades for himself in the Susquehanna is better known than trusted. I enclose to your Excellency what I found among cast away papers. Bassallion was in equal partnership with Petit and Sallway, though it went in only their own names, Bassallion coming in after the other had forwarded for the voyage and after the cargo was overthrown, I demanded the left cargo and Bassalion had one-third. As to Letort, he is a Protestant, was sent over in the year 1686 with a considerable cargo and several French Protestants to settle 30,000

acres of land up the Schuylkill that they had bought from William Penn and that is the place he lives at. Other houses were built and families settledthem that he brought with him, but being so far up in the country they deserted him. This Letort was going for England in the ship with Governor Hamilton but he was taken. Letort was carried to Tholoun and narrowly escaped the galleys but after a long and hard usage got into England, where he became acquainted with theWest Jersey Company and they understanding that his house stood upon the Schuylkill upon a convenient place for trade with the Indians contracted with him to trade for them there; and wrote to their agent to supply him with goods. It is not many days since that he went to Burlington to make up his account with the agent, intending to soon as conveniently can for England. Governor Hamilton will give a very good account of him."

This letter by Markham makes clear where this famous James Letort lived before he moved to Conestoga, and it also shows that his trade as well as Bassallion's extended over a wide territory all the way from the Schuylkill to the Susquehanna and even to the Potomac.

1696—Governor Dungan Leases Back to Penn the Land to Dungan by the Susquehannock Indians.

In Vol. 2 of Smith's laws, p. 111 it is stated that the deed from the Indians to Governor is not known to exist. We have, however, shown that all this Susquehanna land was sold by our Indians to Dungan about 1684. Now during a lapse of 12 years Dungan as we have shown in the former article held the lands only in trust for the Indians; and now at their direction he first leases them to Penn for 1000 years and then sells them to him absolutely. This lease is found at page 121 of Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, and is as follows:

"THIS INDENTURE, made the twelfth day of January,Anno Dom., 1696, and in the Eighth Yeare of the reigne of our Sovereign, Lord William, the Third, King of England; between Thomas Dongan, late Governor of New York and now of London, Esq., of the one part, and William Penn, Governor of the Province of Pensilvania in America, of the other part Witnesseth that the said Thomas Dongan, for and in consideration, of the sum of one hundred Pounds of lawful money of England to him in hand paid, by the said William Penn, the right whereof is hereby acknowledged, HATH demissed and granted, and by these presents doth demise and grant unto the said William Penn, ALL that Tract of Land lyeing upon, on both sides of the River commonly called or known by the name of the Susquehanna River and the Lakes adjacent, in our near the Province of Pennsylvania, in America, Beginning at the mountains or head of the said river, and running as far as and into the Bay of Chesapeake, with all Isles, Islands, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Fishings, Hawkings, huntings, Fowlings, and all other Royalties, profits, comodityes and hereditaments unto the same belonging which the said Thomas Dungan lately purchased of or had given him by Sinneca Susquehanna Indians and also all the lands, hereditaments, Isles, Islands, Rivers, Royalties, mines, minerals, lakes, waters, profitts, priviledges, and apputenances, whatsoever lyeing on both sides of the Susquehanna River, and near adjoining thereto, which he the said Thomas Dungan did, at, any

time purchase, or which were at any time given unto them by the said Indians, or any of them. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, unto the said William Penn, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, from the day of date hereof, for and unto the end and Term of One Thousand years, PAYING unto the said Thomas Dongan, his Executors and Administrators, yearly, and every year on the First day of St. Mitchell, the Arch Angell, the rent of a pepper Corn, if the same shall be lawfully demanded to the intent and purpose that by force and virtue of these presents and of the Statute for transferring of uses into possession, the said William Penn may be in the actuall possession of the premisses, and may thereby be the better enabled to attempt and take a grant, release or other Conveyance, of the revercion and inheritance thereof, to the use of Himself, his heirs and Assigns forever. IN WITNESSE whereof the said parties as Duplicates to the other Indentures of the same contents and are herewith sett their hands. Seales Dated the day and year first above written.

THOMAS DUNGAN, (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered, being first Stampt according to Act of Parliiant in ye presence of

SAM. VAUS,
FR. HARDING,
WM. SPRINGETT."

1696 — Governor Dungan Now Deeds Back to Penn Absolutely, the Lands Sold to Him in Trust by the Susquehannocks.

The reason that the Governor first leased these same lands to Penn was to meet an old law, which required that in order that a perfect estate might be taken by a purchaser should first have a lease hold in the same. At least it is so stated in the lease and deed which we are now considering. The deed of this Susquehanna Country may be found in Vol. 1 of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 122, as follows:

"THIS INDENTURE made the Thirteenth day of January, Anno Dom., 1696, and in the eighth year of the reign of our Soverign Lord, William, the Third, King of England, etc., BETWEEN, Thomas Dongan late Governor of New Yorke, and now of London, Esq., of the one part, and William Penn, Governor of the Province of Pennsilvania, in America, of the other part, WITNESSETH that the said Thomas Dongan, for, and in consideration of the sum of One Hundred Pounds of lawfull money of England, to him in hand paid, by the said William Penn,the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, HATH granted, Enfeffoed, released, and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, enfeoffe, release and confirm unto the said William Penn, and his heirs, ALL that Tract of land, lyeing upon, on both sides of the river commonly or known, by the name of Susquehanna River, and the Lakes adjacent in or neare the Province of Pennsylvania in America, beginning at the Mountains or head of the said river, and running as far as and into the Bay of Chesapeake, with all Isles, Islands, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Fishings, Hawkings, Huntings, Fowlings, and all ther Royalties, profitts, comodities, and hereditaments, unto the same belonging, which the said Thomas Dongan lately purchased of, or had given him by the Sennica Susquehanna Indians, and, also all the lands, hereditaments, Isles, Islands, Rivers, Royalties, Mines, Minerals, also Lakes, Waters, profits, priviledges and appertences, whatsoever belonging on both sides of the Sus-

quehanna River, and near and adjacent thereto, which he the said Thomas Dongan, did at any time purchase, or which were at any time given unto him by the said Indians or any of them which said islands and premises are in the possession of the said William Penn, by virtue of a lease thereof, for One Thousand years, bearing the date of the next day next before the date hereof, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, to the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes to the only use and behooffe of the the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, AND the said Thomas Dongan for himself, his heirs, Executors, and Administrators, doth Covenant, promise, grant and agree to and with said William Penn, his heirs and assignes by these presents, that he the said Thomas Dongan, and his heirs, all and singular, the said Lands and Premises, with the appurtes unto the said William Penn and his heirs, against the said Thomas Dongan, his heirs and Assigns and all other person and persons, having or claiming to have or claim from by or under him, them or any of them, and also against all and every the Senneca, Sasquehanna Indians, shall and will Warrant and forever defend. IN WITNESS whereof the said parties have to these present Indentures, by Certificates to the other Indentures of the same intents and date herewith interchangeably sett their hands and seals, dated the day and year first above written.

THOMAS DONGAN,

Sealed and delivered, being first Stampt according to Act of Parliament, in ye presence of

SAM. VAUS,
WM. SPRINGETT,
FR. HARDING."

1697 — Erroneous Belief that the Shawnese Indians Came to Pequea in this Year.

It is generally stated that the Shawnese came to Pequea in 1697 from the South but as we have shown before this is the wrong date. They came here in 1678,—See on this same subject Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives. p. 312 and Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, p. 441.

1697—Steelman Goes as Spy to Susquehanna River: Only 40 Original Susquehannocks Left.

In Vol. 19 of the Maryland Archives p. 519 it is set forth as part of the proceedings of the Maryland Assembly that "the Speaker attended by the whole House came and Captain Hans Steelman being called into conference was required to give an account of what he has done pursuant to the order of the Council given him in charge; and he says that according to the order he went to the Susquehannocks and other Indians at the head of the Bay; that the Delaware King and the Chanhannan King would have come along with him, but that their great men were gone abroad a hunting and because he understood that the rest were willing to come down about a month hence, he did not bring them with him.

He reports that at Carristauga (Conestoga) the Susquehanna and Seneca Indians have about 40 young lusty men besides women and children; that the Sheavana (Sawnese) Indians being about 30 men besides their women and children, are living within four miles of Carristauga lower down and submit themselves and pay tribute to the Susquehanna Indians and the Senesas.

He says that the Delaware Indians live at Ninguannan about nine miles

from the head of the Elk River and 15 miles from Christiana and 30 miles from Susquehanna River, and are about 300 men and are tributary to the Senecas and Susquehannocks, 50 of them being at Nuiguahannan and the rest upon Brandywine and Upland Creeks.

He says that the Susquehannocks, Delawares, and Shawnese do take themselves to be and are inclinable to be under this Province because of their hunting within the same betwixt the Susquehanna and the Potomacs; and finally he says that too many people trade with these Indians,"—See also pp. 565 and 566.

1698—The Ganawese Indians Ask Permission to Settle In Pennsylvania.

In Lyle's History of Lancaster County, p. 11 it is stated that this year the Ganawese Indians went to Philadelphia to obtain permission to settle in Pennsylvania. This date seems to be a year or two earlier than the correct date. In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 191 under the date of 1705 it is stated that "five years ago the Ganawese or Piscataways settled in this Province near the head of the Potomac. Here they just had settled with the consent of the Proprietary and that the Conestoga Indians at that time became a guarantee for the good behavior of the Ganawese but later in the year of 1705 these Ganawese asked to move to another part of Pennsylvania."

Miss Lyle in her History also says that the Ganawese settlement was about Washington Borough,—See p. 12.

1698—Chalkley's Visit to the Indians in These Parts

Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker preacher in his collection of works printed by James & Johnson in Philadelphia in 1790, p. 16 says that he went about the head of the Chesapeake Bay and from there to George Fruit's house; and that with this friend he went to an Indian town not far from his friend's house because he had a desire to see these people, having never seen any of them before. I do not undertake to say, however, that it was the Susquehanna Indians that he visited, there being several tribes along the Bay. Chalkley in the same year made another trip of which he tells us at page 23 of his works, saying that he travelled from Philadelphia to Maryland and visited friends on the western shore. Therefore he likely came through the Susquehanna Country and most certainly did if he reached the Western shore by going around the head of Chesapeake Bay instead of crossing it.

1698—The Location of the Susquehanna Remnant Determined.

In Vol. 22 of the Maryland Arch., p. 50 a proceeding is set forth as follows: "It is proposed that the Assembly advise whether the Susquehannock Indians where they now live be within the bounds of the Province of Maryland or not,—(Md. Archives, 14). And it was decided that as to the Susquehannock Indians it is concluded they are not within this (Maryland) Government; and as to the method of holding an Assembly, the House do not think fit to draw up a method,"—(Do. p. 39). It was also proposed "that the house should give some answer whether they think it necessary that the Government of New York should be sent to about the Indians and if they are of opinion that the Susquehannock Indians do not live within the bounds of the Province of Maryland, his Excellency will have nothing to do with

them since the House are not willing that an ordinance should be passed against such persons as entice people out of the Province. Therefore this Board do quit themselves of inconvenience and danger that may appear."

Here we see that the Susquehannock Indians or the remnant of the tribe are again on the Susquehanna River north of the Maryland line.

1698-Maryland Again Makes a Treaty With the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 22 of the Maryland Arch., p. 168 the following note of a treaty is set forth, being a proceeding in the Assembly: "This House have read the treaty made with the Indians at the head of the Bay by Colonel Thompson and others and do conceive that the Shawnese came from the Southward and not in any ways belonging to the Government of New York; and the Susquehannock Indians are at their old habitation supposed to be without the limits of this Province and that this House has no assurance of any nation of Indians at the head of the Potomac."

The treaty referred to as made by Colonel Thompson included the Susquehannocks.

1699—An Embassy Sent to Susquehanna.

In Vol. 2 of the Maryland Arch., pp. 422 and 423 a report is given of a session of the Assembly of Maryland wherein it is stated, "The Commissioners think it necessary that James Frisby, Esq., or one of his Majesty's council should be called and also the members of the Burgesses of Baltimore County with what other persons shall be thought fit to be dispatched with all convenient speed to the Susquehanna Indians to see if they will ratify and confirm the league already made with them to enter into such further articles as may be proposed to them: and as to the Piscataway Indians which are daily expected to come and settle amongst us, if they should not come in before the return of the messengers to the Susquehanna Indians, that the Governor shall use such measures as he thinks fit."

In this we see it is true that the Piscataways or Ganawese Indians were moving their home about this time; and this corresponds with what we have quoted from the Colonial Records and other sources.

1699—An Act Proposed to Secure the Frontier of Maryland from the Invasion of the Susquehannocks.

In Vol. 22 of the Maryland Arch., pp. 509 and 510 under this date is set forth an Act of Assembly to protect the frontiers of Maryland and it is as follows:—

"Whereas there has been a murder committed by Indians on the frontier plantations of Potomac River within this Province; for the prevention of the like for the future:

Be it enacted, etc., that Colonel Ninian Beall and Captain Richard Ownes with twelve troopers and six foot soldiers do range in and about the frontier plantations for the security thereof, so long as his Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor and Council; and the committee hereinafter appointed shall see convenient to continue the said rangers and that the said rangers shall be allowed the sum of 2 Shillings and 6 Pence for each trooper per day, they finding themselves horses, arms and provisions; and that the two commanders be paid in money proportionate the same rate; and that Thomas French provide for the rangers the quantity of 600 weight of pork and 1000 weight

of bisket to be deducted out of the pay, and the said rangers and foot soldiers to be levy-free during service, and they shall duly range and in case any be found to straggle and not perform their duty they shall lose three days' pay:

And finally, James Finley, Colonel Adderson Thompson and John Hale and what other persons they think fit be dispatched with all convenient speed to the Susquehanna Indians to ratify and confirm the league formerly made with them and to enter to such further articles as by his Excellency, the Governor and Council and the committee hereinafter appointed shall propose to them that a present be given to the said Susquehanna Indians and the said committee join with his Excellency, the Governor and Council in advising such measures as will suppress any violence as may be offered this province by the Indians, after the breaking up of the present Assembly."

1700—An Objection Made to the Bill for Defending Maryland.

In Vol. 24 of the Maryland Archives, p. 24 under this date the bill for the security of Maryland being read. Objection was made against the whole bill, that his Excellency had lately made a peace with the Indians "whether it was not more reasonable upon the renewing of the peace, instantly to withdraw the rangers and let the Indians have the assurance that we design firmly to observe our promise and expect the same observance from them; and to give no occasion to diffidence and to leave the disposal of the fort to them; to do them all the right they can by letting them quietly enjoy their land; to secure the friendship of the Susquehannocks and the Eastern Shore Indians—and it was carried by a majority of voices against the bill."

Here we see that one party believed that the Susquehannock friendship would be more securely obtained by withdrawing all troops and not allowing the rangers in the disputed territory at all; so the bill was defeated.

1700 — An Act for Quieting the Differences Between Maryland and the Indians.

In Vol. 24 of the Maryland Archives, pp. 102 and 103 is set forth an Act of Assembly by Maryland as follows:

"Whereas, differences have and may arise and grow between the English and the Indians which for the want of a speedy way of delivery the same may make great changes and ill conveniences, have and may happen therefrom by controversey being brought from the remotest parts of the Province to be heard and testified before the Governor and Council, the great trouble of the persons concerned.

Be it enacted that the persons in the Act hereinafter mentioned and appointed be and hereby authorized and empowered to hear and determine all matters of controversey whatsoever that may arise or happen between the English and the Indians in private or personal controversey not exceeding the value of twenty Shillings, that is to say.....for the Susquehannock, Shawnese and Delaware Indians and others on those frontiers, Col. John Thompson and Edward Blay be and hereby authorized to hear and determine any such matters and when judgment thereon is given, either party refusing to perform the same the other party by way of distress take into his custody the goods and chattels of the offended and out of the same make full satisfaction to the party which was

wronged, at the discretion so authorized and the over-plus returned to the owner."

1700—An Order to Treat the Susquehannock Indians With Respect.

In Vol. 25 of the Maryland Arch., pp. 104 and 106 there is set forth the following: "Pursuant to an order of his Excellency, dated May 9th, requiring these persons at the head of the Bay to treat with the Susquehannocks, Shawnese and Delawares as soon as possible and to proceed; thereupon notice was given by one of the persons appointed to John Hans to acquaint the said natives, the Susquehannocks, Shawnese and Delawares, that on some certain time as soon as possible to meet us at John Hans's house, then there as well to communicate what by this Government was given us in charge as to receive what by their Kings and Great men they had to communicate to us; at the day and place, to wit: the 28th of August 1700, we the said persons and one of the interpreters between five and six o'clock in the evening, it being late we first refreshed ourselves, and acquainted those Indians that were then present, the Shawnese' and Delawares' Kings together with their Great men, that tomorrow morning we should proceed on our said treaty; they seemed very willing so we gave them some drams and they shook us by the hand; and we went to our repose.

August 29, it being eight of the clock we, the persons nominated acquainted the said Indians that we would proceed upon the treaty and accordingly we took our places, when were present Ocahale, King of the Delaware Indians and his Great men with his interpreter, Captain Hagrup; and Ophesaw (Opessa), King of the Shawnese Indians with Boschaccus his interpreter, together with his Great men; whereupon our interpreters, John Hans and Christian Mounts being sworn both to receive and truly deliver and honestly to interpret. The Susquehannocks King not being personally present but only his great men, we showed ourselves much disappointed by reason of his absence, acquainting them that we expected him to be present as well as the other Kings; but one of the great men named Cassawetoway allias "Indian Harry' has the English tongue very fluently, begging his excuses, acquainted us that two other Kings, Kindowagahaw and Sawwaydoggohay (Seneca Kings) were come to give him a visit and that for these reasons he could not possibly attend but ordered him with the rest of the great men to give their attendance to hear what we had to communicate to them and what they enacted in that behalf should be confirmed by himself.

Then we acquainted them that we were very glad to see them here and that if the King together with the other Kings had come to us, we would have kindly received and entertained them, which they took kindly.

We proceeded to acquaint them that our coming and calling of them was to ratify and confirm the treaty of friendship they had already entered into with us and several other articles herewith sent which being consented to and signed by the several nations. We gave them nine match coats and 40 yards of printed dimity equally distributed among them, the more firmly to oblige them to the stricter performance of these articles, now made, ratified and confirmed.

We further inquired of them whether any neighboring Indians were desirous of entering into friendship and amity with us and the said In-

dians, answered that at present there were not any they knew of; and so we concluded with the Indians and drank the King's health. Dated at John Hans' this 29th day of August, 1700. The Indians in token of their affection presented the Government with 15 undressed deer skins."

"Signed by us:—

JAMES FRISBY,
JOHN THOMPSON,
EDWARD BLAY."

"On the same day we proposed to the Susquehannocks, Shawnese and Delawares the following questions:

(1) Whether they are willing still to confirm that former peace and amity made with us; to which they answered that they were all very willing and we entered into a general amity and peace with them for this Province that shall stand firm and good forever.

(2) Whether they are willing if any other Indians should commit any injuries upon the inhabitants of this Province that they should be answerable for them and to this they replied that it is just and reasonable; and that they would be accountable.

(3) Whether they are willing upon any hurt or damage committed or acted by any neighboring Indians to any persons of this Government to assist and help us. To this they answered they were not only willing but would also pursue and take if possible them or any of them and bring them to be dealt with all as the Government shall think fit. Whereupon they shook hands with us in a token of sincerity of their affection and they have set their hands and seals to this instrument this 29th of August, 1700.

THE DELAWARE KING, His Mark X
KING OF SHAWNESE, His Mark, ll.
MARK OF SUSQUEHANNOCKS, -1-.

1700—The Above Mentioned Treaty Confirmed in the Maryland Assembly.

In Vol. 24 of the Maryland Arch., p. 151 it was ordered that the treaty made with the Susquehannock, Delaware and Shawnese Indians by James Frisby, Esq., Colonel John Thompson and Captain Edward Blay should be laid before the House which was done; and the same was confirmed by the said House.

1700—The Susquehanna Chiefs Make Another Deed to William Penn.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 133 is set forth the following deed from the Susquehannock Chief to William Penn:—

"We Widdaagh, alias Orytyagh, and Andaggy-junkquagh, Kings or Sachemas of the Susquehannagh Indians, and of the River under that name, and lands lying on both sides thereof, do declare that for and in consideration of a parcel of English goods, unto us given, by our Friend and Brother, William Penn, proprietary and Governour of Pensilvania, and also in consideration of the former much greater costs and charges the said Wiliam Penn, hath been at in treating about and purchasing the same. We do hereby Give, Grant and Confirm unto the Said William Penn all the Said River Susquehannagh, and all other Islands therein, and all the lands situate lying, and being upon both sides of the said River, and next adjoining to ye same, to the utmost confines of the lands, which are of formerly were the Right of the People or Nation called the Susquehannagh Indians, or by what name soever they were called or known

thereof, and also all Lakes, Rivers, Rivulets, Mountains, Streams, Trees, Woods, Underwoods, Mines, Royalties, and other Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Hawkings, Huntings, fishings, fowlings and other Royalties, Privileges, and Powers, whatsoever to them or any of them belonging, or by them enjoyed as fully, and amply in all respects, as we or any of our ancestors have, could, might, or ought to have, had, held, or enjoyed. And also, all the Right, Title Interest, Possession, Claim and Demand, which we or any of us may claim, to have in the same. And we do hereby ratifie and confirm unto the said William Penn ye bargain and Sale of said Lands, made unto Coll. Thomas Dongan, now Earl of Limerick, and formerly Governor of New York, whose deed of sale to the said Governor Penn we have seen. To have and to hold, the said Rivers, Lands, and premises, hereby granted, and confirmed with their and every of their rights, Members and Appurtenances, unto ye sd Will. Penn, his heirs and assigns, to the only proper Use, and behoof of the said Will. Penn, his Heirs and Assigns forever. In witness whereof the said Will. Penn, his Heirs and Assigns forever. In witness whereof we have, for ourselves and Nation, hereunto set our Hands & Seals, the thirteenth day of September, 1700.

His
WIDAAGH X
Mark.
Alias ORYTYAGH.
His
ANDAGGY X
Mark.
Alias JUNQUAH.

Sealed and Delivered In the presence of
EDW. ANTITT,
HEN. TREGENC, Esq.,
EDWARD SINGLETON,
DAVID POWELL,
JAMES LOGAN.

Recorded page 73, &c.
N. B. BOILEAU, Secy.

The second day of August, in ye Year of our Lord, One Thousand, Seven Hundred and thirty-five James of the Northern Liberties, of the City of Philadelphia, Esq. Upon his solemn affirmation, according toLaw, Doth declare and depose, That he was present and did see the within mentioned Kings, or Sachemas, named Widaagh, its Orytyah, al's Andaggy-junkquahSeal and as their deed deliver the Writing or Conveyance, within contained, and that the name of this Affirmant thereon indorsed, as a Witness of the same, is of his own handwriting. JAMES LOGAN.
Affirmed.

At Philadelphia, the Day and Year, above said, before me, Thomas Griffits, One of the Justices of Peace &c., WITNESS my hand & Seal.
THOMAS GRIFFITHS...

Entered in the office for recording of Deeds, for the City and county of Philadelphia. In Book F. Vol. viii., page 242, &c., the 26th day of August, A. D., 1735. Witness my hand and Seals of my office, the day and year above. C. BROCKDEN, Recd'r."

This deed is endorsed, "Susquehanna River and Islands therein, and Lands on both sides, granted by Widaagh, and Andaggy-junkquagh. Confirming Governor Dongan's old Deed to Governor Penn."

This deed needs very little comment as it explains itself fully. It was meant to be another confirmation of the main purchase by William Penn from the Indians on the Susquehanna River. In this sale the Susquehannocks as a Nation practically ended their existence. They now confirm to Penn completely this large tract of land. A large number

of the Susquehannocks are in New York State living with the Five Nations, another portion of them are about the old original Susquehannock Fort Country, along the Western edge of what is now Manor township. The whole of them are completely under the Five Nations and now they finally sell out their Susquehanna Lands and become one remnant of the conglomerated tribe of Lancaster County Indians, the central factor of which were called the Conestogas. It is true that on the Second of April, 1701, together with the Shawnese,Ganawese and Potomac Tribes and representatives of the Five Nations they joined in a treaty confirming this deed of the 13th of September, 1700. Among other things their joining in was more a matter of form than substance. When we speak of the Conestoga hereafter it will be understood that some of that mixed tribe of Conestogas were the decendants of these ancient Susquehannocks but as a Nation of dignity and strength the Susquehannock tribe is now ended. We will, however, occasionally speak of individual Susquehannocks as we proceed.

END OF PART FIRST.

PART II.

THE CONFEDERATED INDIAN TRIBES OF LOWER SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY — CONESTOGAS —SHAWNESE — CONOYS — DELAWARES — GANAWESE — AND IROQUOIS. (THE FIVE NATIONS).

1700—The Conestoga Indians and Others Petition Against the Abuses Upon Them.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 1 there is a petition from Conondahto, King of the Susquehanna or Conestoga Indians and of Mecallona, King of the Shawnese against Garland, Askin and Reed, setting forth that lately four strange Indians came from the Northward among them which they supposed from their clothing to have been servants of the Christians and Mecallona talking with them found a squaw and her son nearly related to your naked Indians; who were a powerful tribe and often molested these petitioners both in their towns at Susquehanna and their hunting grounds; and these petitioners are now the frontier inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. These petitioners also complain that last winter Garland and Askin produced a paper with a large seal and said it was a warrant from the Governor to deliver these Conestogas and Shawnese but they did not go. Then ten days later Garland and Askin came again with James Reed and had another paper with a large seal; and Reed said he was the next man to the Governor and to show that he was, he pulled off his wig and said, "You see. I have two heads."

The Susquehannock King also says that Garland also threatened that he would carry them all away and make them servants and that Garland also laid threatening hands on them and did them other mischief. This petition is dated at Brandywine, the first of May, 1700.

A note found on page 1 says that Garland lived at New Castle in 1701. And that he was arrested on a complaint of the Shawnese Indians for having brought to the Shawnese settlement several anchors of rum; and made the Indians believe that Penn sent it.

1700—The French Back of Pennsylvania Trade with Our Indians.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn and Logan Correspondence, p. 39 above referred to it is stated that the French are settling back of Pennsylvania, four days from New Castle and that Lewis Lenoivin, who lived many years in Eastern Pennsylvania and traded with the Indians is run away to them, the French, as a spy.

1700 — Ganawese Indians Move Into Pennsylvania.

In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 191, under the date of 1705 it is stated that "about five years ago the Piscataway or Ganawese Indians settled in this Province near the head of the Potomac, and that they were now reduced by sickness to a small number and desired to quit their present habitation which they occupied since 1700, at which time the Conestoga Indians had become their guarantees of friendship made between them. And now the Schuylkill Indians desire them to settle near them."

Here we have a statement of the time when the first of the tribes

forming the new conglomeration of Indians came into Pennsylvania and also the statement that at the time that they came the Conestogas agreed to guarantee their good behavior. At page 245 of the same book it is stated that "when in 1700 the Piscataways settled in this Government they also went to Philadelphia in company with Indians of Conestoga and the Shawnese and made a treaty, whereby these last named Indians engaged to the Government for the peaceable behavior of the Ganawese"; and they behaved in a peaceable manner for many years after they made their promise.

1700—Doings About Conestoga.

This year says Miss Lyle in her history of Lancaster County, p. 6 Chartier set up a trading post about a mile below the Susquehannock Fort; and also at p. 28 that he began his trading about Conestoga this year, and that this year Colonel James Wright was appointed to look after the Indians of this section.

Rupp says at page 54, that Bizalion was licensed to trade with the Indians of this section this same year; and Rupp also says at Page 28 that this year the Shawnese had their Fort on the Upper Octoraro near the line of where a road afterwards laid out to August Sessions, 1719 of the Chester County Court, passed.

1700—Penn Desires Religious Schools for the Indians.

In the first volume of Proud's History, p. 423 Penn sets forth his great concern that religious instructions should be given to the Indians. but what was done in this regard I can not find.

1700 — Chalkley Journeys Among the Chesapeake Indians.

In Chalkley's Works called "Chalkley's Autobiography of Travel," he says, p. 34 in speaking of the year 1700, that he journeyed through the Indian Country and tells of his contact with them, the things he learned from them and what some of their strange ways and customs were.

1700—Peter Bizalion's Trading House.

In Vol. 19 of the Sec. Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 317 we are shown the central station of Peter Bizalion's trading operations. It is there stated that his main trading post was established this year at Mahanatawny.

1700 — The Pennsylvania Inhabitants Settle as Far South as the Mouth of Octoraro Creek.

In Vol. 1 of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 432 we are shown that the first intention was that Pennsylvania should extend South to the junction of the Octoraro with the Susquehanna. In this book under the date of 1734 in the instructions to Hamilton & Georges it is stated, "Pennsylvania has been possessed of and maintained its Government for more than thirty years past as far South as the Mouth of Octoraro or near it; nor has Maryland ever exercised jurisdiction over the inhabitants or Indians north of that limit until two or three years ago."

I cite this merely to show what line determined the Indians belonging to Pennsylvania and those belonging to Maryland.

1700—Conestoga Now the Great Capital of all the Susquehanna Indian Tribes.

In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, p. 604 at a treaty at Philadelphia in 1735 at which Thomas Penn was present the old deed of 1700 and the treaty of a few months later ratifying it were brought out and read to

the Indians and in commenting upon them the Governor says, "These articles you see here were made principally with the Susquehannock Indians who then lived mostly at Conestogoe; and the Shawenese also as their friends came under our Fathers' protection and entered into the same league."

I quote this simply for the purpose of showing that the head-quarters of the Indians of Eastern Pennsylvania at this time were Conestoga. That while there were yet some Indians near the Delaware there were not many of them because of the advanced civilization on that river and those that lived on the Schuylkill were also few in number but the greater bulk of Pennsylvania Indians were centered around Conestoga or the Susquehanna at this time, viz.: the Conestogas or fragment of the old Susquehannocks together with different branches of the Iroquois and with them the Shawnese, Ganawese, the Conoys; and the Delawares. who while they still lived in the Schuylkill River were also few in number and in 1709 moved to the Susquehanna River also. (See 2 Col. Rec., p. 469.).

1700—A Line Surveyed from Philadelphia Direct to Conestoga

In Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals, p. 175 Mr. Watson says, "In July, 1700, there was a survey of a line from Philadelphia direct to Susquehanna, coming nigh the mouth of Conestoga creek, a little more north, (about four miles), near to 'an old fort demolished.' This was in consequence of surveyor-general Holmes' purchase of all the lands from Upland creek to Pemapeck creek, and so backward to Susquehanna, two days' journey. The land is said to have been bought of the Indian Kings and sakamackers, for the use of William Penn—bought of Shakhoppah, Secaming, Malebore, Tangoras, Indian kings; and Maskecasho, Wawarrin, Tenoughan, Tarrecka, Nesonhaikin, Indian sackamackers. I notice that in the way of the line of survey, two Indian paths traverse it obliquely, northwest by north—the first from Philadelphia, is at Rocky Run, (fifteen miles), between the head waters of Ridley and Chester creeks, the second at thirty-eight miles, two miles beyond Doe Run. These facts I found recorded in a survey book, No. 14, in the land office, and the above extracts are from the warrant of survey of Holme. Below follow other facts on the same subject, all tending to show the treaty by which the lands of Philadelphia city and county are held."

Watson then sets out the letter which Thomas Holme wrote to Shachoppah and other Indians but we have already given that in full in an article under the date of 1688, entitled, "The Boundaries of the Walking Purchases, etc." We will not repeat it because we have cited it before for other purposes and we cite it now only to make prominent the fact of a survey of a direct line to Conestoga for this line is an important one in our Colonial history. It will be observed that it lies almost on what afterwards was The Great Conestoga Road; and indeed, the eastern end of the Great Conestoga Road, at least to Haverford was in existence at the time of this survey. We have no doubt that the western end was a well defined Indian path which began as early as the founding of Philadelphia and was well defined by the year of 1700, for while the Susquehanna Indians first traded down the river, when Penn's enterprises began they began trading with Philadelphia and in so doing made and followed a well defined road.

1701—Shawanese at Pequea Complain of the Rum Trade

At a council held on the third of September, 1701, it is stated that, "Shemekenwhoa, one of the chiefs of the Shawana Indians solemnly declared and complained to the Governor that Sylvester Garland had brought to the Indian settlement of their nation several anchors of rum to the quantity of about 140 gallons and that to induce them to receive it and to trade with him he pretended he was sent by the Governor and gave one cask as a present from him, upon which being entreated to drink they were afterwards very much abused." The Council ordered this matter to be further inquired into. (See 2 Col. Rec., p. 33.)

This same complaint is referred to in the Penn & Logan Correspondence in Vol. 1 at the foot of page 1 in a note, where it is stated by the editor that Garland lived at New Castel and in September, 1701, he was arrested and brought before the Council for bringing this rum.

The rum trade with the Indians was a great trouble to the early Government; and another character who violated the law was John Hans Steelman who lived in Maryland and without a license dealt in liquors with our Conestoga Indians. (See 2 Col. Rec., p. 21); and also the violations of law by Louis and Peter Bezalion trading also in liquor about the Susquehanna were grievous. (See 2 Coll. Rec., p. 18.)

In 2 Col. Rec., p. 45, at a Council held on the 6th of October it was ordered that a warrant be sent out against Sylvester Garland for selling rum to the Indians, whereby he was arrested and brought before the Governor and Council to defend himself or make answer. It seems, however that while the rum trade was grievous among the Indians of the Susquehanna yet the Government could do little to prevent it; and on the 6th of October 1701, a petition was presented to the Assembly by the inhabitants of Chester County to have rum selling among the Indians stopped. The Assembly approved the petition by a majority and ordered a statute to be drawn against the rum trade with the Indians, (See Vol. 1 of the Votes of Assembly, pp. 151-153). The act against giving liquor to the Indians was passed October 28, 1701, and is found in Vol. 2 of Statutes at Large, p. 168. It provides among other things that liquor carried to the Indians shall be forfeited and go one-third to the Governor and two-thirds to the party that seizes the same; and that the Indians were empowered to seize it the same as anyone else; and that also no person shall receive in pawn any clothing or goods belonging to the Indians for liquor, and those who violate the act shall suffer penalty of 10 pounds and the pawn might be seized by warrant by the nearest Justice of the Peace and be redelivered.

This act to restrain the selling of liquor to our Indians had some difficulty in passing. Exceptions and amendments were proposed to it by the Governor and the Assembly considering the exceptions voted them down. There were two exceptions and both were defeated in the Assembly. From this we see what difficulty our forefathers experienced in keeping the liquor traffic from ruining the Indians of the Susquehanna.

As additional evidence of what a field the Indians of the Susquehanna and other sections were for liquor traffic, Proud in his history of Penn-

sylvania says at page 433, that a Joint company was organized to control the liquor business and be responsible for the consequences but it met with no favor.

1701—Letort Leaves Conestoga for Canada

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 100, it is stated under the date of 1703 that, "James Letort who about two years ago went out of this Province to Canada returned and was examined before Council and magistrates and no great occasion was found to suspect him of evil designs against the Government, he having been bred in it from his infancy and behaved himself hitherto well. He was seduced to depart in 1701 in time of peace by the instigation of some others, nevertheless as he is now come back it was thought wise to bring him before Council to explain his action."

This James Letort was a very picturesque character about Conestoga and we find that he very frequently was summoned before the Council.

1701—Indian Harry of Conestoga

We now introduce another remarkable character in the early annals of Conestoga Indian History in the person of an Indian familiary known as 'Indian Harry' of Conestoga but his technical Indian name was Cassawetoway as we have shown in a former item.

It is stated in 2 Col. Rec., p. 26, that in this year of 1701 the Council and Governor had entered into considering the many abuses arising from the Indians being admitted to drink rum and it was ordered by the next sitting of Assembly, that four of the prominent Indians on the Upper Delaware and Indian Harry of Conestoga should be sent for to be consulted about passing a law for prohibiting all Indians from using rum. Action was later taken on the subject and we will speak of it in its order.

1701—The Potomac Indians Allowed to Settle in Pennsylvania

In Vol. 2 of Col. Rec., p. 17, it is set forth as one of the stipulations of the big treaty by the Conestogas, (which treaty we will set forth in full in a later item) that the Potomac Indians with their Colony shall have free leave of the said William Penn to settle upon any part of the Potomac River within the bounds of the Province of Pennsylvania, they observing and practicing all and singular the other articles of this treaty. By settling on the Potomac River is meant any part of the valley of the Potomac River. These Potomac Indians had become afraid of savage tribes of the South and wanted to move towards our Susquehanna country to be near the Conestogas.

1701—Penn Discusses Navigating the Susquehanna River to Carry Indian Trade Cheaper

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 73, in a letter beginning page 69, written by William Penn to James Logan, Penn says, "I hope thy eye is upon the means to retrench expenses; and, pray, see the utmost, at a leisure hour of poor Marsh's project of navigating flats up Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers, above Falls; he assuring me that he could make the experiment for 40 shillings. Be it 50 shillings or 3 pounds it were a mighty advantage." In this I believe there is evidence of Penn's desire to develop this Susquehanna country and get an out-let for Indian trade.

1701—The Proofs of Penn's Second Visit to the Susquehanna River and its Indians

We have before given the evidences tending to prove a visit by Penn about 1684 to what is now the Lancaster County region and we will now proceed to the proofs of a second visit made in 1701. The chief proofs are as follows:

1. Rupp in his history of Lancaster County, p. 35, says that Penn at a former treaty promised the Shawanese chiefs protection. To enable him to keep or fulfill this promise he visited them in person at Conestoga, attended by many gentlemen of distinction. This he says in a note at the bottom of the page 35 and speaking of the same in context he says, "His not succeeding in having legislative co-operation, to prevent liquor being sold to the Indians and debaucheries being practiced on them, to prevent their temporal ruin, he paid the sons of the forest a visit, participated in all their innocent amusements and in return received their visits in his own house at Pennsbury." According to Rupp the purpose of Penn's visit at Conestoga was to protect these poor Indians. He cites Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 253. This is the page found in the old or first edition of the Colonial Records, which is now probably very rare. The page in the Colonial Records most commonly at hand is p. 244 of Vol. 2 and at that place is set forth what James Logan told the Indians at Conestoga when he visited them in the spring of 1706. And speaking of William Penn, Logan said to these Indians that when he (Penn) was last in this country he visited those Indians of Conestoga and is soon to do the same on his arrival in order to cultivate the ancient friendship."

2. In Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals, p. 209, Mr. Watson speaks of Neboway, an Indian chief of the Delawares, and says that this chief's name appears among the signers of the treaty at Conestoga in 1718, and that the chief said that he remembers that he saw William Penn on his second visit to Conestoga in 1701.

3. In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 43, there is set forth a letter from Isaac Norris to Daniel Zachary, dated the 21st. of June, 1701, in which he says, "I am just come home from Susquehanna where I have been to meet the Governor. We had a round about journey and pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the King's Palace in Conestoga and from thence crossed to the Schuylkill where we fell in (reached it) about 30 miles up from hence (Philadelphia)." Here we have a plain statement that William Penn was at Susquehanna at the Palace of the King of the Conestogas in June, 1701.

4. To make doubly sure that the Governor spoken of was William Penn, I cite Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 122, where James Logan writes to William Penn from Philadelphia on the 9th of July, 1702, and he says on speaking about lands on the Susquehanna and about the Octoraro that, "Griffith Owen and E. Shippen knew something of the place having been with thee at Susquehanna which I did not." In this again there is the more explicit statement that William Penn was on the Susquehanna.

5. In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec. p. 272, when Patrick Gordon held a council with some of the Five Nations and was discussing the affairs between them and the Conestogas, who were tributary to and slaves of the Five

Nations. They said the first Governor of this place, Onash, (That is Governor Penn) when he first arrived here sent to them to sell land and that when the Governor was at Conestoga he desired the chiefs to speak about the purchases of the land. This is another reference to Penn being at Conestoga.

6. In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 41, in a letter from Isaac Norris to Samuel Chew the 15th of April, 1701, and he says, "Our Governor has gone out of town to meet with the chieftains of the Indians." This may refer to Penn's visit to Susquehanna, however, it seems to be nearly a month earlier than Penn's Susquehanna visit.

7. In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 181, Governor Keith in the year of 1722 held a treaty at Conestoga and when there he said to the Indians, "The last time I was with you at Conestoga you showed me a parchment which you had received from William Penn containing articles of friendship between you and him." This again may be a reference to Penn's visit in 1701 but it may likely refer to the great treaty of September 1700 with the Conestogaes at Philadelphia. Penn left for England about November, 1701, because Andrew Hamilton presides over the Assembly from that date onward. See 2 Col. Rec., p. 62.

At a Council held July 7, 1739, William Penn's intercourse with the Indians on the Susquehanna is again referred to seeming to indicate his being there about the year of 1701. (See 4 Col. Rc., p. 337.)

8. In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 101, in a discussion between the Governor of New York and the authorities of Pennsylvania there is a letter dated 1720 and in it occurs this passage, "Upon Governor Penn's last arrival here about 20 years ago he held a treaty with the Mingoes or Conestogas settled on Susquehanna," which is either a reference to his meeting them at Susquehanna or of the great treaty made at Philadelphia in September, 1700. Also in the same book, p. 149 Governor Keith in 1721 speaks to the Indians and says, "William Penn our and your father when he first settled this country with English subjects made a firm league of friendship with all the Indians in these parts (that is Conestoga);" and on page 54 I find references to the same effect.

9. In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 92, James Logan speaking to the Conestogas in 1720, speaks of William Penn as their old friend and refers to his treaty 20 years ago; and on p. 93 he further refers to Penn's first Councils with the Indians, and on page 97 he refers to the same subject.

10. It is to be noticed that historians including Watson refer to a visit made by William Penn to the Susquehanna as a second visit, which is generally supposed to refer to this visit of 1701.

11. In the first walking purchase this land extended back to the Susquehanna and Penn seems to have been familiar with it.

12. Another fact seeming to point out Penn's familiarity with the Susquehanna River and its Indians and the country generally is found in Vol 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 170 where he says that if his enemies do not begin to treat him differently they will "drive me up to Pennsbury or Susquehanna for good and all." This shows that the Susquehanna was familiar to him at the time he stated this which was in 1702.

13. In Buck's history of Pennsylvania in an article entitled, "Will-

iam Penn in America" at p. 317, he says in a topic entitled Penn's Journey to the Susquehanna in 1701, and in it he says, "June was Penn's favorite month of travel. He set off about this time 'on a journey into the interior of the Province, (Isaac Norris's letter). On this occasion as tradition relates that Penn got lost in the woods on the hill on the Northern or Chester County side near present Valley Forge; and that he did not know where he was, until he got on the hill this side of Valley Creek when by a glimpse of the Schuylkill and the country to the southward he regained his way and in consequence of the same named the former hill Mounty Misery and the latter Mounty Joy."

Buck further says, "It is probable the Proprietor's principal object was to win over the Indians to the English interest on account of the approaching trouble with France. He may allude to this in a letter to the Board of Trade & Plantations, the 2nd. of the 5th month, where he says, 'I have had divers meetings with the several nations of Indians of these parts as the Shawno, Susquehanna, Schuylkill and Delaware Indians by arguments and presents to persuade their submission to this government."

Buck further says, "This journey of Penn's to the Susquehanna we observe has led to some error. Janney mentions it (2nd Edition, p. 435) as having taken place in the Spring. An article appeared in the Lancaster Inquirer on February 24, 1872, in which mention is made of a monument having been erected and dedicated the previous 22nd of February at Gap in Salisbury township, Lancaster county, on the roof of a frame building over a fine spring of water where it is said, 'Penn met the Indians and had a council with them.' It is composed of a square wooden shaft neatly painted and lettered. On the west side is inscribed 'In Memory of William Penn, Who Visited This Place in the Year 1700.' Mention is made that it was chiefly erected through the exertions of Isaac Walker, owner of the said spring building, who was led to it by his researches on the subject. It is probable that Penn may have met the Indians in council here but this visit must have been in June, 1701. The mistake consists in setting the time as that of one of the deeds from the Indians for land which were nearly always executed in Philadelphia."

This article as it appears in the Inquirer, I meant to insert here in full or in part; but a fire has destroyed the office file copy.

The Indians whom Penn met here, if he did so met them here were the Shawanes, as the old Shawana town of that section was very near this place. Its location may be found on any early map of Lancaster county near the head of Octoraro creek, as the Shawanese lived all along Pequea Creek and from the mouth to the source of the Octoraro. In the Chester County records of August Sessions, 1719 of the Quarter Sessions Court can be found the courses and distances of an old road laid out in 1719, one course of which is stated to lie near old Shawana town near Octoraro.

These are the known proofs of William Penn's visit of 1701 to his brethren on the Susquehanna, Conestoga and other adjoining streams and of that visit there can be no doubt. It would seem that he came by the Southern route and returned by the Northern route, viz: along Conestoga and French creeks, reaching the Schuylkill River near the

mouth of French creek, which Isaac Norris describes as being thirty miles up the Schuylkill River from Philadelphia.

1701—The Great Treaty With Conestogas and Others

We have noticed in a former item that in September, 1700, the Susquehannas and other Indians of this neighborhood made a deed of a large tract of land on our River to William Penn. To confirm this sale a treaty was made later which is found in Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 15. It was enacted on the 23rd day of April, 1701, by and between the Indians of the Susquehanna Territory and William Penn at a Council on the afternoon of the said day; and it is as follows:

"PRESENT:—The Proprietary and Governor, with some members of Council and divers others, with the Sasquehannaugh Indians.

Connodaghtoh, King of the Sasquehannah Minquays or Conestogo Indians, Wopatha (alias Opessah), King of the Shawnese, Weewhinjough, Chief of the Ganawese, inhabiting at the head of Patowmeck; Also, Ahoaksonagh, brother to the Emperor or great King of the Onondagoes of the five nations, having arrived in town two days, with several others of their great men, and Indian Harry for their interpreter, with some of their young people, women and children, to the number of about forty in the whole. After a treaty and several speeches, the following Articles were solemnly agreed on.

ARTICLES

Articles of Agreement Indented, made, Concluded & Agreed upon at Philadia the 23rd day of ye month, Called April, In the Year 1701, Between Wm. Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania& Territories thereunto belonging, on ye one part, and Connoodagtoh, King of the Indians inhabiting upon and about the river Susquehannah in the said Province, And Widaaph, (alias Oretyaghr) Koqueeash & Andaggy-Inhekquah, Chiefs of the said nations, & Wopaththa, King & Lemonytungh & Pemoyajooagh, Chiefs of the nations of the Shawonnah Indians, And Ahookassongh, brother to the Emperor, for and in behalf of the Emperor, (& Weewhinjongh, Takyewsan & Woapaskoa, Chiefs,) of the nations of the Indians inhabiting in and about the Northern part of the River Powtowmeck, in the said province, for & in behalf of themselves & successors, & and their several nations, and the People on the other part, as followeth:

That as hitherto there hath always been a good understanding & Neighbourhood between the sd. Wm. Penn & his Lts, since his first arrival in the peace Continued between Wm. Penn his Heirs & successors, and all the English & other Christian Inhabitants of the said Province, and the Said Kings and Chiefs, and their successors, & all the Several People of the Nations of Indians aforesaid; So there shall be forever hereafter a firm and lasting peace. And that they shall hereafter be as one Head & One Heart, and live in true friendship & Amity as one People.

(ITEM) That the said Kings and Chiefs, (each for himself & his People Engaging,) shall at no time Hurt, injure or Defraud, or suffer to be Hurt, Injured or defrauded by any of their Indians; and inhabitant or Inhabitants of the said Province, either in their Persons or Estates, And that the said Wm. Penn, his Heirs & Successors, shall not suffer to be done or Committed by any of the subjects of England within the said Province, Any Act of Hostil-

ity or Violence wrong or Injury, to or against any of the Said Indians, but shall on both sides at all times readily do Justice, and perform all Acts & Offices of friendship & Good will to oblige each other, to a lasting peace, as aforesaid.

(ITEM) That all and every of the said Kings & Chiefs, and all and every particular of the Nations under them, shall at all times behave themselves regularly and soberly, according to the laws of this Government while they live near or amongst ye Christian Inhabitants thereof, And that the said Indians shall have the full & free privileges and immunities of all the said Laws as any other inhabitants, they Duly Owing and Acknowledging the Authority of the Crown of England and Government of this Province.

(ITEM) That none of the said Indians shall at any time be aiding, Assisting or Abetting any other nation, whether of Indians or Others, that shall not at such time be in amity with the Crown of England and with this Government.

(ITEM) That if at any time any of the said Indians, by means of evil minded persons and sowers of sedition, should hear any Unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, As if they had Evil designs against any of the said Indians, In such Case such Indians shall send notice thereof to the said Wm. Penn, his Heirs or successors, and their Lieutenants, shall at all times in such cases do the like by the them.

(ITEM) That the said Kings and Chiefs & their successors, shall not Suffer any Strange Nations of Indians to settle or Plant on the further side of Sasquehannagh, or about Potowmeck River, but such as are there already Seated, nor bring any other Indians into any part of this Province without the Special approbation & permission of the said William Penn, his Heirs and Successors.

(ITEM) That for the preventation of abuses that are too frequently putt upon the said Indians in Trade, that the said William Penn, his Heirs and Successors, shall not Suffer or Permit any Person to trade or Commerce with any of the said Indians, but such as shall be first allowed and approved of by an instrument under the Hand and Seal of him, the said William Penn, or his Heirs or successors, or their Lieut's: And that the said Indians shall suffer no person whatsoever to buy or sell, or have Commerce with any of the said Indians, but such shall first be approved as aforesaid.

(ITEM) That the said Indians shall not sell or dispose of any of their Skins, Peltry, or furr, or any other effects of their hunting, to any Person or Persons whatsoever out of the said Province, nor to any other person but such as shall be Authorized to Trade with them as aforesaid; And that for their Encouragement, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall take Care to have them, the said Indians, duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods for their use, at reasonable rates.

(ITEM) That the Potowmeck Indians aforesaid, with their Collony, shall have free leave of the said Wm. Penn to Settle upon any part of Patowmeck River within the bounds of this Province, they strictly observing and practising all and Singular the Articles aforesaid to them relating.

(ITEM) The Indians of Conestogo, & upon & about the River Susquehannah, And more Especially the Said Connaodaghtah, their King, doth fully agree to, and by these presents, Absolutely Ratify the Bargain

& Sale of the Lands lying near and about the said River, formerly made to the said William Penn, his heirs and Successors, And since by Oretyagh, & Anadaggy-Junkquegh, parties to these Presents, Confirmed to the said Wm. Penn, his heirs and Successors, by a Deed bearing Date ye 13th day of ye 7br last, under their hands and seals, duly Executed. And the said Connoodaghtah doth, for himself and his Nation, Covenant and Agree that he will at all times be ready further to Confirm & make good the said Sale, according to the Tenor of the same, and that the said Indians of the Susquehannagh shall answer to the said William Penn, his heirs and Successors, for the good Behavior and Conduct of the said Indians, and for their performing of the several articles here Expresed.

(ITEM) The said William Penn doth hereby, for himself, his heirs and Successors agree, yet he and they will at all times shew themselves true friends and Brothers to all & every of ye said Indians, by assisting them with the best of their Advices, Directions & Counsels, and will in all things Just and Reasonable befriend them, they behaving themselves as aforesaid, and Submitting to the Laws of this Province in all things, as the English and other Christians therein do. To which they, ye said Indians, hereby agree and oblige themselves and their Posterity forever.

In witness whereof, the Said Parties have as a Confirmation made mutual presents to each Other: The Indians in five parcels of Skins, and the said William Penn in Several English Goods & Merchandizes, as a binding pledge of the promise, never to be broken or violated. And as a further testimony thereof, have also to these presents Sett their hands and Seals, the day and Year above written.

Signed, Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of

Edw. Shippen,
Nathan Stanbury,
Alexr. Paxton,
Caleb Pussey,
James Streater,
J. Le Tort,
John Hans Steelman,
James Logan,
John Sanders,
Indian, alias Harry Shawydoohungh, his (H I) mark
Pemoqueriaehghan, his (Z) mark
Passaqussay, his [)] mark."

This was one of the great treaties and is nearly always referred to in subsequent matters by the Deputy Governors with the Indians of Conestoga and Susquehanna River. The same treaty may be found in Vol. 1 of The Pennsylvania Archives, p. 144 and this same treaty is again referred to in Vol 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 39 and it is stated there to have been the most notable event of the year.

Watson in Vol. 1 of his Annals, p. 24 also speaks of Penn meeting the different Indians in 1701 and says that "Penn attended in Philadelphia in 1701 a great Indan treaty with 40 chiefs who came from many nations to settle the friendship. The same year he also had a great Indian Councill at Pennsbury Mansion to take leave of them and to renew the convenants." Among these 40 chiefs were the Susquehannas above mentioned. Watson also in Vol. 2 of his Annals, p. 156 again refers to this treaty.

Hazard in his Register in Vol. 5, p. 130 also refers to the deed and treaty of 1701, confirming the lands

on Susquehanna to Penn by those Indians and states there that this confirmation was renewed in 1726, and especially in the great treaty of Lancaster in 1744.

The Susquehannas, Conestogas and Other Neighboring Indians Go to Philadelphia to Give Penn Good-Bye, On His Leaving for England.

In 2 Col. Rec., p. 46 under the date of the 7th of October, 1701, at a Council held the afternoon of that date, at which William Penn and six members of Council were present it is recorded, that "the Sachems of the Susquehanna and Shawanah Indians with some of their people having come to take leave of the Proprietary before his departure for England ,he informed them that this now was likely to be his last interview with him, at least before his return, that he had ever loved them and been kind to them and ever should contiue so to be, not through any Politick Design or for interest, but one of a most real affection, and Desired them in his absence to Cultivate friendship with those he would leave behind in authority, as they would always, in some degree continue to be to them as himself had ever been. The Governor also informed them that the Assembly was now enacting a Law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused by the Selling of Rum, with which Orettyagh, one of the Sachems in the name of the rest, Exprest a great Satisfaction and Desired that that law might effectually be put in Execution and not only discoursed of as formerly it had been; they had long suffered by the Practice but now hoped for a redress, and that they should have reason to complain no more.

And for the more effectually answering so good a design, the Governor Desired that whenever any transgressed the said Law, and Came Contrary amongst them, to agreement they would forthwith take care to give information thereof to the Government, that the offenders they might duly be prosecuted; which they promised to observe, and that if any Rum were brought they would not buy it but send the person who brought it back with it again.

Then the Governor informed them that he had charged the members of Council,and then also renewed the same charge, that they should in all respects be kind to them, and entertain them with Courtesy and Demonstrations of Goodwill as he himself had ever done, which the said members promised faithfully to observe; and making them some presents they withdrew."

It is difficult to imagine a more beautiful meeting and leave-taking than this must have been—the savages in their simplicity and honesty on one hand and the goodly William Penn and his Council equally sincere and honest on the other hand. This leave-taking is also noticed in Vol. 6 of Hazard's Register, p. 72 but as it is exactly the same copy from the Colonial Records, we will not repeat it. Penn left for England a few weeks after this incident.

According to the Colonial Records this leave-taking occured in Philadelphia. It seems that a little later Penn made a great leave-taking event for in Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals, p. 156, Mr. Watson says that in 1701 Penn held a great Indian Council at Pennsbury to take leave of them.

1701—Difficulties Growing Out of the Use of Rum at Conestoga Continue.

In 6 Hazard's Register, p. 11 it is set forth that the "Proprietary informed the Council of the great abuses committed in Indian trade and

the great dangers that might arise from thence, and the advantages that might accure to the province in general from it. Proposed that some measures might be concerted for the regulation thereof, and redressing the grievences that we generally laboured under upon the score and especially by means of two Frenchmen, Louis and P. Beasalion, who have been suspected to be very dangerous persons in their traffique with the Indians in this troublesome conjuncture of affairs.

Resolved that it was absolutely necessary the said two Frenchmen should be confined and restrained from inhabiting or trading amongst the Indians, and that some way should be agreed to carry on the trade by a certain number or Company who should take all measures to induce the Indians to a true value and esteem of the Christian religion by setting before them a good example of probity and candour both in commerce and behaviour and that care should be taken to have them duly instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity. And the further consideration hereof is referred to next meeting of the Board.

The Governor also acquainted the Board, That reports were brought that some of the five nations of Indians had sent an embassy to our Indians on Delaware requiring their aid and concurrence and that it was suspected the French of Canada had been endeavoring to debauch the said Indians from their fidelity to the Crown of England.

Resolved, That care should be taken to inquire into the grounds of the said reports—and then adjourned."

The same is found in Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 18. I mention this because Peter Bezalion's name is used and that at once connects these irregularities with the Susquehanna Country.

The Shawnese also complain against Garland for selling rum to the Indians on Susquehanna. This, however, we have spoken of before. Their complaint was made by Shemekenwoa one of the Chiefs of the Shawnese, about him bring 140 gallons of rum and making them very drunk, see 2 Col. Rec., p. 33. This same complaint is noticed in a somewhat different form in Vol 6 of Hazard's Register, p. 34 and it was there decided that Indian Harry of Conestoga should be sent for to overcome the evil.

An aditional difficulty that Penn had to deal with about Conestoga and the trade there of rum, was in the fact that John Hans frequently promised Penn to meet him and help him to carry out the laws as to liquor fully, but refused to do so. In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 143, Penn writes a letter to John Hans and says, "Thou hast often promised to visit this place in order to treat with me about the Indian Trade, but hast as often disapointed me. Thy present management thereof amongst us is directly contrary to our Laws. I have therefore Stopt thy Goods intended for Lechay, until thou come thyself and give further satisfaction." This is under the date of 1701.

1701—A False Story Arises About the Coming of the Piscataways.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 43 William Penn in a letter from Pennsbury to James Logan dated the 30th day of June, says "I forgot a material point—the last Indian instrument from the Conestoga Indians—which I must have, or a copy, before I can answer Col.

Blackinston's letter, a false story firing two or three of their foolish people of our inciting the Piscataways from Maryland, instead of their seeking to us: but Governor Blackiston would not believe it. Fail not, therefore to send it to me with all speed."

1701—Susquehanna Indians Now Co-Operate Strongly with Pennsylvania.

Proud in his History of Pennsylvania, in Vol. 1, p. 430 says that this year the Susquehannas made a promise with Pennsylvania that they would not allow any strange Indians to settle on the west side of the Susquehanna River but would inform the people and help to put them off the further side of the Susquehanna River.

The Five Nations also now show very strong love for Pennsylvania and Penn in a message to Council on the 15th of September, 1701 says, "I must tell you the good news of the Governor of New York's happy issue of his Conferences with the five nations of Indians, that he hath not only made peace with them for the King's subjects of that Colony, but, as I had by some letters before desired him, for those of all other governments under the Crowns of England, and also the nations of Indians with those respective Colonies,which certainly merits our acknowledgments."

1701—Evidences of the Great Susquehannas Living Within the Bounds of our County.

In Vol. 7 of Hazard's Register, p. 395 it is stated that great Indian relics and remains were found near the neighborhood of Columbia and that they were probably buried there 200 years. The Article is as follows: "COLUMBIA, (Penn.) June 2. INDIAN RELICS: A gentleman visiting this place from Philadelphia, had his attention attracted a few days since, while near the canal basin, by the singular appearance of the earth, which resembled an Indian mound or tumulus, such as he had before seen. On digging down a short distance his suspicions were confirmed; the skeletons of three Indians were found, supposed to be those of a male female and a young child. On being exposed to the air, the bones, with the exception of the teeth, and a few of the large bones of the male, crumbled to dust. They were buried in a sitting posture and had on their heads an earthen vessel, at the spout of which was carved the figure of a human face. Between the feet of the one taken to be the male, were found an iron hatchet, several arrow heads, and seven smooth stones nearly round; the smallest weighing about a quarter of a pound, the others varying in regular gradation to the seventh, which weighed two pounds and a quarter. These stones were supposed to indicate the number of children which the deceased had. Between the feet of the female were found two stones of a medium size with those found by the male. How long these remains had been deposited there it is impossible to tell; probably not less than 200 years. It is supposed that a great many Indians lie buried along the banks of the river, but it is not often their bones are discovered.—SPY."

And in Vol. 8 of Hazard's Register, p. 48 similar remains were found about the neighborhood of Bainbridgeand that article is as follows:

"A few weeks since we took occasion to speak of some Indian Relics that were discovered north the Canal Basin in this place. Since then the workmen in Section No. 18 of the

Canal, about two miles this side of Bainbridge came upon one end of an old Indian burial ground. The bones had so completely gone to dust that they could only be distinguished from the natural soil by a difference in color. A great many articles of use and ornament were found; ther were crocks, hatchets, tomahawks, arrow heads, bullets, buck-shot, thimbles, beads, pipes, etc. The pipes are made of clay, and are spoken of as being very perfect and beautiful, with the head of a fox engraved on the bowl; so highly is one of them valued by the finder, that he has refused to take less than five dollars for it; together with ornaments; the beads were of different kinds, and unlike any we had seen before. It is thought that a short distance from where the excavation was made towards the river, the earth would be found to be filled with these curiosities.—COLUMBIA SPY."

1701—Some of the Shawnese Located at the Head of Pequea Creek.

We have before called attention to the location of the Old Shawana fort near the head of Octararo somewhat towards Pequea Creek; and for it see previous articles.

That there was a Shawana town there as early as 1701 is additionaly proved by the following statements found in the Second Series of the Penna. Archives, Vol. 19, p. 625 where it is stated, "That the Commissioners being informed that Mathias Vanhebber from Maryland, taking with him Henry Hollingsworth, hath lately surveyed a considerable tract of land near the head of Pequea Creek in this Province, including within the same The Old Shawannah Town, etc.;—"and again it is stated" that 500 acres being granted to Col. John French in or near the Shawannah old fields, on Pequea Creek, as a consideration of his services to the Proprietor."

From this we see that while these proceedings are dated 1718, the lands are referred to as the Old Shawannah Fields where the Shawnese lived as early as 1701 and before.

At the same place it is stated that 300 acres should be surveyed to Peter Chartier where his father Martin is settled on Susquehanna River; a warrant was also directed to Moses Comb at the request of his brother-in-law Peter Bazilion for 200 acres among the other surveys about Conestoga.

I quote this simply to show that in 1701 that these Indian operations were going on about Conestoga and Pequea.

1701—Christian Inhabitants are Located Near Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 16 in one of the items of the great treaty of the affairs on the Susquehanna river it is stipulated, "That all and every of the Kings and Chiefs, and all and every particular under them, shall at all times behave themselves regularly and soberly according to the laws of this Government, while they live near or amongst the Christian inhabitants thereof."

Now as the only Indians concerned in this treaty were the Conestogas (Susquehanna-Minquays), the Shawnese and the Ganawese, and this refers to them. In warning the Christian inhabitants it seems to indicate that there were some whites then at this date of 1701 in the neighborhood of Conestoga. They were, however, only trades and not regular settlers. We shall notice that in a year or two later that there will be references to Christian inhabitants living at and near Conestoga.

1701—The Earliest Lands Taken Up by the Whites Among the Conestogas and the Other Susquehanna Indians.

In Vol. 19 of the Second Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 245 it is set forth that the land commissioners of Pennsylvania granted to Cornelius Empson and twenty others 20,000 acres of land on Octoraro Creek at one bushel of wheat rent per hundred acres. Then warrants were made out for 15,000 acres as may be seen page 280, to the following persons for the following amounts, being a part of the above named tract:—Cornelius Empson, John Richards, James Brown, Henry Reynolds, John Bales, Edward Beeson, James Cooper, Randall Janney, Andrew Job, John Churchman, Ebenezer Empson, John Guest, Joel Baily for 1000 acres each and to Robert Dutton, Samuel Settler and Jeser Brown each for 500 acres; and surveyed off for William Penn's own use, 3000 acres. It is described as all in one tract, beginning at the Northern Barrens between the main branch of Northeast River and Octoraro Creek, and bounding it to the Southwards with an East and West line parallel to the line of the Province, and Northward to the barrens.

In the same book under the same date, 1701, page 278 it is stated that a warrant should be made to William Clayton for 1000 acres of land at Susquehanna, "with the rest there." whoever they were.

These grants of land on the Susquehanna, I believe, are the very earliest that were made to individuals by the authorities of Pennsylvania in the neighborhood of and among the Indians of these two Rivers.

1702—Earliest Preaching to the Indians at Conestoga.

We have heretofore stated that William Penn visited the Indians on the Susquehanna twice and from his nature one can not doubt that he gave them religious instruction because this was constantly on his mind. But the earliest preaching of which we have any proofs was in 1702 by Rev. Jonas Airens who preached that year to the Conestoga Indians at Conestoga. Record of this may be found in Vol. 30 of Penna. Magazine of History and Biography in a note at the bottom of page 291. There is not much to be said about it and it is likely that there were only a few sermons preached; and that it was not a missionary movement extending over any length of time. A little later Thomas Chalkley preached to the Conestogas, and considerably later Count Zinzendorf, the last named about the year 1742.

1702—The First Mention of the Susquehanna Road.

In Vol. 19 of the Second Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 303 under the date of 1702 it is stated that Joseph Fisher and several other land owners of Dublin Township, "remonstrated that the Sasquehannah road laid out through the said Township is run too much to the Northward by which means the settlements on that side are too short and those on the South too long."

This shows that at the early date of 1702 the Indian affairs on Susquehanna were of sufficient importance to agitate constructing a road to their locality. The first road which finally did reach the Susquehanna was begun in 1683 and reached the river in 1714, but it was in use before the latter date. In Nicholas Scull's map of 1759 connected with

the Penna. Archives. Dublin Township is situated immediately North of Philadelphia county, as it then was.

1702—James Logan's Earliest Visit to the Conestogas.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 179 James Logan says in a letter of this year written to William Penn, "I design next month for Conestoga, God willing, to treat with the Indians there and confirm them, for we have many reports about the attempts of the French to debauch all; and Indian Harry has never since he went to the Onondagoes last year been here, but he solemnly promised to return this way." However, in turning to p. 179 of the same book, Logan again says in 1703 in a letter to William Penn, that though he had designed to go to Conestoga that he put off the journey, waiting for Indian Harry to come back from Canada.

I cite this item to show the efforts that were constantly made by the French to get the Pennsylvania Indians over to them. We remember that in the early years, the Jesuit Father had very many meetings with our Susquehannocks, and as Queen Ann's War was now approaching it was considered a great point to get these Pennsylvania Indians disaffected from the English.

1702—Indian Harry at Philadelphia.

This year as is told us in Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 125, Indian Harry was in Philadelphia about the end of July but that he went on to the Onondagoes to bring advice from them how matters stood concerning the Conestoga Indian affairs. We, of course remember that the Conestogas and all the Indians along the Susquehanna were tenants,and in a manner slaves of the Five Nations and whenever anything of importance was to be done by the Conestogas, advice from the Five Nations was always necessary before anyone dared to make any move.

1702—The Conestogas on a War-like Expedition to the South.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 70 at a meeting of the Council held on the 17th of September, it was stated that, "information having been given to this board by Sylvester Garland, an Indian trader of New Castle that half a dozen Indians called Tackwheetap & Posackaselt, two of them of Delaware and the rest of Conestogoe, on Susquehannah, who had lately returned from the Southwards from hunting, were seen at the said Conestogoe with several parts of women's attire, viz.: a Petticoat, White Silk hood, Lace, etc., about them, and that upon a certain occasion Expressed themselves as if they murdered the persons from whom they had taken them. It was consulted what method of Inquiry or process should be taken with ye said Indians, seeing they were by their Several Treaties obliged to be answerable to the English for what injuries or outrages they should commit against them, and it was Resolved, that a Message with an Interpreter was necessary in the first place to be sent, but there being no interpreter of that language to be found who could be depended on for such a service till Harry, the Indian should return, who was gone to the Onondagoes, and every day expected back again, It was further resolved, the whole should be deferred until the said Harry's return, upon which a full inquiry should be made, and ye treaty with the ye Conestogoe Indians renewed and strengthened. In ye meantime it is expected that ye Governor of Maryland, who seems earlier concerned and has earlier infor-

mation, will make inquiry also."—This article sufficiently explains itself and I need add nothing of an explanatory character to it.

1702—The French Make Peace With the Iroquois.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 88 it is stated in a letter from James Logan to William Penn, that "in the Monthly Mercury for January there is under the head of "France" a passage, which if true would be of bad consequence to us, viz.: that the Government of Canada has made a peace with the Iroquois, which will oblige the greater care in what has been said. Albany, by it, seems ruined; and we shall be greatly exposed when that barrier of the Five Nations is removed."

I cite this because whatever the Iroquois did affected the Conestogas and as the Iroquois broke their allegiance with the English and made a treaty of peace with the French of Canada, then the Conestogas were compelled to choose whether they would obey their masters the Iroquois, or defy them and keep their peace with the English. We may add here that they never broke their agreements with the English.

1702—Penn Wants Settlements on the Susquehanna and Chesapeake.

In a letter written by James Logan to William Penn in 1702, it is stated in Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 122, that a settlement on the navigable part of the Northeast river is to be made and that it was to be located half way between New Castle and Conestoga, and the letter sets forth that another point in favor of the settlement is, that it is a convenient stage from the lower parts to Susquehanna which would much encourage a settlement of that also. The letter goes on to say that Griffith Owen who was with Penn at Susquehanna know the place. The letter then says that Logan approves of Penn's inclination to have settlements on Chesapeake to trade between Pennsylvania.

This I cite simply to show the importance of our Indians living up in this country because they had a certain bearing upon the settlements in that locality.

1702—Conestoga Indians Have Ceased Their Visits to Philadelphia.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, pp. 148 and 149, under the date of 1702 it is stated that Indian Harry is still with the Onondagoes but promises to stop on his return, he did not do so. This caused fear on the part of the whites and they found that he was returned home to Conestoga two months ago but that the Conestoga Indians are quiet, however, that they "for this last year have seldom come near us; some of them are uneasy and threaten to disturb the remote settlers of land: such as the New German tract, which they clamor is not purchased."

The importance of this topic lies in the fact that here under the date of 1702 is a "New German Tract" spoken of somewhere near the neighborhood of the Conestoga Indians. This is fully five years and may be seven years before the settlements began either in the Pequea or Conestoga Valleys, and the "New German Tract" likely refers to bargains which Penn was making in England with German People indicating to them in a gneral way where their lands would be. Another noticeable thing in this item is the apparent doubt which the Conestogas entertained as to what they should do.

Indian Harry had no doubt brought home from Canada the news that the Five Nations were thinking of joining the French, and his suspicious action in not stopping on his way back but going directly to Conestoga would confirm that there was some treachery on foot between the Five Nations and the Conestogas toward the English and the Conestogas seem to be on the verge of breaking faith. However, we will see later that all turned out well.

As to this German tract, it may be that the 20000 acres granted in 1701 to Cornelius Empsom near Octoraro is what is referred to. See a former item on this.

1702 — Thomas Chalkley Journeys Through the Susquehanna Indian Country.

In Thomas Chalkley's works, a book which we have referred to hertofore, pp. 38-39 he tells of his journey in this neighborhood and among the Indians thereof; but I am not able to say positively that he did communicate with the Conestogas on this trip. We will find definite information about his later missionary journeys among the Susquehannas and Conestogas.

1703—Louis Mitchell or Michelle, Martin Chartier and Others Live at Conestoga With the Indians.

In Rupp's history of Lancaster County, p. 53 he says that in the year of 1703 the Canton of Bern in Switzerland sent Louis Mitchell to look for vacant lands in Pennsylvania. Martin Chartier is also described as carrying messages from Philadelphia to the Shawnas at Pequea near Conestoga, where he had a trading station. On p. 54 Rupp says, though Mitchell was the person who first lead the rest there to Conestoga, yet others had come in since; and these were the pioneer whites in Conestoga.Rupp also says at p. 45, quoting the Colonial Rec., which we have also quoted in a former item, that Martin Chartier had long lived among the Shawana Indians.

1703—The French Again Trying to Wean the Conestoga Indians From the English.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence p. 227 James Logan on the 2nd of September of that year writes a letter to William Penn in which he says, "Indian Harry of Conestoga is now here and acquaints us with the great endeavors of the French, but I have not fully discoursed with him." The letter also states that French are settling among the Five Nations and are at peace with them; and have emissaries all about us. This is sufficient to show that the French were trying to get the good-will of the Five Nations and of course the Five Nations absolutely controlled the Conestoga Indians.

1703 — Letort and Bezalion Again Held in Bonds.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 100 the following report is made of a Council held at Philadelphia the 17th of August this year, as follows:—

"James Letort who about two years agoe went out of this Province to Canada, and returned last spring, having been upon his return examined before several of the Council and magistrates, and no great occasion found to support him of any evil designs against this Government, he having been bred in it since his infancy, had hitherto behaved himself inoffensively and was seduced to depart in time of peace by the Instigation of some others, without any evil

intentions that could be made appear in himself and being now in town, together with Peter Bezalion another Frenchman and Indian Trader, it was Judged necessary to call them both before the Council, and for further satisfaction to take security of them for their behavior towards the Government, accordingly they were sent for and obliged each to give Security in five hundred pounds Sterling, that they should behave themselves as good subjects of the Queen and of this Government, and hold no correspondence whatsoever with ye enemy, but at all times during ye Warr make best discoveries they could do all designs that should come to their knowledge against this Government, or any others of the Queens Subjects." In this article we plainly see how constantly the efforts were going on about Conestoga to get our Indians turned against the English.

1703 — James Logan's Intended Trip to the Conestoga Indians.

In a letter to William Penn dated the 13th of March, 1703, and found in Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 79, James Logan says, "I design next month for Conestoga, God willing, to treat with the Indians there and confirm them for we have many flying reports about the attempts of the French to debauch all; and Indian Harry has never been here since he went to the Onondagoes last year, though he solemnly promised to return this way." But it appears in the same book, pp. 197-198 that Logan never made this trip.

1703—Bazilion Again Suspected.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 224 in a letter from James Logan to William Penn, Logan states that it is not safe to let Bazalion to be at large, as he is a dangerous man against the English.

1703—Randall Janney to be Sent to Susquehanna.

In Vol. 1 of the book last above quoted, p. 214, William Penn writes a letter to Logan which begins at page 211, saying that he recommends Janney about the Susquehanna purchase; and that Logan shall use him kindly. His purpose there was to look after the intended New County and also to keep tally on Indian doings.

1703—Penn Desires Tobacco and Indian Products to be Shipped Down the Chesapeake.

In the same Vol. last cited, p. 180 it is stated that a ship to carry 7 or 800 hogsheads of tobacco down the Chesapeake is about being built and that the costs of it may not exceed 3000 pounds, if built at best hand; and the cables and rigging may be had from England.

1703 — The Settlement at Octoraro Trades With the Indians.

In the same Vol. last quoted, p. 203 in a letter by Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson, he speakes of the fact that the settlement of lands at the head of the Northeast river or Octoraro gives value to our Susquehanna lands, and that our Susquehanna country, considering the time of the year is very healthy. It may be collected from the letter as a whole that some trading is being conducted by the Indians with these parts.

1703—A Number of Indians Remove from Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 131 in the proceedings of a Council held the beginning of the year of 1704 there is an item which indicates that a number of Indians about the end of

the year 1703 left at Conestoga. The article states that Martin Chartier who long lived upon the Susquehannna was examined in relation to himself, the Indians, "and those that had lately left Conestoga. And there not being sufficient occasion to put him any further trouble, he was dismissed."

This is the only thing that I can find on the subject. I can not tell who or what tribe of Indians are referred to or whether a large or small number left Conestoga. It does not refer to the Shawnese because they did not leave until quite some time later than 1703. But this is enough to indicate to us that certain bodies of these Indians were in the habit of shifting their homes.

1703 — Whites Among the Indians at Conestoga.

It seems as early as 1703 there were some whites among the Conestoga and other Indians about Susquehanna, not to settle there but to trade with them. Rupp at p. 39 has briefly stated the history on this point and he says as follows:— "Though no actual settlements had been made prior to 1708, or 1709, in Lancaster County, a few whites had their abodes among the Indians on the Susquehanna. — These were Indian Traders, viz.: Joseph Jessop, James LeTort, Peter Bezalion, Martin Chartier, all Indians, and upon the Susquehanna; and one Mitchel, a Swiss. Nicole Godin, an active young fellow, but rather a sneak, and one Francois. These, however, had no license to trade among and with the Indians.

It appears from a French letter from Madame Letort, the French woman at Conestoga, directed to Edmund Farmer, bearing date 15th of March, 1703-4, that the Towittois Indians had come down and cut off the two families of neighbor Indians at Conestoga, and that they were all there under great apprehensions of further mischief from them, and were preparing to demand succor of the government in case the disorders should be continued.

The subject mentioned in the letter, was considered in council, March 22; and it was resolved that messengers be forthwith despatched to Conestogoe, by way of New Castle, to know the truth of the information, the relation, as it appeared, being somewhat suspicious." This item needs no further explanation.

1704—Rumors of a Plot to Carry Off the Shawnese.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 145, the Council heard that the Shawnese were about to be carried away by some strange Indians and they sent for Peter Bezalion to be informed of the fact. The minutes of Council on this subject are as follows: "Peter Bezalion ye French Trader, coming to town and being sent for informed ye Board That he had heard that those of the five nations who intended shortly down this way, had a design of carrying off the Shawnese Indians, both settled near Conestogoe, and those near Lechay, (now Easton), were their enemies; which being fully considered, it was resolved that it would be necessary to send an Embassy as well in behalf of our friends and allies, as the Shawnese are as of ourselves, and that all the belts of wampum be procured and sent up that were collected among the Indians three years agoe for that purpose." No particular comment is necessary on this item as it explains itself.

1704 — Indian Harry's Brother Reports the Doings of the Five Nations.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 155, at a Council held on the 9th of Aug.

this year it is reported that, "Indian Harry's brother, late of Conestogoe, being arrived in town from the five nations, was examined with James Le Tort and Peter Bizaillion, concerning those of the said five nations, that have been so long expecthere; and Peter Bizaillion was or-ordered to attend again, about five o'clock in the afternoon."

In this there is exhibited the further movements and difficulties which the English had at all times to keep the Five Nations faithful.

1704—The Chiefs of the Five Nations Came to Philadelphia to Make a Treaty.

In the same book just cited, p. 158 it appears at a Council held on the 28th of August this year that, "Kagundanoyagh one of the Chiefs of the Onondagoes, with 7 or 8 others of ye chiefs of ye Five Nations, being come down to Philadelphia in order to hold a treaty to settle a correspondence with this Government. They were called before the Council, the Lieutenant Governor being by reason of sickness unable to attend."

1704—Nicole Godin Above Conestoga Reports Indian Depredations in that Neighborhood.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 138 we have the following information, which concerns not only the Senecas but the Indians from Potomac and Conestoga. The report of the proceedings is as follows: "Edward Farmer, acquainted ye Governor that according to this order, he had informed ye Assembly of what he had heard from the Trader Nicole Godin, viz.: That upon ye return of ye Carolina Indians, who was taken (as we said) by some of ye five nations last year, and after escape went homewards through this province, some of ye Carolina Indians, to ye number of 40, in revenge, were lately come and had set upon some of those Potowmock, but they taking to their fastness and being secured, ye others declared to them that they (of Carolina), had been for many years attacked and Injured by some Indians from ye Northwest, whom they had always hitherto taken to be those of Canada, but now found who they were, viz: ye Senecars and those of Potomock and Conestogoe, and that they were resolved to be revenged, and that the three nations had joined and would shortly come up and either destroy or be destroyed by them.

That upon this information, ye assembly thanked the Governor for his care in sending them an account of it and upon hearing there were two Indians sent from some of ye five nations to this Government, on a message, requested that ye Governor would be pleased to examine ye said Indians to night, by Ja. Le Tort for an Interpreter, and that the said Nicole should be for to night, and ye said Indians be examined with him tomorrow."

1704—Suspicious Actions of Nicholas Gateau.

At a council held the 15th of May, 1704 the following report was made concerning Gateau who was an Indian trader and operated among the Conestogas and other Indians living on Susquehanna. The report is found in Vol. 2 of Col. Rec., p. 131 and is as follows: "A petition from Nicholas Gateau, the French cook, of this town was read, shewing that when the administration of the Government was in the Council, he had preferred a petition praying that according to the Laws of this Government he might be naturalized in this Province and Territories; that his said Petition had been granted and an instrument prepared, but that by the Governor's happy arrival the Execu-

tion of it was prevented, and therefore humbly prays that the Governor would continue the same unto him, and that he might be naturalized.

Ordered, that the said Nicholas Gateau, upon his taking the requisite oaths, (viz.:) fidelity to the Queen, the abjuration of the Pope's Supremacy, and fidelity to the Proprietary, be naturalized, and an Instrument prepared for it according to Law."

1704—Suffering of the Conestoga Indians in the Winter of 1704.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 359, it is set forth in a letter from Isaac Norris to Daniel Zachary that the winter was very severe. The letter is as follows:—"As the longest English liver has never known such a winter as this for the abundance of snow so we have never had such a vacation. All avenues were stopped and traveling wholly impeded till just now. The post has not been here these six weeks, which makes the time pass on very melancholy, and the more particularly for the want of hearing from you as usual. This makes me assured it will be as welcome to thee to hear thy little boy is well, and our family,with friends generally. Our river has been fast these six weeks, and people go and come with carts, sleds, horses, etc., as on land. Dutch sleds are mightily in fashion here this winter."

On the following page of the same book, Isaac Norris writes a letter to John Askew on the same subject, which is as follows: "We have had the deepest snow this winter that has been known, (by the longest English liver here;) no traveling, all avenues shut; the post has not gone these six weeks. The river still fast; people bring loads over it, as they did seven years ago when thou wast here; many creatures like to perish."

I have thought these two items might be of interest in this connection as that would show the condition in the bleak winter around Conestoga at the time when the only houses in it were Indian huts or wigwams.

1704 — Strange Indians Kill Several Families of Conestogas.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 121 there is set forth a report made before Council of information which Madame Ann Letort, the Frenchwoman at Conestoga gave concerning the slaughter of Indians there; and it is as follows: "A French letter from Ann Letort, the French woman at Conestogoe, directed to Edward Farmer, bearing date of the 15th Instant, being brought to the Governor, informing that ye Towittois Indians had come down and cut off two families of neighbor Indians at Conestogoe, and that they were all there under great apprehensions of further mischief from them, and were preparing to demand succor of this Government in case the disorders should continue. The Governor laid the said letter before the Board to be considered how far the said information ought to be regarded, and would be judged necessary to be done therein.

Resolved that some messenger or messengers be forthwith despatched away to Conestogoe, by way of New Castle, to know ye true grounds of the said Information, ye Relation as it now appears being somewhat suspicious. This is the same incident quoted from Rupp in a prior item it is repeated here because the records of Council are here in full.

1704 — Gateau Complains Against Godyn at Susquehanna.

In a minute of Council, p. 181 of Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., it is set forth that Nicholas Gateau exhibited a

complaint that sundry goods were taken from him, some by Nich. Godyn at Sasquehannah; and others were in possession of William Slooby and he begs that justice be done him.

1704-A Report that Chartier & Two Other French Indian Traders are About to Leave Susquehanna.

In the Vol. last cited. p. 182 it was reported to Council that Chartier and other French traders were acting suspiciously about Susquehanna and on this information that they were about to depart out of the Government. It was ordered that the Sheriff of New Castle, being nearest to their abode take it into charge and be diligent to observe the motions and designs, and if he finds any grounds, he shall arrest and secure Chartier and his accomplices. This item is important in connection with our Indian on Susquehanna because it locates the group of these French traders definitely at this time that are said in the item to live on Susquehanna, and it is further pointed out that the Sheriff of New Castle is closest to them. This shows that they were living on the lower Susquehanna perhaps below Columbia at this time. Their dealings with our Indians were extensive and intimate.

1704—The Old Indian and Swedish Road Still in Use to Susquehanna.

In an item found page 122 of Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., which we have heretofore quoted it is stated that Council resolved to send messengers to Conestoga by way of New Castle. I here simply recall our attention to the fact that as early as 1646 there was evidence which we found in Campanius Holm and Acrelius that the route taken by the ancient Susquehannocks and the Swedes who were settled in the neighborhood of what is now Wilmington, led across the country by the way of New Castle to Susquehanna river and then up the river to the Indian Town. The item this road by the way of New Castle we now quote seems to indicate that was still a favorite one between the Lower Delaware Settlements and the Susquehanna Country.

1704—The Great Rum Trade with the Conestoga Indians Continues.

At a Council which was held the 9th day of May, 1704, a member of the Board informed that body of the great abuses committed by carrying rum from New Castle to Conestoga. In this item we see that the rum trade still continues there in great force.

In addition to what we have just said it is set forth in the same Book, p. 141 that Ortyiagh, the Chief of the Conestoga Indians made a complaint through Edward Farmer that he should "complain to the Governor of the great quantity of rum continually brought to their town insomuch that they are ruined by it aud having nothing left but have laid out all, even their clothes for rum; and may now, when threatened with war be surprised by their enemies when besides themselves with drlnk and thereby be utterly destroyed."

1704—Letort, the Indian Trader of Conestoga, in Jail.

On page 163 of Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., "A petition from James Letort a prisoner in the Common Gaol of Philadelphia, was read setting forth that he had always been faithful and bore. true allegiance to the Crown of

England, and was ready to give such further security as should be thought reasonable, yet was abridged of his Liberty and detained a prisoner, and praying for relief therein; it is ordered to be further considered, and then adjourned."

On the 31st of October this petition of James Letort was considered, and as it is set forth on page 170 of the last named book, "it was ordered that unless the said Letort can give sufficient security for his good behavior in the sum of 1000 Pounds, to be produced at the next setting of the Council, he still be detained as a prisoner."

1705 — The Ganawese Come to the Susquehanna Country.

At a Council held the 11th of May, 1705 as is reported in Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 191, "Manangy, the Indian Chief of Schuylkill came to wait on the Governor in behalf of the Ganawese or Piscataway Indians, settled in this Province near the head of Polomock, being now reduced by sickness to a small number, and desirous to quitt their present habitation, (where they settled five years ago), with the Proprietor's consent the Conestogoe Indians then becoming Guarantees of a Treaty of Friendship made between them, and shewing a belt of Wampum, they had sent to the Schuylkill Indians to engage their friendship and Consent, that they may be permitted to settle in the said place, which if he pleased to agree to, they will come and wait on him themselves with a suitable present.

The Governor gave them a kind invitation, by the said Menangy, to come and settle as near us as they should think fitt, provided they would take care and live peaceably, and that the said Manangy, and ye Indians of that place with him would appear and engage they should behave themselves well and dutyfull to this Government."

It will be observed here that these Indians came into Pennsylvania from the South in the year of 1700, but they settled on the extreme lower boundary about the head branches of the Potomac; and they now moved to Conestoga. I can not find whether they entered into the Conestoga tribe and became a new element in its already conglomerated constitution or kept their separate tribal manners and lived separate. They were reduced to a very small number and may have formed a little group by themselves.

1705—The Conestogas Fear that the Marylanders are Going to Exterminate Them.

In the book and at the page last mentioned it is stated, "Two Indians from Conestogae also waited on the Governor, informing him that they had been alarmed by the people of Maryland, and were told that they had design to come and take or cut them off, upon account of an injury done to some of that Province by some of the five nations, of which they were wholly innocent, and therefore desired this Government's protection, that as they have behaved themselves well and peacably, they might still continue to live in quietness and unmolested.

The Governor assured them, that if they were clear of the violences done lately upon the family of the English in Maryland, and would not Espouse the Cause of or shelter any who should committ any injuries against the Queen's subjects, they should always be protected."

This item discloses to us that these small tribes about the Susquehanna were again undergoing the

dangerous experiences which their ancestors the old Susquehannocks had undergone two generations before:—that is, the five nations committed depredations in Maryland and blamed it upon the Conestogas. We remember that 1675 before the Five Nations had conquered the Susquehannocks those Indians of the Five Nations used to commit murders in Maryland and blame it on the Susquehannocks and it was this sad circumstance that brought Major Truman and Colonel Washington to slaughter the five Susquehannock chiefs and take the first steps in the extermination of the Susquehannock Nation.

1705—James Logan Holds the First Treaty at Conestoga Since Penn's Last Visit.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 244 under the date of the 6th of June, 1706 James gave an account of the treaty which he had held at Conestoga in October, 1705. The reason that he did not report it before was that he wanted to make the report in the presence of the Indians with whom he had held the treaty; and on this day the Chiefs of the Conestogas, Shawnese and Ganawese on Susquehanna had come to town (Philadelphia) to confer about public affairs and had brought Indian Harry with them as interpreter, and were now present in the council chamber. This report to Council of the treaty he made with them in 1705 was made in their presence so that they could object if he reported any part of it wrongly, and it served the further purpose of fully informing them that the treaty which had been made in the far away woods along the Conestoga would reach the authorities at Philadelphia in fact and in truth. The report which Logan gave on what happened at Conestoga is set forth as follows:

"The Secretary not having done it in Council before, gave the Board an account of the message to the said Indians, in October last, undertaken by order of Council, upon the repeated reports we had of great uneasiness among the Indians, by reason of the Ganawese, who had fled from Maryland, as follows, viz:

That in Company of some persons from Chester, viz.: the Sheriff and Clark of that County, and the Sheriff of New Castle, Hercules Coutts, Hermannus Alricks, with Edward Shippen, Junr., and others being ten in number, he carried thither some English goods for a present and at Conestoga as the Chief place he first treated with them, telling them, (according to the minutes then taken), that he was come from the Governor of Pennsylvania, who had always been a friend to all the Indians within the bounds of it. That Governor William Penn, since he first came into this countrey, with all those under him, had always inviolably maintained a perfect friendship with all the natives of the Countrey, that he possessed of it at his first arrival.

That when he was last in the Countrey he visited those of that place and his son upon his arrival did the same, in order to cultivate the ancient friendship between them, that he and his posterity might, after his father's example maintain peace and a good understanding with them and their heirs.

That the Governor, who now is at Philadelphia, is sent over to them by Governor Penn in his stead, would have come also and seen them, but other business obstructed, he intended it however as soon as possible he could with conveniency.

That he, (the Secretary) with that Company were now come, not to

make any new treaty with them, for that he hoped would be needless, those that have been already made being in full force and sufficiently strong, but to enquire of them, as our brethren, how matters stood with them, whether anything had happened among them, and whether all things were well with them in this time of open war, of which we desired a full account of them.

That Governor Penn had often employed his thoughts how to prevent any affronts or injuries of any kind being put upon them, and how they might the most advantageously be furnished with what they wanted from the English.

That notwithstanding all his care things had not been so well managed as desired, but that now we were resolved to fall upon measures, more effectually to put in practice what had been so much wished for in vain.

That the Assembly of Pennsylvania which is the great Council, was now about to sit at Philadelphia to make necessary laws for the good of the publick, that in order to have some good law made, also for their advantage, they were desired three or four of their Chiefs and wisest men to Philadelphia, to agree on such things as would be most proper to be past into laws for that purpose.

That he was not willing to insist on any further particulars at this time, upon the various reports that had been spread in the Countrey concerning them, which principally occasioned their visit, referring till they should meet at Philadelphia,only he would mention two things of great importance at the present time, and which he must lay before them: First, that they should take great care of giving ear to Malicious Reports spread and carried by ill men, for that we heard they had been alarmed at the Christians putting themselves in arms in all these parts and mustering. The reason of this was the war with the French, and was designed rather to help than to hurt them, but as they and we are brethren each must be assistant to the other, and therefore the English took up arms to defend themselves, and the Indians also against both their enemies.

That notwithstanding they ought all as far as possible to avoid war, for peace was most desirable, and war must be only for defence.

That we were also informed some of the Maryland Indians then among them had differed with the English there, and were afraid to return or come among the English of that Government. If so they might then continue among us till matters were fully settled, that our Governor would treat with the Governor of Maryland in their favour, but they must not quarrel with any of the subjects of England, for we are all under one Crown and are as one people.

That these Indians then called the Piscataway Indians about five years ago when they came to settle within this Government came to Philadelphia in company with those of Conestoga and the Shawanois, who engaged to our government for their peaceable deportment and behavior amongst us that hitherto they had behaved accordingly, and we hoped that they would continue so to do. After which he summoned up his discourses and desired them to remember well what he had said and give him an answer at next meeting to-morrow. The Secretary further informed the Board that the next day sitting again in Council with their Chiefs at Conestogoe, they made answer:

That in Consideration of our Visit, though they were very poor, they

presented us with some skins. That they could not possibly come to Philadelphia so soon as desired, being now late in the year, but in the Spring they will all come in a body. That they did not understand what we meant by ill reports, which being further explained to them, they answered, (Viz. the Ganawese), that some of the Virginians had much disturbed them, killed one of their men and abused several others, that being uneasie they thought it not safe to continue there, and were now come hither where they hoped they might live peaceably, that on their sides whatever was reported they meant nothing but peace and friendship. To which he answered that they should be safe here, and desired them not to go further from us till matters be fully settled with Virginia and Maryland, that in the mean time we would be kind to them and they should not want. They proceeded to answer that they knew not of any ill reports at present, that when they heard any they should wholly disregard them.

That he further added that he understood John Hans was building a log house for trade amongst them, which made uneasie, and desired to know whether they encouraged it. To which they answered that they did not, and were desired not to suffer any Christians to settle amongst them without the Governor's leave. They added that they desired us to trade with them and for the present to trust them, for it was very low with them. The Secretary further added that among the Shawanis, with whom their chief abode was, he had also held a treaty to the same purpose with that at Conestogae, and received very near the same answers; that he had made them presents of Stroudwater and Indian Jewels to the value of nearly 20 Pounds and had received some skins in return,which being sold to the best advantage amounted to 6 Pounds and no more. Then he left them all in a very good temper, very well pleased and obliged with the message, and exceedingly disposed. That he with the Company had made a journey among the Ganawese, settled some miles above Conestogoe at a place called Connejahera, **above the fort,** and had conferences with them, which seemed wholly to compose all their apprehensions, and that he had reason to believe he left these three nations in a perfect good understanding with us, of which he thought it necessary more particularly to acquaint the Board at this time, because the present conference would in some measure be grounded upon that message.

The said account being ended the Governor ordered the Interpreter to acquaint the said Indians that he fully designed to have seen them at their own town before this time, but unexpected business falling in prevented him, notwithstanding he still continued his resolution by the first convenient opportunity, in the mean time he was glad to see them all here, and desired they would proceed to inform him of what they had new or what had occurred to their notice.

Upon which Andaggyjunguagh, the Chief of Conestogoe, laid before the Governor, a very large Wampum belt of 21 rows, with three hands wrought in it in black, (the rest white) which belt, he said,was pledge of peace formerly delivered by the Onondagoe Indians, one of the Five Nations to the Nantikokes, when they made the said Nantikokes tributaries; that the Nantikokes being lately under some apprehensions of danger from the Five Nations, some of them had this spring come up to Conestogoe and brought this belt

with them, and that they had another of the same also at Conestogoe, to show to those of the Five Nations that were expected shortly to come down to receive the Nantikokes tribute; that they brought this belt thither, that we might also shew it to those of the Five Nations who might come down this way, that they might see they had made peace, and that we are at peace with our neghboring Indians. Much time was spent in discoursing this, as also in conferring which the Shawonois,who owned themselves under some misapprehensions from the Five Nations, and then adjourned till morning." The report of this treaty is so full that we need add nothing to it by way of comment.

This last item again shows us the location of Susquehanna Fort at this time.

1705—Location of Susquehanna Fort at This Time. Bazalion and Two Conestoga Indians Attend Council.

In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 186 it was ordered on the 23rd of May, 1705 that notice shall be given to the two Indians from Conestoga and to Peter Bezalion to attend tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. It was at this meeting that the Conestogas gave the news to Council that they were afraid of the Maryland authorities; and what they said and did has already been stated so that it need not be repeated.

As to Peter Bezalion it might be important here to state that he is buried in the church yard of the St. John's Episcopal church at Compass, just over the Lancaster County line from Waterloo in Salisbury township on the head branches of the Pequea Creek. The inscription on his tombstone is as follows:

"In Memory of
Peter Bezellion
who departed this life
July 18th, 1742
Aged 80 years.
Whoe'er thou art with tender Heart
Stop. Read and Think on me
I once was well as now thou art,
As now I am so shalt thou be."

1705—A Law to Further Protect the Indians from Frauds and Insults.

In Vol. 2 of the Col Rec., p. 213 it is set forth that the Assembly have forwarded to the Council a bill entitled, "An Act for Better Improving Good Correspondence With the Indians." One object of the Act was to limit the amount they could spend for Indian treaties. At page 216 it is set forth that the Governor and Council thought the sum of 50 pounds was too small for Indian treaties for one year, but the Assembly would not agree to a larger amount. The act was finally passed the 12 of January, 1706 and may be found in Vol 2 of the Statutes at large p. 279. The assembly won its point in this Act because it provides that no more than 50 pounds may be spent yearly.

1705—James Logan's Letter to Penn on His Conestoga Trip.

In Vol. 2 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 83 is to be found a letter written by Logan to William Penn the 9th of October, 1705, in which he says in part, "I have for several weeks past upon various business been obliged to be from home, a journey to Conestogoe, in order to compose some misunderstandings apprehended to arise among there and some other neighboring Indians, as the Shawanois and Ganawois lately settled near them, being fled from Maryland, took me up about 10 days." This is about all he says to William Penn on the subject but the proceedings in full are found in the Colonial Records, as we have above stated.

1706 — Conestogas, Shawnese and Ganawese go to Philadelphia On Business.

If one had been in the Council Chamber on the 6th of June, 1706 they would have found there a large company of Indians from the Susquehanna, who came down to confer on public business. We have referred to this before showing that James Logan took advantage of their presence to explain to the Council in the presence of the Indians the treaty he had made at Conestoga in October, 1705. But this visit by these Indians was made by them for other purposes. We remember that the Conestoga Chiefs laid before the Governor a very large belt of wampum with 21 rows with 3 black bands wrought in it and the rest white and gave the explanations which we have above set forth. The next day the Board took up the question of what this belt meant and why the Indians left it there to be shown to the Five Nations. The Council were very much puzzled and somewhat frightened by this account of the Conestogas, especially as the Nantikokes desired it to be brought to the attention of the Five Nations when those chiefs should come through Philadelphia on their way to Conestoga. The decision of Council is set forth at page 247 of the book last cited, where it is stated that the subject being debated for some time, and the Indians more particularly examined about it, it was resolved at length upon their declaring that they had another of the same at Conestoga to be shown to the Five Nations that the belt should be kept here according to their proposal."

1706 — The Governor Explains Our Laws to the Conestoga Indians.

In the same work and at the page last mentioned is is stated that on this 7th of June, 1706 the Governor caused the late law for improving a better Correspondence with the Indians to be read and explained to those that had come down from Conestoga. "They were acquainted upon it, that this Government took all possible care to have all matters relating to them regulated to the best advantage, that now they had made a law to prevent any injuries to them from the Christians, and laying greater punishments on those that should commit them, than if they were done to the English themselves. That we had also enacted in that law, that no person should trade with them, but such as should first have a license from the Governor, under his hand and seal, upon making out of which license, the persons licensed were obliged to observe certain orders and rgulations, that the Indians should be in no wise abused by them. That it now concerned them to take care among themselves, that this law should be kept in force, for the traders coming among them could not be discovered but by the Indians, and therefore they were desired to see that it be duly observed. They then desired that only two persons should be allowed to trade with them, for that number would be sufficient, but it was answered that they would be the more subject to be imposed on, the fewer should trade with them, and it would be to their advantage, provided that all traders were subject to a regulation.

They further desired that none might be suffered to go up into the Countrey beyond their towns, to meet the Indians returning from hunting, for they sustain great damages by that practice, by being made drunk at their return before they get home to their wives and so were imposed on and cheated by the traders of all their labors.

Under this they were desired to take care among themselves that none of their people should sell anything to the traders till they came home to their own town and in the licenses that should be given in the future, the Governor would take care to oblige them not to go higher into the Countrey than the noted Indian Towns and to trade nowhere else.

Then they presented a parcel of Deer, Fox and Racoon skins, of about 14 Pounds in value, (according to the prices they now bear), which they offered for a confirmation of the Chain of Friendship between us, and desired that we might all still Continue Friends and Brothers as we have always hitherto been, which being kindly accepted and orders given to provide goods to return them for their present, the Council adjourned."

In this we again see what a variety of matters it was necessary to take up and settle between our Indians on Susquehanna and the Government; and what a sensible view the Indians took of all these measures for their benefit.

1706 — The Costs of Logan's Treaty With the Conestoga Indians.

On the 25th of June, 1706, as shown in Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 248 the Secretary, James Logan, "laid before the Board an account of the charge of the last treaty had with the Indians of Conestogoe, at Philadelphia, amounting on the debtor side to 36 pounds, 2s and 5d; on the Creditor 13 pounds, 17s— which makes the balance 22 pounds, 5s and 5d, which account being approved and approved of by the Board, it is ordered that the Treasurer forthwith pay the balance of it of that 50 Pounds per Annum, allowed by the Assembly for that purpose."

1706—Governor Evans Goes to Conestoga to Make a Treaty.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 251 at a Council held the 31st of August, this year, Governor Evans represented to the Council that it being of great importance during this war time to maintain a good understanding with the Indians and secure them to the Queen's interest against the effeorts of the enemy to debauch them, he had proposed to make a visit very hastily to those of Conestoga and the adjoining settlements and he asked that it be made a public charge; and the Board if the Governor did undertake the trouble of the journey, that his visit to them since they expect to see him at their own town, might be of great public service.

On this encouragement Governor Evans made the visit and the treaty and on the 19th of September he reported it to Council (p. 252), saying that he had further "a necessity of going to Conestoga lately for which he found when he arrived there that there had been very great occasion and he hoped it would prove of great service." This seems to be the only report of the treaty and what questions he took up and disposed of is now shown. But in Vol. 2 of the Penn & Logan correspondence, p. 159 James Logan writing to Wm. Penn says in a letter dated August 1706 in speaking of John Evans, "There are perhaps some articles that perhaps may shock thee, particularly that of the Conestogoe journey but it is exactly as everything is as they have charged. The ill flavor of that treaty made by Governor Evans is they accused him of making gain out of it. In a letter found in the book last mentioned, p. 267 in Logan says concerning John Evans that the Assembly have long since

accused him of making out of this treaty a lewd voyage to Susquehanna with the violest character of his and his retinue's practices with the wives and daughters of the Indian people of Conestoga."

The scandal of this treaty at Conestoga was taken note of by the Assembly and on the 28th of December, these staid old Quakers in an address to Governor Evans say in Vol. 1 of the Votes of Assembly, Part 2, p. 131, "If men employed or concerned in Indian treaties or trade will take these opportunities to exact upon or defraud the Indians and commit such vile abominations with them, as we are informed some have done to the great scandal of Christianity, the poor heathen will have too much cause to conclude that it is better to remain in their natural state, than to advance towards the Christian religion, especfally as they conclude that the practicers thereof will give them no better examples, than we understand some have done lately and formerly, in their Indian visits."

Rupp says at p. 44, in speaking of this treaty that, "It appears that the Indians, at Conestoga were quite an object of attention.Fearful they might be alienated, Governor Evans conceived it of the utmost importance under these existing circumstances 'to maintain as far as possible, a perfect good understanding with the Indians, and to labor to keep them secure in the Queen's interest against the machinations used by the enemy to debauch them from the people of the province.' To effect this, he proposed, in August, 1706, the year after Chalkley's errand to them as a messenger of Peace, to visit very speedily the Indians of Conestoga, and the adjacent settlement. He went, and had a personal interview with them at Conestoga; and it proved, as he hoped of great service.

It was then, perhaps, he was so eloquently addressed by an Indian Orator, who, as the Poet says spake: 'Father—we love quiet; we suffer the mouse to play, when the leaves are rustled by the wind we fear not; when the leaves are disturbed in ambush, we are uneasy; when a cloud obscures your brilliant sun, our eyes feel dim; but when the rays appear, they give great heat to the body, and joy to the heart. Treachery darkens the chain of friendship, but truth makes it brighter than ever. This is the peace we desire."

I quote this just as Rupp gives it and if the Governor was capable of the abominable acts he is charged with having committeed (and his retinue) after the beautiful addresses the Indians made to him, he must have been a character entirely unworthy of his place and could not find any excuse whatever except that which malefactors frequently use — that he was drunk and did not know what he was doing.

This action of Evans illustrates how completely vile acts are kept alive through the long ages of history; for the good old schoolmaster, Robert Proud, p. 481 of his History of Pennsylvania, also calls attention to what he styles Governor Evans' abominable acts at Conestoga. And he further says that the Assembly in 1707 drew up a remonstrance against Evans and made this conduct at Conestoga one of the main points against him. This remonstrance is found in Vol. 1 of the Votes of Assembly, Part 2, p. 180 and in it they say p. 181 that a complaint was made to the House that some who lately went with Governor Evans to Conestoga to visit the Indians committed vile abominations with them, and in remonstrance they conclude by say-

ing that the Lieutenant Governor being in Penn's absence in chief command of the province, ought to be virtuous, but that he has by his excess and misdemeanors dishonored God and the Queen and brought the Government of Pennsylvania to great public scandal.

1706—Thomas Chalkley's Visit to the Conestoga Indians.

Rupp in his History of Lancaster County, p. 41 says that in the year 1705 Thomas Chalkley was visiting some of his brethren at Nottingham in Maryland and that Chalkley said at that same time that he had it on his mind to visit the Indians living at Conestoga. Rupp then quotes it as being in 1705 but Chalkley fixes it in his Journal as in 1706. Rupp then gives the following description of what took place: "We got an interpreter, and thirteen or fourteen of us travelled through the woods about fifty miles carrying our provisions with us, and on the journey set down by a river, and spread our food on the grass and refreshed ourselves and horses, and then went on cheerfully and with good will, and much love to the poor Indians and when we came they received us kindly, treating civilly in their way. We treated about having a meeting with them in a religious way; upon which they were very grave, and spoke one after another, without any heat or jarring—and some of the most esteemed of the women speak in their councils. I asked our interpreter, why they suffered or permited the women to speak in their Councils? His answer was, 'that some women were wiser than some men.' 'Our interpreter told me that they had not done anything for many years without the councils of an ancient grave woman; who, I observed spoke much in their Councils; for as I was permitted to be present at it, and I asked, what it was the woman said? He told me she was an empress; and they gave much heed to what she said amongst them; and that she then said because we did not come to buy or sell or get gain, but come in love and respect to them—and desire their well doing both here and hereafter;' and further continued 'that our meetings among them might be very beneficial to their young people'—and related a dream which she had three days before, and interpreted it, viz.: 'That she was in London, and that London was the finest place she had ever saw —it was like to Philadelphia; but much bigger—and she went across six streets, and in the seventh she saw William Penn preaching to the people, which was a great multitude, but she and William Penn rejoiced to see each other; and after meeting she went to him, and he told her that in a little time he would come over and preach to them also, of which she was very glad. And now she said her dream was fulfilled, for one of his friends was come to preach to them.'

She advised them to hear us, and entertain us kindly; and accordingly they did. There were two nations of them, the Senecas and Shawnese.

We had first a meeting with the Senecas, with which they were much affected; and they called the other nation, viz.: the Shawnese, and interpreted to them what we spoke in their meeting, and the poor Indians, and particularly some of the young men and women, were under a solid exercise and concern. We had also a meeting with the other nation, and they were all very kind to us, and desired more such opportunities; the which, I hope, Divine Providence will order them if they are worthy thereof.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ was preached freely to them, and faith in Christ, who was put to death at Jerusalem, by the unbelieving Jews; and that this same Jesus came to save people from their sins and by his grace and light in the soul, shows to man his sins, and convinceth him thereof; delivering him out of them, and giving inward peace and comfort to the soul for well-doing; and sorrow and trouble for evil-doing; to all which as their manner is, gave public assent; and to that of the light of the soul, they gave a double assent, and seemed much affected with the doctrine of truth, also the benefit of the holy scriptures was largely opened to them.

After this we returned to our respective habitations, thankful in our hearts to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Several of the friends that went with me expressed their satisfaction in this visit, and offered themselves freely to go again to the like service."

I find the same in Chalkley's Journal, p. 49 where he says he had meetings as he travelled on the road at Nottingham river, Northeast River, Bush River, Gunpowder River and Susquehanna River but he seems to fix the date at 1706, and the same thing which is set forth in Rupp is found pp. 49,50, 51, 52 in Chalkley's Journal.

1706—More Germans Buy Land Among the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 2 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 110, William Penn writes to Logan from England and says that "The German persons press me not for the 30,000 acres of land in New Castle County but the Conestoga land." We here see that the Germans are now preparing to make their home among these Conestoga Indians as early as this, where they obtained rights from Penn but of course they did not settle until a year or more later. It seems that the Conestoga Indians were satisfied to receive these new neighbors for in the same letter Penn writes and says, "I am glad that the business of the Conestogas and other Indians came off so easily.

1706—Relation of the Minquays and the Five Nations.

In 15 Hazard's Register, p. 181 Conyingham says that the Minquays or their nation was part of the Five Nations and settled at Conestoga and were thence called Conestoga Indians. They sent messengers to Penn's Commissioners at Sackamaxan in 1682; some of their chiefs attended the conference or treaty of William Penn in December of the same year when certain lands were assigned them as residences forever, the right of the soil having been purchased of the Indians by Penn. He also says that these Conestoga Indians were remarkable for their love of peace and fidelity of their promises. He says that it is recorded that once every year they send a delegation to the Governor with presents, assuring him of their fidelity of the first treaty or treaties.

1707—Governor Evans Second Treaty at Conestoga.

Some time during the late Spring of 1707 word came from Conestoga that Nicole Godyn and another Frenchman named Francois were endeavoring to get the Indians on Susquehanna and Conestoga to desert the English and join the French. This required immediate attention and Council decided that the Governor should make another journey to Conestoga, which he did in June of that year. He returned about the middle of July and gave a full account of

this treaty which is found in Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., pp. 386 to 390, and it is as follows:

"The Governor with Messrs. John French, William Tonge, Mitchell Bezalion, ———— Grey, and four other servants, set out from New Castle the 27th of June and the next morning arrived at Otteraroe where the Governor was presented with some skins from the Indians, and the same night we arrived at Pequehan, being received by Martines by Opessah and some Indian Chiefs,who conducted us to the town, at our entrance into which place we were saluted by the Indians with a volley of small arms. On Monday we went to Denkanoagah, upon the river Sasquehanna, being about nine miles distance from Pequehan. Sometime after our coming here a meeting was held of the Shawanois, Senequois and Canoise Indians and the Nantikoke Indians from the seven following towns, viz: Matcheattochousie, Matchcouchtin, Witichoquoam, Natahquois, Techquois, Byengeahtein, and Pohecommdati. An Indian presented to the Governor and his Company, and all ye Indians there present, a large pipe with tobacco, out of which every one smoakt, and then the Governor acquainted the Indians that he had received a message from the Senequois Indians of Conestogoe and those of Pequehan, how that several strange Indians were amongst them, and desired his presence there; that although he had the charge and care of many thousands of the Great Queen of England's subjects, yet he has now come to this place to know their desires, and was willing to serve them in whatsoever lay in his power; to which a Nantikoke Indian replied, that they were extremely glad the Governor was with them and that they had waited ten days to see him. Adjunke, one of the Sachemaes of Conestogoe said, he was well satisfied with the Relation the Nantikoke Indians had given him of their affairs. Yet notwithstanding he was very desirous they should make it known to the Governour that he might also be satisfied with it, a Nantikoke Indian took into his hands a Belt of Wampum from a line whereon there was hung nineteen others, and several strings of beads, and said they had been given to understand the Queen had sent orders, that the Indians should live in peace with one another and that they were sent to give some of those belts in behalf of the Governor of Maryland, and themselves, to the Five Nations as our Indians also to do for others and Pennsylvania and themselves, if the Governor thought fit, in order to renew their league with the Five Nations.

Govr. How long have you been at peace with those nations? Nant. Indian. 27 years.

Governor. What is the reason then of so many belts of Wampum and Strings of Beads?

Nant. Indian. We send them as a tribute.

Governor. I am very well satisfied with what has been told me, and with what the Governr of Maryland has done, and had I been acquainted with this business at Philadelphia, I would have sent a belt of Wampum as a token of friendship, to the five nations; but some of those five nations were with me not long since, by whom I sent a belt; and then Adjunke took a belt in his hands, saying he meant to send it to the Five Nations for Penn and themselves.

Indian Harry, by order of the Conestoga Sachemaes, spoke in English to the Nantikoke, who all understood that language as follows, viz: You are going to the Onondagoes; be sure keep on your way; many may tell

you several things to fright you, and that they are great men, and you will be killed. You keep on your way and believe them not, for you will find the King of the Five Nations a very good one, and as good a king as any amongst the Indians.

Governor. I am very glad to see you altogether at this time, and it is my desire and shall be my endeavor, that you all live in peace. Your enemies are ours, and whosoever shall pretend to injure you, I will endeavor that you shall have satisfaction made for it. Then the conference ended, and the Governor treated ye Indians at Dinner, and at night returned to Penquehan.

Pequehan, 30th June Present:
Shawnoise Indians and some of the Five Nations.

Opessah spoke in behalf of the youth of his Town, as follows, viz:

We thank the Governor for his kindness in supporting our people. We are happy to live in a Countrey at Peace, and not in these parts, where we formerly lived; for then upon our return from hunting, we found our town surprised and our women and children taken prisoners by our enemies.

Governor. The Indians may be assured of my protection, for we are one people. If in your absence any of your enemies endeavor to hurt any of your wives or children, they shall redress; for I esteem an injury done to you as to myself.

Opessah. It was the Nantikoke and Canoise Indians who sent for our Father the Governor, and not we therefore we are very sorry they entertained him no better, but since they have not been so kind as they ought we hope the Governor will accept of our small present which we now make him; for we are sensible the ways are bad, and that the bushes wear out your clothes for which reason we give these skins to make Gloves, Stockings and Breeches, in place of those wore out.

Governor. I am well pleased with my journey, and shall be always ready to do the like to preserve peace amongst you at home; and maintain your alliances abroad. I have now (to let you see what confidence I have in you) trusted myself in the midst of you, with a very few of our great Queen's subjects, although I could have easily brought with me very great numbers. I have been told that some ill designing persons have frequently raised reports of my intention to destroy you; Pray, let me know the authors of these reports, and they shall be punished according to their Deserts. I am and always have been ready to do you all manner of good offices and will continue in the same mind toward you, therefore if any person insinuates the contrary to you, it is my mind that you secure their persons, and give me immediate notice of it. There has been formerly several alliances made with you, which you well know we on our parts have observed punctually; and so shall continue to do so, and wish you may do the same.

Then an Indian spoke in behalf of the women. We are concluded in the alliances before spoken of as well as our men; so we ask the Governor's protection, and desire that the Governor will kindly accept this present of skins, which freely we make him, as a Testimony of our kindness.

Governor. I do accept your present very kindly, and thank you for the same; and you shall always find me ready to protect and defend you and will continue to trust you as friends and sisters. After which the Governor spoke to the messenger from the Five Nations as follows, viz:

You must be sure you remember to acquaint your chiefs that you have seen me here, and at the Shawnoise Town; and of the friendship and alliance that is betwixt us and the Indians.

Opessah, I hope the Governor will give us his hand in token of his friendship.

Governor. I will give not only my hand, but my heart.

During our abode at Pequehan several of the Shannois Indians, from ye Southward came to settle here and were admitted so to do by Opessah, with the Governor's consent; at the same time an Indian from Shaonois Town, near Carolina, came in and gave an account that 450 of the flat-headed Indians had beseiged them; and that in all probability, the same was taken. Bezalion informed the Governor that the Shaonois of Carolina (he was told), had killed several Christians; whereupon the Government of that province raised the said flat-headed Indians, and joined some Christians to them, beseiged, and have taken as it is thought, the said Shaonois town.

On Tuesday, 1st of July, we went to Conestogoe, and lay there that night, and the next morning proceeded on our journey, and arrived in the evening within 3 miles of an Indian village, called Peixtan. The Governor had received information at Pequehan, that one Nicole, a French Indian trader was at that place against whom great complaints had been made to the Governor of which he acquainted the chief Indian of Peixtan, as also of his design to seize him; who willingly agreed to it, but advised the Governor to be very cautious in the manner: their being only young people at home, who perhaps might make some resistance, if it were done without their first being told of it; for this reason we lay short of the village that night; but early in the morning we went within half a mile of the town, and leaving our horses, marched a foot near the same; from whence the Governor sent Martine to the village; Ordering him to tell Nicole that he had brought two Caggs of rum with him, which he had left in the woods, for fear any Christians were there; and withal to perswade Nicole to go with him to taste the rum.Martine returned with James Letort and Joseph Hessop, two Indian traders, but could not prevail with Nicole; upon this Martine was sent back with orders to bring down some of the Indians, and Nicole with them; then we drew nearer to the town, and laid ourselves in the bushes and Martine returned with two Indians,whom the Governor acquainted with his intent of taking Nicole, telling at the same time, he had spoken with to the Uncle of one of them upon that head, who ordered the Indians to submit to the Governor's commands, with which they were contented, though we preceived too well the contrary, by their inquiring how many we were, and how armed; and by the concern they seemed to be in, when they found we were more men than they in number: but still Nicole was wanting; it was therefore resolved to try once more if he could be got into the woods, accordingly Martine went again, and brought Nicole to that place where we lay concealed, and asking him to drink a dram, he seized him; but Nicole started from him and run for it, when immediately we started out and took him, and presently carried him to the village, (through which we were obliged to pass), and there we found some Indians with guns in their hands, who looked much displeased at what we had done, but we being

in readiness against any surprise, they thought it not fitt to attempt anything; here we stayed about half an hour, and then started for Turpyhocken; having mounted Nicole upon a horse and tied his legs under the belly; we got within a mile of Turpyhocken about two of ye clock on Friday morning, and about 7 the Governor went to the town, from thence we went to Manatawny that night, and the next day to Philadelphia."

Upon the Governor having made this report it was "Ordered that a message be sent by Martin Chartiere, an inhabitant among the said Shawanois, at Peckquea, near Conestogoe, and now in Philadelphia, desiring the Chief of said Shawonois, himself, or two or three of the Council, together with some of the principal of those strangers, to come to Philadelphia as speedily as they conveniently can, and give the Governor an account, of the said strangers, and their reasons of leaving their native Country, to transport themselves hither." (390).

The difficulties which required this treaty and journey are set forth in the last named book, p. 385, as follows:

"The Governor informed the Board that having lately, upon an extraordinary occasion, made a journey among the Indians upon Sasquehannah, he had caused a journal of his transactions with them to be drawn up, which he thought fit to lay before the board, but finding it to be somewhat deficient he should defer it until the next meeting.

But that what he had now more immediately to consult the Board upon is, that he had before his said journey received information, and had taken the depositions of two evidences, that one Nicole Godin, a French man, a bold active young fellow who had not long kept aboard in the woods amongst the Indians, and was with them in Philadelphia about three years ago, and had been using endeavors to incense these people against the English, to stir them up to enmity against the subjects of the Crown, and to join with our public enemy the French to our destruction; upon which information, he resolved before his return to have him apprehended, which after a tedious journey and considerable difficulties he had accordingly performed, and brought him a prisoner to Philadelphia, in the Common Gaol of which he now lies.

Also, that another native of France or its Domainions, Francois by name, having for some time continued among our Indians on Sasquehannagh, without any license, had principally concerned himself in a barbarious murder, committed by the Shawanois upon one of their captive enemies, for which act, because it would be accounted to be done by a Christian and therefore might be of very ill consequence; the Governor had caused him also to be apprehended and brought to Philadelphia, where he likewise is now in Gaol."

No further comment need be added to this as what is set forth explains it in full. It is interesting to observe, however, that all the exciting proceedings took place along the old Sasquehanna from the mouth of the Pequea Creek to a point beyond Chickies. It is also observed that the Governor and his party came by the Southern route by the way of New Castle and Octoraro and went home by way of the Northern route up the Conestoga Creek and by French Creek to the Schuylkill. Both of these routes as we remember were ancient roads or paths, the Southern

the Old Swedish Road in their trade with the Susquehannocks, and the Northern the path which William Penn speaks of in Vol. 1 of Hazard's Register, p. 400 as being the common course the Indians used when he first met them, in trade with his people on the East.

1707—The French Traders Want the Conestoga Indians to Help Them to Dig Ore.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 403, under the date of February 24, this year it is set forth that, "upon a message from the Indians of Conestoga, by Harry, the interpreter, they met accordingly; and the said messenger laying upon the board six loose strings of white Wampum for his Credentials, declared that he was sent by the Queen and Principal men of Conestoga aforesaid, to the Governor and Council here, to acquaint that divers Europeans, viz: Mitchell (a Swiss), Peter Bezalion, James Letort, Martin Chartier, the French Glover of Philadelphia, Frank a young man of Canada, who was lately taken up here, being all French men, and one from Virginia, who also spoke French, had seated themselves and built houses upon the branches of the Potomac, within this Government, and pretended that they were in search of some Mineral or ore, that in the Governor's name they had required the Indians of Conestoga to send some of their people with them to assist them and be serviceable to them, for which the Governor would pay them; That those of Conestoga, not thinking these proceedings to be consistent with their past treaties and leagues of friendship, desired to know whether the said persons were really sent by the Governmnt, and had thus seated themselves by their approbation, and whether they had any orders to desire the assistance of the said Indians, if not that they then might be called home. The said Interpreter further added, that although Mitchell was the person who had first led them thither, yet he had left them many weeks past, and pretended that he wanted one Clark, of Maryland, (who is said to be now under an Attainder, by an act of Assembly of that Government), to assist him in the discovery; and the said messenger being asked divers other questions relating hereunto he was ordered to withdraw.

The Council takes the Premises into consideration, first inquired whether any of the above mentioned persons had a license to trade, in pursuance of the Act of Assembly, lately passed in this Province, for maintaining a better correspondence with the Indians, and thereupon the form of the license was read, and an account of all those who were licensed in pursuance of the said law, was produced by which it appeared that none of those before mentioned is licensed, saving Peter Bezalion, and that if they had all been so, yet that would not justify them for seating themselves in such a manner as has been before expressed. Whereupon it was resolved that an answer should be prepared to be sent to the said Queen, in which her care in acquainting this Government with what the messenger had related, should be acknowledged, and that the aforementioned persons should be forthwith required to repair to Philadelphia, to give an account of the reasons of their seating themselves in the aforesaid place, and the Secretary is ordered to the said answer against four of the clock in the afternoon, to which time the Council is adjourned."

No comment need be added to this

item more than to say that the whites in this neighborhood of Conestoga were very ready to use these Conestoga Indians for any purpose which would be of advantage to them.

1707—Governor Evans Explains the Cause of His Making the Second Treaty Without the Permission of Council.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 393, it is stated that the Council came to this resolution concerning the Governor's last treaty at Conestoga, viz: "That the Governor's last expedition among the Indians, occasioned by a message to him from those of Conestogoe and the adjacent places, upon the Nantikokes designed journey to the Five Nations, was necessary for the good and for the service of the Public, and that the Governor shewed his care of it therein; that therefore all the necessary charges of the said journey ought to be defrayed by the public. But inasmuch as the circumstances of time would not allow the Governor, being then at New Castle to communicate the said journey to and advise the Council concerning ye same, and seeing the law for defraying such charges to provide, that all messages and treaties that are to be allowed by the Public, are first to be ordered by the Governor and Council. The Board, therefore, is doubtful that there allowing of the said accounts will scarce be sufficiently warranted by the said law, and the consideration of the former journey is referred to the next sitting."

The Governor had some difficulty in having the expense of this treaty paid but on the 25th of August, 1707 the Council again considered the matter and finding that it was impossible for the Governor to consult the Council before going and that the Nantikoke Indians were being detained at Conestoga by the Conestoga Indians to await the Governor's arrival, which would have been a further expense if he had not gone, and that he went at great fatigue, that his expenses of going, being for the public good, should be paid.

1707—Nicole Godyn Captured at Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 385, as we have already set forth, it is stated that Nicole Godyn was captured by Governor Evans and his party in the neighborhood of Bainbridge. I set this out in a separate item simply to give it prominence, as it was an important event.

1707—Martin Chartier the Indian Trader Dies.

Miss Lyle in her history of Lancaster County, p. 6 says that about this time Martin Chartier the Indian Trader died. She says of him, that several years before his death, which occurred in 1708, he removed his trading post to a point about a mile above the Indians fort in Manor township. His son Peter Chartier, married a Shawnese squaw and induced the most warlike portion of the tribe to join the French against the English, during the French and Indian Wars, of 1754-63. This Peter Chartier was undoubtedly a very dangerous character as we have seen in former items. He was called, a man with a viper's blood running through his veins, meaning the blood of the Shawnese, who were always treacherous and warlike.

1708—Peter Bazilion Takes Up Land Above Conestoga.

In Vol. 19 of the 2nd. Series of the Penna. Archs., p. 496 at a meeting of the Board of Property, held the 11th of October, 1708, it is set forth that there was "granted unto Peter Biz-

allon, Indian Trader, upon his humble request. free liberty to build to himself a house and plant necessary fields for his own use on any of the lands above Conestoga, not possessed or made use of by the Indians, to be held by him during the Proprietary's and Governor's pleasure or his Lieutenant's or Comm'rs, and no longer, he paying one deer skin yearly for the privilege."

I quote this because it is commonly thought that Bazallon passed most of his life in the central and eastern part of what is now Lancaster County, but there is no doubt that much of the time was spent on the Susquehanna.

1708—The Conestoga Indians Complain That the French are Building Houses There.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 403, in an item which we have already stated, I notice the following which the Conestoga Indians complain against, that the "French had set themselves and built houses upon the branches of the Potomac within Pennsylvania." I merely cite this to make prominent the French operations and especially the building of houses, North of the Branches of the Potomac, over the Pennsylvania line.

1708 — Swedish Lutheran Missionary at Conestoga.

In Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 456 he sets forth that, "In 1708 or 1709 a Swedish-Lutheran in the capacity of a missionary resided among the Conestoga Indians to instruct them in the Christian religion." On page 455 he says, that at an earlier period "missionaries of the Swedish church visited the Indians within the present limits of Lancaster County and the French also paid some attention to the Indians." It is likely also that as early as this date some of the Mennonite preachers reached the Conestoga Country, though actual settlement seems not to have begun until 1709.

1709 — Governor Gookin Invites the Conestoga Indians to Join With the English in a War Against the French in Canada

Charles Gookin, the new Governor of Pennsylvania, now appears on the scene, having succeeded the wicked Governor Evans. He first appeared before Council on the 2nd of February, 1709, (2 Col. Rec., p. 427). He desired to visit the Conestoga Indians as early as he could but not having done so, at a Council held the 8th day of June, it was ordered that "The Secretary forthwith dispatch a messenger to the Indians of Conestogoe, etc., with instructions in writ- to excuse the Governor's not coming because the Assembly is now sitting on an affair of great importance, and for a credential to take a good belt of wampum with him; to inform them that if they design to pay a visit to the Five Nations they are now busy in engaging with the English in a war against Canada, for which vast preparations are made from England; that if those of Conestogoe, the Shawnois, etc., can engage, and will prepare themselves to join immediately in this expedition, their young men should all provide themselves for it without delay, and they shall receive by the Queen's order, sent for that purpose, a good reward, every man a gun, etc., and that their answer to this by some of their old men, and a good interpreter is immeditely desired.

That whether they can engage or not we shall be glad to see some of them here, and the Governor will shortly make them a visit, etc. And

then adjourned." See 2 Col. Rec., p. 461.

1709 — The Conestogas Willing to Join the Expedition, But the Same is Postponed.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 467, it is reported that Captain John French had gone to the Conestogas for their reply to the above proposition, which they agreed to. The same is set forth as follows:

"Captain John French having gone in a message to Conestogo, brought for answer from the Indians there, that they would forthwith call in all their young men, and with all their force come to Philadelphia in order to proceed to Albany, and join in the expedition against Canada; but the Assembly having positively voted against joining with that Expedition, or raising any money for that purpose; it is resolved, that a message be again sent to these Indians, desiring them to defer their coming to Philadelphia, for that the Governor will speedily make them a visit." As far as these records state the Indians were very willing to join this expedition.

1709—The Conestogas Come to Philadelphia to Inquire About the Expedition and to Make Further Treaty.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 469, under the date of July 25, 1709, it is set forth that, "The chiefs of several nations of Indians living on Susquehanna, viz: Andaggy-junquagh, Washtachary, Chiefs of the Mingoes, Owechela, Passakassy, Sassoonan and Skalitchy, Chiefs of the Delaware Indians, settled at Peshtang above Conestogoe and other adjacent places, Peter and Pipskoe, Chiefs of the Ganawese, with their several interpreters, viz: Indian Harry for the first, Sam, son of Essepenawick, for the second, and John Montague, a Ganawese Indian for the last, being all arrived here with several attendants, three days ago upon apprehension that by the Governor's last message to them they were expressly sent for about some earnest business; they now met the Governor in Council, who ordered the Secretary to tell them through their interpreter, and Peter Bizaillon, to this effect; That upon the first message the Governor had received from them about six weeks ago, desiring his company at Conestoga, he had returned an answer by Lieutenant Colonel French of New Castle that he could not then possibly come to them because of the affairs of Government here, from which he could not be spared. That he had sent them notice that the visit which they proposed to the Five Nations with their tribute, might be unseasonable at this time, because those nations were engaging in a great expedition with the English against Canada, of which they would probably hear from them in a little time, that it would be well if they would prepare themselves to join in it, and that he had invited some of their chiefs to call on him at Philadelphia; that he received an answer to this from the Mingoes, or those of Conestoga especially, that they would call in all their young men, and march immediately with their whole force to Philadelphia; but that this appearing inconvenient and not likely to answer the end proposed, the Governor had immediately dispatched away another messenger to them, to prevent their coming, and inform them that himself having now more leisure, intended in a few days to see them in their own places. That accordingly he with Colonel Evans and several

others, had sent out and proceeded beyond New Castle in the way, but there found himself so indisposed by reason of a great Cold he had taken, that he could not contniue hs Journey and therefore sent another message to them by Jonas Askew, the Interpreter, to inform them of the matter—to tell them he was sorry he was so far disappointed as that he could not see them at that time, but that if some of their chiefs should think fit any time this fall at Philadelphia he should be glad to see them there and if it would suit their affairs to be here within two months, it might be the more convenient because in that time the late Governor and Secretary intended both for England, to see the Indians old friend, the Proprietor William Penn, to whom they might by them send any message and that the Governor then further desired them to consider what he could do for their service, and he would answer them in it. That this was the substance of what had passed, and therefore that he had not expressly called them in, as they had been given to understand. However, that he was now very glad to see them, and that they should be heartily welcome to him. The Governor then told them himself that though he had not expressly sent for them, yet he was glad to see them come so cheerfully in; that he was lately come from England, and was sent to them by their friend and brother William Penn, the chief Governor and father of this country, who had given him at his coming away a special charge to be very kind to the Indians and to treat them as his friends and brothers, which he accordingly would observe, and now thought fit to tell them so; that as there had been a strong chain of friendship between all those of this country since, under this Goverment and the Indians; so he desired it, might be continued and made every day firmer, that it might never be broken, that if they had anything to ask of him that he desired them to consider of it, and he would hear them speak tomorrow. They all expressd their satisfaction in what the Governor had said and after some time spent in conversation, etc., they departed.

At a Council at Philadelphia, the 26th of July, 1709.

The Honorable Chas. Gookin, Esq., Lieutenant .Governor.

The Mingoe Indians having been invited over the river this morning, without the Governor's knowledge, could not be ready to meet; therefore those of Peshtang, etc., and the Ganawese attending, they were desired to speak and deliver what they had to say: Whereupon, by order of Owechela and Passokassy, rising, laid on the Board a belt of Wampum as a token to confirm what he had to speak, and then said: That this summer they had intended to wait upon the Five Nations and had provided for their journey twenty-four belts of wampum, to be presented to them as their tribute, of which they thought themselves obliged to acquaint the Governor and for that purpose had sent him the message that has been mentioned; but that about the same time they had received a message from these Indians, acquainting them that they had appointed all the Indians of these parts as also of Maryland who are all tributary to the said Five Nations, to meet some of their chiefs who were coming down for that purpose at Conestogae, but that they had declined their journey, being not yet arrived; Upon this they were again informed by the Governor's order of

the expedition against Canada, in which those nations had lately engaged, and therefore were in all probability prevented in their intended visit.

The said speaker added, that it would now be too late for them to proceed in their journey Northwards, because they would not be able to return before the cold weather set in, and therefore must defer it until another year.

Passakassy added, that they had heard of the French being upon our coasts, and that we were in danger of being invaded by them; that for this reason not now willing to take a journey so far from home, lest their wives and children, and we of this place should want their assistance in their absence, and therefore they thought fit to stay.

The Governor thanked them for their care in this, but they were cautioned hereupon against giving ear to flying reports, they were told that the French had no forces in these parts, yet could injure us, and that what they had heard of this kind was occasioned only by some robberies, that some of their small vessels fitted out only for this purpose to plunder and way lay honest traders had committed: the method of privateering at sea was explained to them, by which they were made sensible that what had happened was not the effect of superior force in war, but such robberies as were common at sea, when a few private lurchers, with arms, set upon vessels provided only for trade, and carrying off merchandise, and so were made prize of.

They were earnestly exhorted not to suffer stories to be spread amongst them, but to take notice of those that uttered them, to apprehend them, and bring them to the Governor.

Passakassy complained that some of the traders, especially James Letort, wronged them in their measure of matchcoats, which he sold them, in which he desired redress, and upon it they were advised to a method that would scare them.

They expressed a great satisfaction in what had been told them and being acquainted that they must all meet again in Council, they for this time dismissed."

The next day, July 27, (page 472), it appears that further steps were taken to show the Indians the importance of continuing in good relation with the English. This is set forth as follows:

"The chiefs of several nations of our Indians being now come in, there is an immediate necessity also for a supply to make them a reasonable present. I need not inform you of how great importance it is to keep a good correspondence with these people upon the easy terms it has hitherto been done in this Government; half on what you allowed for that purpose has been expended in messages, and the other half, at least, in provisions, so that nothing remains thereof for a present; I am sensible money can not just now be raised to answer this end, but you may find means to procure credit, so that they may not go away empty."

It seems these chiefs made a long visit, and that on the 29th of July, there were further steps taken in treaty making, (See p. 473). At the Council held at Joseph Growdon's house, in which it is stated that all the chiefs now in town, with their interpreters were met, and the Secretary spoke to them as follows:

"That notwithstanding they had not been expressly sent for, (as they had been told before), yet they were

very welcome, the Governor being a stranger amongst them, was now very glad to see them.

That the chain of friendship had been so often confirmed between them and us, that there remained very little now to say on that head. We had always considered them as brothers in all proceedings with them and should always desire to do the same, there was nothing but love and peace between them and us and as often as ever we met we should still renew the expressions of it, desiring that it might extend to all posterity, and that the aged fathers should inform their children of the friendship that has always been maintained amongst us, so that in every generation it may continually grow stronger

That since as our friends and brothers they had come to see us,we could not suffer them to depart without some token of our friendship, and therefore desired them to accept of the present that was there laid before them, which was:

1 Cwt. of Powder in four small casks.
2 Cwt. of Lead.
4 Stroudwater matchcoats.
1 Dozen good Linnen Shirts.
1½ Dozen of Stockins.
100 Flints, and a large quantity of Biskitt and Loaves.

These they were told were for their journey, and the powder and lead to furnish them with provisions and skins, they were promised such liquors and other necessities as they should want, and then were desired to receive the whole as a further token of love, and to distribute it amongst themselves as they should see convenient; (p. 474).

They were also instructed about the war between England and France and that they should watch carefully for any stories the French among them should start. They were told of the English success in the war; and the Governor said that he hoped they had all been treated kindly by the people that lived among them, and with this closed the treaty; and the Indians departed.

1709 — The Delawares Now Live On Susquehanna.

While it is shown in the above item that the Delawares now live on the Susquehanna River, in order to make their change or residence more prominent I direct attention to Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., 469, where it is set out that, "The Delaware Indians settled at Peshtang (Paxtang), now near Harrisburg), above Conestoga and other adjacent places, were arrived in Philadelphia with several other tribes of Indians and their attendants."

1709—The Iroquois Indians Demand the Conestogas to Come and Pay Tribute.

In Vol. 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 35 on the 27th of June, this year, two members of the Council brought a message to the Assembly from the Governor, "That the Indians of Conestoga had sent a message to the Governor, acquainting him that they were ready to go up to the Five Nations in order to pay their tribute, but expected that the Governor or Secretary would come to Conestoga that they might have conference with one of them before they went up." The Assembly as shown p. 36 was asked for immediate answer upon what should be done about the word from Conestoga by another delegation from Council the next day, stating that it was absolutely necessary that money to defray the charge of going to treat with the Conestoga Indians this week should be voted be-

cause those Conestogas are bound to go to the Five Nations as they are tributary to the Five Nations. Upon this urgent demand the Assembly decided they would vote 15 Pounds of the new currency to make presents to the Indians and also to pay the expenses of the trip to Conestoga. This subject is also discussed in Vol. 5 of Haz. Reg., p. 113, and in Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 57.

1709 — The Shawnese Indians Interested in Digging for Ore About Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Penn & Logan Correspondence, p. 321 dated the 3rd of March there is a letter from William Penn to James Logan in which he sets forth (p. 323), that he understands that Ex-Governor Evans is making 100 Pounds, if not twice that each week out of a mine somewhere back of Conestoga. Penn says that he understands, "The Indians chiefly discovered the mine and worked it on the spot. And it is the King of the Shawnoe Indians and some few of his subjects that perform this business for Col. Evans." Penn then says to Logan that scrutinize the matter well and let him hear all he can about it for if there is a mine, that Penn is entitled to royalties out of it.

James Logan in the same book in a letter to Penn found p 316 says at p. 319, that he hopes Colonel Evans is acting honorably about the mines and that he believes that there is no real discovery of any value made yet, though it is expected that there will be most any day. He further adds that Louis Mitchell, the Swiss is gone over to treat with the Crown of England for a tract for his countrymen, and that settlement is the pretense but that miners are the real thing Mitchell is interested in, and that it must be guarded against until this is better understood. Logan thinks that minerals will be found near where Mitchell has pitched. In a note at the bottom of the book last named, Logan in a letter to Penn says, "There is yet nothing certainly discovered about the mines. Colonel Evans has been very free with me on that head. There has been none opened and I heartily wish I may be able to tell thee more of the matter hereafter, for I believe that Mitchell Bazillion has tricked us all."He says that this tract supposed to have minerals lies in the neighborhood of the Potomac, but that they must keep their eyes open.

I cite this merely to show that agitations about minerals being found in the neighbohood of the Conestoga and Shawnese Indian country, and off to the Southwest were frequent sources of excitement at this time; and that the spirit of securing valuable minerals had gotten among the Indians of this neighborhood as well as among the white people.

1709 — The Whites Begin Settlement Among the Indians of Lancaster County.

Rupp in His History of Lancaster County, p. 74, says that several families from the Palatinate decendants of the distressed Swiss immigrated to America and settled in Lancaster County in the year 1709 and he cites Benjamin Eby's Geschichten der Mennoniten, p. 151 as his authority. He further says that from public documents and private papers in the possession of Abram Meylin and others residing in W. Lampeter township, we may confidentially state that the Mennonites commenced a settlement in 1709-10 at the place where the Herrs and Meylins now reside near Willow Street. On p. 456 Rupp says, in 1709 several families from the Palatines settled on Pequea

Creek. He then mentions a list of preachers that these Palatines brought forth and said that they all preached German.

However, the most authentic document I can find is a letter dated the 20th of July, 1711 by Jacob Taylor among the Taylor papers in the Historical Society, No. 2769, in which he says, "six or seven families of Palatines are settled at Pequea and more desire to go there next winter."

This letter was written the middle of 1711 and it may be taken for granted that the six or seven families were at Pequea some time and likely arrived about 1709. But of course white people were in this country among these Indians several years before the settlements began. This, then is the year which announced the fate of the Indians of this section by reason of the coming of the whites. It is interesting to know that next year will be the two hundreth anniversary of this event.

1710 — The Queen of the Conestogas Goes to Philadelphia.

In the 2nd Vol. of Watson's Annals, p. 178, he states that, "On the 21st of September, 17th the Queen of the Conestoga Indians, Ojuncho, and two chiefs and some of the Conoys visited Philadelphia and laid down before the Council five bundles of skins and furs, making at the gift of each a speech." He says also that "the belt from the Conestoga Indians prayed thus, 'sent from the children born and those yet in the womb, that room might be allowed them to sport and play, without danger of slavery.'" It would seem that Watson is wrong about this as we shall see later, in that Colonel French was at Conestoga and received the belt above referred to instead of the old queen having come to Philadelphia, but we will show this later.

1710 — The Governor Asks a Larger Present for the Conestogas Than the Assembly Proposed.

In Vol 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 42 it is set forth that "James Logan came again to the House in a message from the Governor, and acquainted the Assembly, 'That the Governor ordered him to give a relation of the several messages sent to the Indians at Sasquehanna; which he did; and further informed the House, that the Governor's Indisposition obstructed his going up to Conestoga, to visit the Indians, as he intended; therefore prest that the House will consider of a present for them; to the value of Twentyfive Pounds.'

Which relation being debated and considered, Resolved that although the account given by the said James Logan concerning the said messages, is not satisfactory to this House, yet in regard the chief of these Indians are come to town, if any will credit the public with goods that will suit the Indians, to the value of twenty-five pounds, (being the sum proposed by the said James Logan, as sufficient for presents for them at this time), the same shall be repaid out of the public money that shall be raised." At page 43 of the same book it appears that the question of giving 25 Pounds in Presents to these Indians was very warmly discused.

1710—The Conestogas Received Mysterious Belt of Wampum.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 509, at the bottom of the page it is set forth that, "The Governor laid before the board a letter he had received from the Colonel Ingolsby, wherein was enclosed a paper in these words William Dalbo, one of

the Justices of the Peace, in ye County of Glocester, saith: that an Indian of his particular acquaintance who hath been very intimate with him, the said Dalbo, from his childhood, acquainted him that there is a belt of Wampum come to Conestogoe, from Mahquahotonoi; that there was a tomahawk in red in the belt and that the French with five nations of Indians were designed for war, and to fall on some of these plantations; the Governor also laid before the board a letter he had received from Mr. Yeates, Caleb Pusey and Thomas Powel, dated this day, purporting that tomorrow there was to be a great concourse of Indians those of Conestogoe and those of Jersey; that they were of opinion that it might be a seasonable opportunity for the Governor to visit them altogether the meeting being the greatest that has ever been known these 20 years, and it is to be about two miles from John Warraw's, at Edgmond. It is the opinion of the Board that the Governor with some of the Council, and as many others as can be got, should go tomorrow to meet the said Indians, to inquire further of them about the said belt of wampum and what else may be thought necessary."

1710—Bizalion, the Indian Trader About Conestoga, Acts Suspiciously.

In the book and at the page last mentioned it is stated that, "The Governor acquainted the Board that he has been informed one Peter Bizalion, a French man and Roman Catholic, a trader amongst the Indians at Conestogoe has lately spoken some suspicious words, and committed some misdemeanors, whereupon he has caused his effects to be seized, the better to oblige him to appear and answer unto what should be laid to his Charge, and Craved the advice of the Board in the premises, who came to this resolve, that ye said Bizalion should enter into recognizance to the Queen, in five hundred pounds, with two sufficient sureties, in two hundred and fifty pounds apiece for the said Bizalion's personal appearance at the next sessions of the peace, to be held at Philadelphia for the said County, and his good behavior himself in the meantime, which being done his effects to be restored to him, paying ye cost of seizure."

The suspicious and disturbable matters sets forth in these last two items made the visit to Conestoga by the Governor a necessity; and he made such visits as we shall see in the next item.

1710— Governor Gookin's Visit to the Conestogas and Shawanese.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 510 it is set forth that "The Governor acquainted the Board that upon his arrival at New Castle last week, he was informed that Opessa, one of the Shawannah chiefs, had been there four days; that he went away in the night, nor could he hear what he came about, that he had been with some of the Delaware Indians, who resolve, (as it is said) not to plant corn this year; That Mr. Garland has lately shown a belt of wampum, sent by the Five Nations by Indian Harry, with this further message. that as soon as the bark ran, they would be with them at Conestogoe, with sixty men and make a speech; that he was informed at Brandywine, that an old Indian woman said, (as it was interpreted) that their great men had ugly talk among them, and that they had left none but her and her husband to plant corn. The Board tak-

ing the premises into consideration, are of the opinion (be the report true or false) that it may be convenient for the Governor to make a journey to Conestoga (he not having been among the Indians since his arrival), to inform himself of the truth of these reports, and for the keeping up of a good understanding and Correspondence twixt us and the Indians, and that some of the Council wait upon him thither."

And at the top of p. 511 of the same book it is set forth that "The Governor acquainted the Board that upon his arrival at Conestoga, he found the Indians very well inclined to the English, and to the Proprietary and this Government in particular; but that had complained to him that several persons make it their business to waylay their young men returning from hunting, making them drunk with rum, and then cheat them of their skins, and that if some method be not taken to prevent it they must be forced to remove themselves or starve, their dependence being entirely upon their peltry; whereupon it is thought proper that such Indian traders as are foreigners being admitted and licensed by the Governor, shall come under such regulations as the Governor and Council from time to time shall direct and appoint."

In this we are told of the Governor visiting the Conestogas and Shawnese and we can readily see the importance of what transpired.

1710—Colonel French and Henry Worley Carry a Message to the Conestogas.

In the book and at the page last mentioned we are given further information of the unsettled condition of the Indians on the Susquehanna, Conestoga and Pequea from the fact that in addition to the Governor's visit about the beginning of May, this year, the two messengers French and Worley were sent to Conestoga where they arrived on June 8th, 1710, and entered into proceedings with these Indians, of which the following is a verbatim report made by Worley found at p. 511, as I have just said:

"At Conestoga June 8, 1710.

Present: Henry Worley and John French.

Iwaagenst Terrutawanaren, and Teonnottein, chiefs of the Tuscaroroes, Civility, the Seneques kings, and four chiefs more of that nation, with Opessa ye Shawanois King.

The Indians were told that according to their requests we were come from the Governor and Government, to hear what proposals they had to make anent a peace, according to the purpose of their embassy from their own people.

They signified to us by a belt of Wampum, which was sent from their old women, that those implored their friendship of the Christians and Indians of this Government, that without danger they might fetch wood and water.

The second belt was sent from their children born, and those yet in the womb, requesting that room to sport and play without danger of slavery might be allowed them.

The third belt was sent by their young men fit to hunt, that privilege to leave their towns, and seek provision for their aged, might be granted to them without fear of death or slavery.

The fourth was sent from the men of age, requesting that the word by a happy peace was sent from the men of age requesting that the wood by a happy peace, might be as safe from them as their forts.

The fifth was sent from the whole nation requesting peace, that thereby they might have liberty to visit their neighbors.

The sixth was sent from their Kings and chiefs, desiring a lasting peace with the Christians and Indiains of this Government that thereby they might be secured against those fearful apprehensions they have these several years felt.

The seventh was sent in order to intreat a cessation from reducing and taking them, that by the allowance thereof, they may not be afraid of a mouse, or anything that ruffles the leaves.

The eighth was sent to declare, that as being hitherto strangers to this place, they are blind, no path or communication being betwixt us and them; but now they hope that we will take them by the hand and lead them, and then they will lift up their heads in the woods without danger or fear.

These belts (they say) are only sent as an introduction, and in order to break of hostilities till next Spring, for then their Kings, will come and sue for the peace they so much desire.

We acquainted them as most of this continent were the subjects of the Crown of England, though divided into several Governments; so it is expected that their intentions are not only peaceable towards us, but also to all the subjects of the Crown and that if they intend to settle and live amiably here, they need not doubt the protection of this Government in such things as were honest and good but that to confirm the sincerity of their past carriage towards the English, and to raise in us a good opinion of them, it would be very necessary to procure a certificate from the Government they leave, to this, of their good behavior, and then they might be assured of a favorable reception.

The Seneques return their hearty thanks to this Government for their trouble in sending to them, and acquainted us by advice of a Council amongst them it was determined to send these Belts, brought by the Tuscaroroes, to the Five Nations.

May it please your Honor.

Pursuant of your Honors, and Council's orders, we went to Conestogoe, where the forewritten contents were by the chiefs of the Tuscaroroes to us delivered; the sincerity of their intentions we can not anywise doubt, since they are of the same race and language with our Seneques, who have always proved trusty and have also for these many years been neighbors to a Government jealous of Indians, and yet not displeased with them; Wishing your Honor all happiness, we remain.

Your Honor's. Most humble and Obliged Servants,

JOHN FRENCH,
HENRY WORLEY."

"Journey to Conestogo. DR.

	Pds.	s.	d.
To bread,	0	4	2
To meat,	0	12	0
To Rum,	1	10	0
To Sugar,	0	15	0
To two Men's hire			
For Baggage,	4	0	0
To John,	1	4	0
	8	5	2"

In this item is set forth the belt that the old woman of the Conestogas gave to French on which Watson seems to be somewhat confused. This item is of importance because the business that was done at Conestoga by these messengers was really a confirmation of many forms of treaties. It also serves to show the exact state of the relations existing

between these Indians and the whites at this time, and the questions which were agitating them.

1710—The Conestoga Indians Reply to a Swedish Sermon.

In Mombert's History of Lancaster County p. 16, in a note the following appears:

"In or about the year of our Lord, 1710, a Swedish Missionary preached a sermon at an Indian treaty held at Conestoga in Pennsylvania; in which sermon is set forth original sin, the necessity of a mediator; and endeavored by certain arguments to induce the Indians to embrace the Christian religion. After he had ended his discourse, one of the Indian chiefs made a speech in reply to the sermon; and the discourses on both sides were made known by interpreters. The Missionary upon his return to Sweden, published his sermon, and the Indian's answer. Having written them in Latin he dedicated them to the University of Upsala, and requested them to furnish him with arguments, to confute such strong reasonings of the Indians. The Indian speech translated from the Latin is as follows:

'A speech delivered by an Indian Chief, in reply to a sermon, preached by a Swedish Missionary, in order to convert the Indians to the Christian religion:

Since the subject of his (the Missionary's) errand is to pursuade us to embrace a new doctrine perhaps it may not be amiss, before we offer him the reasons why we can not comply with his request, to acquaint him with the grounds and principles of that religion, which he would have us abandon.

Our forefathers were under a strong persuasion, as we are, that those who act well, in this life, shall be rewarded in the next, according to the degree of their virtue: and on the other hand that those who behave wicketly here, will undergo such punishment hereafter as are proportinate to the crimes they were guilty of. This hath been contstantly and invariably received and acknowledged for a truth, through every successive generation of our ancestors. It could not have taken its rise from fables for human fictions however artfully and plausibly contrived can never again gain credit long, among any people, where free equity is allowed: which was never denied by our ancestors; who, on the contrary, thought it the sacred inviolable, natural right of every man to examine and judge for himself. Therefore we think it evident that our notion, concerning future rewards and punishments, was either revealed immediately from heaven to some of our forefathers, and from them descended to us, or, that it was implanted in each of us, at our creation, by the Creator of all things. Whatever the methods might have been, whereby God hath been pleased to make known to us his will, and give us a knowledge of our duty, it is still in our sense, a divine revelation.

"Now we desire to propose to him some few questions: Does he believe that our forefathers, men eminent for their piety, constant and warm in the pursuit of virtue, hoping thereby to merit everlasting happiness, were all damned? Does he think that we, who are their zealous imitators, in good works, and influenced by the same Motives as they were, earnestly endeavoring, with the greatest circumspection, to tread the paths of integrity, are in a state of damnation? If these be his sentiments, they are surely as impious as they are bold and daring.

In the next place we beg, that he would explain himself more parti-

cularly concerning the revelation he talks of. If he admits no other than what is contained in his written book, the contrary is evident from what has shewn before: but, if he says God has revealed himself unto us, but not sufficient for our salvation; then we ask, to what purpose should he have revealed himself to us in anywise? It is clear that a revelation insufficient to save, can not put us in a better condition than we should be in without any revelation at all. We can not conceive that God should point out to us the end we ought to aim at, without opening to us the way to arrive at the end. But, supposing our understandings to be so far illuminated as to know it to be our duty to please God, who yet hath left us under an incapacity of doing it, will this Missionary, therefore, conclude that we shall be eternally damned? Will he take upon him to pronounce damnation upon or against us, for not doing those things which he himself acknowledges were impossible by us to be done. It is our opinion that every man is possessed of sufficient knowledge for his salvation. The Almighty for anything we know, may have communicated the knowledge of himself to a different race of people, in a different manner.

Some say they have the will of God in writing; be it so; their revelation has no advantage above ours since both must be equally sufficient to save; otherwise the end of the revelation would be frustrated. Besides if they be both true they must be the same in substance; and the difference can only lie in the mode of communication. He tells us there are many precepts, in his written revelation which we are entirely ignorant of. But these written demands can only be designed for those who have the writings; they can not possibly regard us. Had the Almighty thought so much knowledge necessary to our salvation his goodness would not long have deferred the communication of it to us, and to say that it is a matter so necessary, he could not, at one and the same time, equally reveal himself to all mankind, in nothing less than an absolute denial of his omnipotence. Without doubt, he can make his will manifest without the help of any book or the assistance of any bookish man whatever.

We shall, in the next place, consider the arguments which arise from a consideration of Providence. If we were the work of God (which I presume will not be denied), it follows from thence that we are under the protection and care of God, for it can not be supposed that the Deity should abandon his own creatures and be utterly regardless of their welfare. Then, to say that the Almighty has permitted us to remain in a fatal error through so many ages, is to represent him as a tyrant. How is it consistent with his justice to force life upon a race of mortals, without their consent, and then dam them eternally, without ever opening to them a door of salvation? Our conceptions of the gracious God are more noble; and we think that those who teach otherwise do little less than blaspheme. Again, it is through the care and goodness of the Almighty, that from the beginning of time, through many generations to this day, our name has been preserved, unblotted out by enemies, unreduced to nothing. By the same care we now enjoy our lives; are furnished with the necessary means of preserving our lives. But all these things are trifling, compared with our salvation.

Therefore, since God hath been so careful with us, in matters of little consequence, it would be absurd to affirm that he has neglected us, in cases of the greatest importance. Admit that he hath forsaken us, yet it could not have been without a just cause. Let us suppose that an heinous crime was committed by one of our ancestors, like to that which we are told happened among another race of people; in such case, God would certainly punish the criminal, but would never involve us, who are innocent, in his guilt. Those who think otherwise must make the Almighty a very whimsical illmatured being. Once more are the Christians more virtuous, or rather are not they more vicious than we are? If so, how came it to pass that they are the objects of God's beneficence, while we are neglected? Does the Diety confer his favors without reason, and with so much partiality? In a word, we find the Christians much more depraved, in their morals than ourselves; and we judge of doctrine by the badness of our lives."

1710—Most of the Indian Chiefs of the Continent Expected to Meet at Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Col, Rec., p. 513 at a Council held the 2nd of July, this year, "The Governor laid before the Board an Express he had received last night from Colonel French, purporting that in three days the Chiefs of the Seneques would be at Conestoga, and with them the Chiefs of the Indians of most part of the Continent and also some of the Gentlemen of the Maryland, and that the Governor's presence there was expected; what the design of the Congress might be was not certain, but was told it was of great consequence to the Crown, and would tend much to the preservation of the subject. The board having taken the premises into consideration are of the opinion, that it is absolutely necessary that the Governor, with as many as can be got to attend him go to Conestoga to meet the Indians, and inform himself of the cause of their meeting."

In this item we see that Conestoga was now to be the scene of a great meeting of Chiefs. The heads of all the Indian tribes were about to gather there; and this was to be the great Indian Council of the year. I am unable to find whether the Council as intended met and perhaps we shall see later on, what became of the action. The importance of Conestoga is however shown in this.

1710—The Queen of the Conestogas and Some of the Conoys at Philadelphia.

At a Council meeting held on the 21 of September, 1710, as it is recorded in 2 Col. Rec., p. 516, and stated, "The Queen of the Conestoga Indians, Ojuncho, and two chiefs more, and some of the Conois Indians, laid down before the Council four bundles of skins and furs, and at the delivery of the first bundle, the said, (as was interpreted) that they had given the Governor notice of their intentions of coming hither the last time he was at Conestogo, that they were now come, and do present him with that bundle to make him a cover for his table to be used in the same manner as the Carpet, then spread upon the Council's table.

Upon their presenting the second bundle, they said it was in remembrance, and as an acknowledgment for the gunpowder and lead presented to them here the last year, for which they were very thankful.

Upon their presenting the third

bundle, they said it was as a token of their good will and friendship, and that they shall ever remember and observe the Governor's advice to them last year, to live peaceably with one another, which they will always endeavor.

Upon their presenting the fourth, they said it was in remembrance of the advice that was heretofore, given them not to be too credulous of reports, they being generally false and spread abroad by ill men, that for their parts they would believe no reports against us, and hoped we would believe no ill reports of them.

Whereupon the Governor replied that he was glad to see them and thanked them for their kind present and cautioned them not to believe lies and stories that now too commonly spread abroad for mischief by ill men, and that if anything happened extraordinary they should have notice by a messenger on purpose, and desired the like from them as their brothers, and being ordered to attend tomorrow in the afternoon they withdrew.

Ordered that Mr. Hill, Mr. Norris, and Mr. Preston, dispose of the said presents to the best advantage, and provide a suitable return against tomorrow." More of the prominent position of Conestoga is shown in this item.

1711—Expenses of the Conestoga Indian Treaties.

In Vol. 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 92, it is set forth that John French accounts of his several journeys to Conestoga and the expenses therein at the intance of the late Governor, amounting to 119 Pounds, 19s and 10d, was read, and some of the 60 Pounds of new currency was allowed to the said John French.

Several other items of expense connected with the Conestoga Indian Treaties are set forth in the same book and page as follows: An account of Thomas Masters for wine furnished the Governor on his journey to Conestoga to the value of 25s, was allowed and also a note from Henry Worley requesting pay for his services of going to Conestoga on a message to the Indians last June, was read and he was allowed three pounds.

1711 — More Palatines Now Settle Among the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 19 of the Penna. Archives, p. 572 it is set forth that Thomas Story having a right from the Proprietor for 1000 acres of land in the manner of Highlands has instead taken up the same quantity near the settlement of the Palatines near Conestoga, for which the Commissioners granted a patent. But it appears that he re-conveyed them and took up some land in lieu of it, which he proposed to purchase, and he agrees to give the same price that the Palatines did at the same time the tract was taken up by the Palatines which is accordingly granted

1711—Sixty Conestoga Indians Come to Philadelphia.

In Vol 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 104, it is stated that "The Speaker informed the House that during the Governor's absence and since his last return from New York he had received and entertained upwards of 60 Constoga Indians who came to treat with the Governor about the intended expedition against the French and the Northern Indians of Canada by which he had disbursed at least twenty Pounds, and been at much trouble; therefore desired that the same might be reimbursed him out of the Provincial stock.

Resolved, N. C. D. That If the Gov-

ernor concurs with this House herein, the sum of twenty Pounds shall be paid him by the Public Treasurer out of the Provincial stock, after all payments, ordered by the three resolves of Assembly, made of the fifth month, 1710, are discharged, and that the clerk draw an order on Samuel Carpenter, public Treasurer, for payment thereof accordingly; which was done, and signed by the speaker, to be presented to the Governor for his concurrence, and then the House adjourned until seven o'clock tomorrow morning."

No comment need be made on this item particularly except to call the reader's attention to the fact that the Conestoga Indians were frequently at Philadelphia.

1711 — Governor Gokin Makes Another Treaty with the Conestoga Indians and Others.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 532, at the top of the page it is stated that, "At a council held the 4th of June, the Governor desired the opinion of the Council as to his going to Conestoga, because Colonel French knew nothing of the new matters on which a treaty was to be made and the Council desired that the Governor and some of his Council should go; and on the 11th of June the Governor acquainted the Council that he is now ready to start to Conestoga, if they still think that Bezalion's message is of such importance as to require him to go, it being so very hot now. And the board decided that as the Indians expected him, he should go. The Governor accordingly went to Conestoga and held a Council with the Indians at Conestoga on the 18th of June, which he reported to Philadelphia on the 23rd of June, as follows, (p. 533):—

"At Conestoga, Jun 18, 1711.

PRESENT:

The Honorable CHAS. GOOKIN, Esq. Ltt. Govr.

Joseph Growdon,
Richard Hill,
Griffith Owen,
Caleb Pusey, Esqrs.

A present of 50 lbs. of powder, 1 piece of Stroudwater, 1 piece of Duffils, 100 pounds of shott; being laid upon the floor, the Governor (by Indian Harry the Interpreter), thus spoke:

Governor Penn upon all occasions is willing to, show how great a regard he bears to you therefore has sent this small present (a forerunner of a greater to come next Spring), to you and hath required me to acquaint you that he is about to settle some people upon the branches of Potowmac, and doubts not but the same mutual friendship which has all along as brothers, past betwixt the inhabitants of the Government and you, will also continue betwixt you and those he is about to settle; he intends to present five belts of wampum to the five nations, and one to you at Conestoga, and requires your friendship to the Palatines settled near Pequea.

To which they answer:

That they are extremely well pleased with the Governor's speech, but as they are at present at war with the Tuscaroroes and other Indians they think that place not safe for Christians, and are afraid that if any damage should happen to these the blame will be laid upon them, that settlement being situated betwixt them and those at War with them. As to the Palatines they are in their opinion safely seated, but earnestly desire that the death of Letore may now be adjusted, for they shall not think themselves safe until it is.

18th, Tuesday about twelve

The Senequois and the Shawanois met the Governor and Council, Opessah, Chief of the Shawnois, by Martin Chartier, interpreter, thus spoke:

Were it impossible for us, by presents or any other way, to atone for the lives of those young men our people unadvisedly slew we would be partly willing to make satisfaction, and such a condescension would be forever greatly remembered and more nearly engage us and for the future render us more careful. The uneasiness we had on that account was such, that we could not sleep until the last time the Governor and his people were up here, at which time we had some hopes given us of adjusting that matter, since the murderers are all dead except one, who is gone to Messasippi.

To which the Governor answered:

That the Laws of England were such, that whosoever killed a man must run the same fate, yet considering the previous circumstances to that murder, the length of time since the accon., the distance of place were acted from the Government, and before coming here, and the persons all save one, (who is absconded) since his deed, I am willing to forbear further prosecution on enquiry into it, but withal caution you that if any such thing hereafter fall out, you may be assured I shall as well know how to do Justice as I have now shewed mercy for which they return the Governor their hearty thanks, and Opessah assures that if hereafter if any such thing happen, he himself will be executioner and burn them that should dare to do it.

The Senequois acquaint:

That Opessa being therefor solicited by John Hans Steelman, had sent out some of his people, either to bring back or kill Francis de le Tore and his Company. Opessa, he affirms he was entirely innocent, for that John Hans came to his cabin when he and his young people (who were then going hunting) were in Council, told them that some of his slaves and dogs (meaning La Tore and Company) were fled, therefore desired him forthwith to send some of his people to bring them back or kill them, and take goods for their trouble, at which motion Opessa surprised, told him that he ought by no means discourse, after that manner before young people who were gone to the woods, and might by accident meet these people and therefore ordered him to desist, utterly denying his request.

The Senequois also acquainted the Governor that Le Tort had taken a boy from them and sold him at New York and requested that the Governor would enquire after him, that they might have him again."

Penn in England having learned of the stealing of this boy wrote to the Susquehanna Indians the following letter, which may be found in Vol. 12 of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 280:

'My Good Friends:

The people of New York have again wrote earnestly to me about those Indian prisoners taken by you, especially the woman and boy saying that they bought them fairly of the Governor of Carolina who sold them for slaves and they being my good friends and neighbors, and all under the same king, I must therefore desire you to deliver the said woman and boy to the bearer hereof Silvester who will carefully carry them to New Castle and there put them on board a vessel from thence directly to New York, and by so do-

ing you will geatly oblige.

Your very good friend and brother,
WM. PENN."

This treaty of 1711 is referred to by Governor Keith, who himself made a treaty with the Conestogas in 1720; and he says, "About nine or ten years ago a considerable number of the Five Nations, not less than fifty came to Conestoga and a meeting with Governor Gookin late of this Province and several of his Council, Colonel Dongan's purchase was mentioned to them and they were fully satisfied," (3 Col. Rec., p. 101).

All this goes to throw light upon this great treaty of 1711 and shows us that confirmation of the land purchase on Susquehanna was one of its objects. All the purposes of the treaty however, are plainly set forth in the treaty itself.

1711 — More Palatines. (Mennonites) Settle Among the Conestogas.

In the item which we have just stated it will be observed that the following sentence, which the Indians say in regard to the Palatines, occurs, "As to the Palatines, they are in their opinion safely seated." I merely make this a separate item to show that the whites were now mixing and settling among the Indians and in their neighborhood. As the question came up whether the whites would be safe there if the Indians got into war with other tribes. It is here stated by the Indians that these whites would be safe.

Mombert in his History, p. 26 tells us, "That as early as 1711 there were Palatines settled near Pequea, who were prominently admitted into the friendship of the neighboring tribes." We have no doubt that this is directly quoted from the Colonial Records as we have just cited it.

1711 — Colonel French Sends in His Expense Account of the Conestoga Treaty.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 529, in February, 1711, Colonel French gives in the following account of the expenses of his treaty:

Coll. French's account of his Journey to Conestoga, etc., were read and considered, and 147 Pounds, 6s., 10d, allowed to him, saving the deductions following: viz: for horse hire and baggage men in July 1707, charged in Governor Evans' account and paid him 5 Pounds; for six Pounds paid by the present Governor to the baggage men in July, 1710, charged in Coll. French's account, in all deducted 27 Pounds, 7s; so there remains due to Coll. French, and which is allowed by the board, 119, 19, 10.

The Governor's account of disbursements and charges on his Journey to Conestoga, in July, 1710, to treat with the Five Nations, amounts to 8 Pounds, and 10s, which is allowed by the Council.

The supply bill was now again read and sent to ye house with amendments affixed to it."

This shows us something of the kind of equipment that was necessary to be taken into the Conestoga treaties to perfect a treaty.

1711—The Governor Orders the Conestoga Chiefs to Come to Council.

In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, p. 537 on the first of August, this year, "The Governor sent for Indian Harry, and ordered him to fetch some of ye chiefs of the Indians, who were come down with a design to go to Canada. He brought six of them, and the Governor asked them by Harry the Interpreter, how many there were intended for Canada.

They answered about 5 or 6 and Twenty. It was askt them why they did not make the bent of their way to the Five Nations, pursuant to Coll. Hunter's letter to them. They replied that Coll. French would have had them come by way of New Castle, and promised to go along with them, but New Castle being out of their way, they came to Philadelphia and expected him there. It was asked them whether they apprehended they were come here at the Governor's request, or upon Coll. Hunter's letter to them, as being under covenants, with the five nations to go to war, when they required them; they answered they came in obedience to Coll. Hunter's letter, but they expected Coll. French to go with them. They were told that Coll. French might have such a design, but he was off of it, and asked them whether they would go to Burlington by land or water, where they would have company enough of the forces raised there to go along with them, to which they said they would further consider amongst themselves."

The importance of Conestoga is here again plainly shown.

1712—The Delawares Show a Belt of Wampum Sent to Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Colonial Rec., p. 546 there is an account of Council of a treaty held at Edward Farmer's House with the Delaware Indians. It will be remembered that the Delawares moved to the Susquehanna as we have shown before. These Delaware Indians had thirty-two belts of wampum and they were on their way to pay tribute to the Five Nations of New York. In making their speech to the Governor they declared that many years ago they were made tributary to the Five Nations and were now about to visit them; and that they thought it would be proper to stop at Philadelphia and show the Governor these belts, together with their Indian pipe or calamet with a stone head, wooden cane or shaft and feathers fixt to it like wings, with other ornaments. They said that the Five Nations had given them this pipe, that they were compelled to show it when they came among the Five Nations to be known as friends. They then proceeded to explain each of the thirty-two belts of wampum, and tell who made it and for what it was for. Besides these 32 belts they showed two more, one that had been given by Penn when he was here and the other that was since sent by Colonel Evans to Conestoga, which they are also to carry with them. But they desire to know from the Governor, now, what was intended by them. The Governor asked them why they waited 11 years to ask about this belt that Wm. Penn gave them, and they said that the man that was to carry it died soon after they got it and that that was the reason. Further it appears in this treaty that they had several bundles and skins and that they made presents to the Council and also held a treaty and at this treaty it is stated that they received presents from the whites and "these presents being kindly accepted, filling their calamet or long winged pipe with tobacco and lighting it, they presented it so lighted to the Governor and each of the Council, etc., to smoak a few blasts of it as a token of the greatest friendship that could be shown.

1712—Another Body of Conestoga Indians Come to the Council.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 553 it it stated that at a Council held on the 23rd of July of that year, "sev-

eral Indians being arrived some days ago from Conestogo, on business of importance, (as they said), and having waited eight days for their Interpreter, they at length met the Council this day; Tagodrancy or Civility, a War Captain and Chief, with Tanyahtickahungh, the old Speaker, Knawonhunt, and Soachkoat, two Brothers, and some others being sate, they first presented a bundle of deer skins, and by Indian Harry their Interpreter, said: That the Proprietor, Governor Penn had at his first coming amongst them made an agreement with them that they should always live as friends and Brothers, and be as one body, one heart, one mind, and as one eye and ear; that what the one saw the other should see, and what the one heard the other should hear and that there should be nothing but love and friendship between them and us forever.

They presented a small bundle of furs, and said that on their part they had always kept up this agreement and should constantly observe it in all respects, that if anything came to their knowledge relating to us they would always like brothers and friends acquaint us with it, and if at any time any foreigners or strangers came among them they would, (as they had always done) give notice of it immediately to Philadelphia, and in all things would acquit themselves accordingly to what they had promised and engaged. They presented two bundles of skins together, and said that on our part we had promised them to regulate the trade that was carried on with them at Conestoga, and had spoke of licenses to be given to the traders, by which means all abuses were to be rectified. But that since Licenses were granted they found themselves worse dealt by than ever, they received less for the goods that they sold to the traders, were worse treated and suffered more injuries, which they desired the Council would inquire into, and know why it was so, and cause it to be redressed.

They presented a fifth bundle, and said, that the Cattle the traders kept hurt and destroyed their corn; Civility gave an account of his coming with divers of their people, in a friendly visit to the old French women. M. L.Tort's house; that without any provocation she turned them out of doors, and that upon their expostulating upon it, she told them that the house was her own, that the land was hers, for she had bought it of Governor Penn, and proceeded to insult them very rudely; they therefore desired to know whether this was so or not, and whether she had any authority to act in such a manner.

They were told by the board that the Council were much troubled to find they had occasion to complain, but they were desired to use such a freedom with us as became brothers, and not receive anything, but lay all their grievances before us, whoever the persons offending might be, and it should all be considered and answered together.

They proceeded to complain of M. Letort, and particularly the old Queen Conguegoes representing that the said M. Letort did them great damages by keeping of hogs, and that at twice she turned them into the Queen's corn in her own sight.

They said that they had often taken horses out of their fields and taken them to the owners; that sometimes they would not acknowledge them to be theirs, but that when damages were done by any, all the traders would deny that those

horses did belong to any of them that did it; upon which one of them they said resolved to take a method to find to whom one particular horse belonged, for having taken him out of his corn three several times, he at last shott him, that the owner meeting with the loss might be discovered by his complaints.

They added that one Sheerwill had lived amongst them for two years without planting any corn; that notwithstanding he had still enough, furnishing himself by stealth; and that he had sometimes been taken in the fact but that he had now left the place.

They are told that all these matters should be inquired into, considered and answered altogether in the morning.

They desired that they might be acquainted with what news we had either from New York relating to the Indians, or from other places; and some time being spent on these several subjects, they are told they might withdraw which they did accordingly, and the Council entering into the considerfation of what had been delivered. It was resolved, that these injuries requiring an immediate redress, care should be taken to procure satisfaction to the Indians for the losses they had already sustained, and that they should be prevented for the future by obliging these traders to remove from so near a neighborhood to them without any delay, and that none of them should be suffered to sitt down among these people; all which was referred to be further considered tomorrow.

The account of their presents being taken, they were found to be,

30 Deer skins, valued at about 3—6d each,	5 Pds.	5	6
2 half bears,		7	
3 foxes at 18d each,	6-		
Racoons, at 6s each		10	6
3 beavers at 5s and one Dressed Doe at3—6		18	6
The whole amounting at the highest computation to .....7 Pds.		01	0

And it is ordered that another should be provided to return to them, viz:

6 Stroudwater Matchcoats.
6 Duffils.
6 White Shirts.
50 lbs. of powder.
1 cwt. of Lead, besides a stroudwater and a shirt to Harry the Indian Interpreter, and two small shirts to two of his children, and then adjourned until tomorrow at 3 in the afternoon."

This again shows the difficulties under which the Conestoga Indians labored and the questions of importance that were constantly rising from that section.

On p. 555 of the same book it is stated the next day, "The Board taking into consideration the complaints made by the Indians, they thought fit to order, that the traders whose cattle had done damage to the Indians should be forthwith obliged to make compensation to the satisfaction of the sufferers they left the town; and as had been before resolved, that none of them should be suffered to live any longer amongst that people, but should at this fall at fartherest remove to greater distance, and not allowed on any terms to keep cattle and other horses than what are for their immediate service, unless they should live on purchased land.

The several other heads spoke to by the Indians being also considered, the Secretary was directed to answer them from the Board, accord-

ing to the instructions now agreed on and giving him, and accordingly the presents yesterday ordered to be returned to them being mostly gott ready, and they themselves called in the Secretary spoke to fully to every particular, the heads of which are as follows:

That the Bond of friendship and Brotherhood made by the Proprietor William Penn, with their nation, was so strong, that we doubted not that it would never be broken; that both we and they had hitherto inviolably kept it, and we were glad to see them on their parts desirous to strengthen it and therefore took their presents very kindly.

That we, on our parts thought this Bond so strong that it could not be made firmer by any presents; yet to shew how acceptable any tokens of their friendship were to us, and that they might be supplied with some things necessary, in consideration of their long journey to visit us; we desired them to accept what we had provided for a return to them, repeating what those presents were and delivering them all but the shirts which were not yet ready, and the provisions to be given them in the morning. That in relation to their complaints of trade, they must consider that all traders had in view by buying and selling, was to gain something to it themselves. That unless they could buy at such a rate as that, they could sell the same goods for somewhat more, so as to live by the profit, they would lose their labour and none would follow it. That all commodities sometimes rose in price and at other times fell, and that the traders must buy at such rates as their buyers could afford. That most of all the skins and furs bought of the Indians were sent to England, where the people were numerous like the leaves on the trees, and received all the goods on the main from Carolina, Virginia, etc., and so to Hudson Bay, that these goods happened now by their plenty to be low in England, and English goods high by reason of the war. That it was owing to these causes and not to the traders being obliged to take licenses; that their trade was now so low, (as some ill people who would not subject themselves to any orders might suggest to them), that the reason of granting licenses was that none should be allowed to trade with them, but such as should give security here to deal honestly by them, and not injure them in any of these points they had formerly complained of; that by these means we could at all times, by the security they gave here, punish them whether present or absent for any disorders they committed, and therefore that these licenses were of the greatest benefit to the Indians, and that if they were any way injured in trade they ought to complain to us. That from the security the traders had given, we might oblige to make reparation; that we were heartily sorry they had such occasion of complaint on other accounts than those of trade; and that the traders proved such bad neighbors that none had ever been allowed by us to settle amongst them but Peter Bizalion and that not only he but the rest that had done them damage should forthwith make them satisfaction. They were therefore ordered to settle the account of their damages with the persons who had done them by tomorrow morning, and were promised that they should be made good to them."

This item shows the firmness with which the Government of Pennsylvania dealt with these Conestoga In-

dians as well as all the other Indians. It is noticeable here also as shown p. 556 that Peter Bezalion is at this time settled among the Conestoga Indians; and also that the Delaware Indians are now constantly with the Conestogas at their treaties.

1712—Letort Granted a New License to Trade With the Conestogas and Other Indians.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 562 it is stated that the petition of James Letort was read, praying that he may have a license granted to him to trade with the Indians, etc., which being considered, he is approved on and may have the Governor's license accordingly.

According to Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals, p. 122 Letort Creek in the neighborhod of Carlisle was named from James Letort. Letort seems to have had this location as a frontier home about 1712.The creek was noted for its many beaver dams. This is a very notable thing because beavers as a rule did not live in Pennsylvania but farther northward, except on this part of the Schuylkill where the beaver towns or dams were quite numerous.

1712—The Five Nations and the Conestogas at War With the Tuscaroroes.

In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, p. 84 the Governor, Spotswood of Virginia sent a letter to Governor Keith, complaining of the action of our Indians about Conestoga, and he accuses them as follows:

"In the year 1712 and 1713, they were actually in these parts assisting the Tuscarouroes, who had massacred in cold blood some hundreds of the English and then were warring against us, and they have at this very day, the chief murderers, with the greatest part of that nation seated under their protection near Susquehanna River, whither they removed them, when they found they could no longer support them against the force which the English brought upon them in these parts.

During the Tuscourouro war, about two hundred of your Indians set upon our Virginia Indian Traders as they were going to the Southern Indians with a caravan of at least eighty horses loaded, and after killing one of our people and shot most of their horses they made booty of all the goods, declaring their reason for so doing was because they did not carry their ammunition to the Tuscourroroes, and this plunder was so publickly vended to the northward that it was no secret to your people at Albany what a villianous part they had been acting here with the English; and whether such an action be not at this day an incontestible truth. I dare appeal to you yourself, notwithstanding your Commrs. may be willing out of some publick views, to conceal this piece of your Indian Treachery."

From this we see that these Conestogas, who of course, were led by the Five Nations occasionally made expeditions southward to fight the Indians in Virginia. In a later item we will see that the Conestogas very much lamented this and claimed that if they did not go, the Five Nations, their masters, treated them very cruelly and called them cowards.

1712—The Shawnese at Pequea Capture a Catawba Boy.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 23, at a treaty held at Conestoga about 1717, we are given information that some years ago the Shawnese had captured a Catawba boy. The date

is not given but I give it as 1712. The information we have of this capture is as follows:

"The Shawanoise and all the other Indians present were further asked whether they had any prisoners of the Catawba Nation, or of any other nation in friendship with Virginia. The Shawanoise answered that they had one prisoner, a young man taken some years agoe, whom they produced; but all the others answered they had none.

It was demanded of the Shawanois that this prisoner should be returned to the Catawbas, from whence he was taken. Their King or Chief answered that they had taken him several years agoe, when he was but a little lad; that he had now forgot his native language, and spoke theirs, and that they did not think themselves obliged to return him at this time.

Being further prest to it, the chief answered that if the King of the Catawbas, whom he now understood were in league with Virginia, would come hither and make peace with him, if it was desired; but that the Catawbas were a people of great extent, and there were many nations under that name.

The young man was asked whether he was willing to return, but would not answer."

1713 — Thomas Chalkley Again Preaches in the Susquehanna Country.

In Chalkley's work before referred to, under the date of 1713, at p. 82 he says: "After I had been some time in Virginia, I got passage up the Bay Chesapeake and had several meetings in Maryland, friends being glad to see me; and we were comforted in Christ our Lord. I made some little stay at a place I had in that province, called Longbridge, and then returned to Philadelphia, where I lodged at the house of my very kind friends, Richard and Hannah Hill, and was often times at divers neighbouring meetings, and sometimes had good service therein."

It would seem rather certain from his having previously visited the Susquehannas that he sailed entirely up to the head of the Bay and went into the Susquehanna Country on this trip. He was very much concerning about the christianity of these Indians.

1713—Captain Civility on a Special Message to the Council.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 565 it is reported at a Council held June 8, 1713, "The Young Indian called Civility, one of the chiefs of Conestogo, with Harry the Interpreter, having arrived here two days ago, and desired to deliver a mesage from the Nation, the Governor called a Council thereupon, and being mett, he presented to the Governor two small parcells or strings of wampum, which they said were delivered them by certain messengers from the Cayogoes and Onoyootoes, two of ye Five Nations ,who had been lately at Conestogo, and desired to know what was the message that those who came from ye said Nations had delivered here last fall; for that they were apprehensive that some of the Tsanondowans had some ill design against us, proposal having made that several hundreds were to come down in a body, under a pretense of trading which might be attended with ill consequence.

The substance of the minutes then taken we told them, and that as they came on a message of

friendship, we had made them a suitable answer; that we always had been friends with them, and desired so to continue; that being such, they were free to trade with us, as all others were, and that we hoped we should have no cause to apprehend anything further from them. They were particularly acquainted that our Queen had now made peace with the French, and we were all to live amicably together; that the French durst now not injure an English-man, nor an English man none of the French, any more than one of their own nation; but that upon the whole we took their whole care shewn by this information very kindly, and desired them always to continue the same disposition towards us, as we should shew ourselves friends to them.

Ordered that care be taken of them whilst in Town, and that the Treasurer (Civility being now one of the Chiefs of their nation) provide for him a good Stroud, a Shirt, a hatt, and a pair of Stockins and a match coat for Harry, with some small tokens for their children, with some rum, Tobacco and bread."

Here we have another illustration of the frequent intercourses between the Conestoga Indians and the Governor at Philadelphia; and it was now almost a daily occurence that the savages of the Susquehanna River and the people on the Delaware met face to face.

1714 — Several Conestoga Indians Visit the Council at Philadelphia

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 574, it is stated that a Council held Oct. 1, of that year, that, "Several Indians being come to town from Conestogo, and the Governor being very much indisposed, the Council mett to receive what they had to offer; and Togodhessah, Sotayyoght, Tokunnyataawogha, with some others presenting a Bundle of Drest Skins, represented to the Board:

That they had always hitherto made it their practice to inform this Government of all things of mmt. that past amongst them; that living in a near neighbourhood and friendship with the Shawanois, they thought it convenient to acquaint us that Opessah, the late King of ye said Shawanoise, having absented himself from his people for about three years, and upon divers messages sent to him still refused to return to them, they at length have thought it necesasry to appoint another in his stead, and presented the person chosen by name Cakundawanna, to the board, as the new elected King of the Shawanoise, desiring the approbation of this Government of this their proceeding.

The Board answered that what measures they thought fitt to take for their own peace and safety amongst themselves, should be approved by this Government as far as just, and it hoped that what they have done was a necessity, and that they are satisfied in it.

They then presented a second bundle of drest skins, and said:

That they had informed us their old Queen was dead, as also are all their old men who formerly appeared for their nation, that they are now succeeded by a younger generation; that our methods are to keep record of what is transacted in writing, but that they have also sure ways of transmitting from one generation to another what is necessary to remember, that these now living well know the leagues and bonds of friendship that have been between the English and their fathers and that they, their Posterity, are

resolved inviolably to observe the same.

In answer they were told their present with what they said upon it, was kindly accepted, and they were desired to continue the same methods their fathers had done, and to train up their children in the same friendship towards the English that they themselves had been, that we and they may live in a firm peace togther in all time to come.

The skins presetned are 9 bucks, and 15 does, drest with one raw back, value about 3 pounds and 15s in ye whole. Ordered, that a return be made to ye value of about ten pounds, with a persent also to Harry, the Interpreter, besides their charges; and that the Treasurer see it performed, entering the account into these minutes."

In this article we again see the faithful report made by the Conestogas of the suspicious action of the King of the Shawanese. They also related to the Governor faithfully the experiences their tribe was having.

1714—Conrad Wilser's View of the Indian Religion

In Mombert's History of Lancaster County, p. 19, he sets forth a letter which Conrad Weiser wrote on this subject, as follows:

"ESTEEMED FRIEND: I write this in compliance with thy request, to give thee an account of what I have observed among the Indians, in relation to their belief and confidence in a Divine Being, according to the obsravtions I have made, from 1714, in the time of my youth, to this day (about the year 1746).

If by the word religion people mean an asesnt to certain creeds, or the observance of a set of religious duties; as, appointed prayers, singings, preaching, baptism, etc., or even Heathenish worship, then it may be said the Five Nations, and their neighbors have no religion. But if by religion we man an attraction of the soul to God, whence proceeds a confidence in, and hunger after, the knowledge of him, then this people must be allowed to have some religion among them notwithstanding their sometimes savage deportment. For we find among them some tracts of a confidence, in God alone; and even, sometimes, though but seldom, a vocal calling upon him. I have had one or two instances of this under my own observation."

Weiser in this letter speaks of Indian religion much later than 1714 but I will give that later.

1714—Beginning of the Conestoga Road in Lancaster County

In the Quarter Sessions Docket, of Lanc. Co., No. 1, pp. 89 and 121 may be found the petition dated 1734 to improve the Conestoga Road which lead into the Indian Country and which is now the road known as the "Long Lane." The petition states that the people have been using this road for twenty years. Therefore it began to be used about 1714. Many papers in the Chester County Quarter Sessions records also throw light on this subject.

1715—The Goods Bought by Logan for the Conestoga Treaty

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 597, it is stated that, "Mr. Logan exhibited an account of several things he bought for the Conestogoe Indians, by order of Council, the 1st of Oct. last, the balance of which amounts to 15 Pounds, 3s and 9d, which account is allowed, and the Treasurer ordered to pay the same."

1715—Opessah, the Late Shawanese King Comes to Philadelphia

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p 599, it is stated that on the 14th of June, this year, that Opessah, the late Shawanese King, with his companions attending him, came with the Chiefs of the Delaware and Schyulkill Indians to visit the Governor; and that they met in the Court House in Philadelphia, where they had a great ceremony, in which they opend up the calamet with a great ado with their rattles and songs. The calamet was offered by the Delaware King to the Governor and Council and all the people and then by the Governor it was offered to the Indians; and after great cermony it was put away. The Indians explained that they had carried this calamet as a bond of peace to all the Nations around and that it was a sure bond among them. The Indians further desired by holding up their hands that the God of the Heavens might be witness to it. These Indians were referring to the treaty which Penn made with them "at his first coming among them." The speaker for the Indians then said that he delivers n behalf of all the Indians on this side of the Susquehanna River the belts of wampum which he had with him. As to Opessah who formerly lived on Pequea Creek as King of the Shawanese, the speaker says that he has now abdicated and lives at a great distance from his former home. The Governor said that Opessah had long been under a league of Friendship with them, and even though he has moved we will treat him as kindly as ever; but we ask that he will tell the foreign Indians that he lives with that they should be klnd towards the Engilsh and tell them of any danger; and Opessah said that he did not know of any. We see in this item that Opessah was quite a treacherous character and made trouble very frequently.

1715 — Chalkley Reports That the Conestogas Have Moved Their Town Twenty Miles Away

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p 603 on the 21st of June, at a Council, "Mr. Logan acquainted the Board, that he had information by Thomas Chalkley, who lately came from Maryland, that the Conestogoe Indians had left their town and removed twenty miles distant, and it being thought that soemthing extraordinary had happened, that they should leave their corn growing on the ground. It was ordered that a message should be sent up to them by some of the Chiefs, of the Indians now in Town, and a small present, to wit: a matchcoat for the two Chiefs, Civility and ————, and tell them we would be glad to see then, and that they should inform them that they, together with the Delaware Indians, have already been here and renewed their League of friendship, and were kindly receied."

In this item we see some new disturbances about Conestoga, which we shall explain later.

1715—Another Council held With Opessah and His Associates

On the 22nd of June, 1715, we are told in Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p 603, that "The Indian chiefs, viz: Sasoonan and Matasjeechay, with Opessah, being called according to the order of yesterday, the Governor acquainted them, that he, with the Council, were extremely well pleased to see them, and with the treaty that we had with them, but could have wished they

had more effectually taken the advice that was given them to forbear excessive drinking, and especially to avoid rum, which since it disorders them so very much and ruins their health, they ought to shun it as poison; for though valuable men when sober, yet when overcome with that unhappy Liquor they are quite lost and become beasts, that had the Governor thought they would not take more care of themselves he would have prevented their buying it, and must do so the next time they are so kind to visit us, that so we may be able all the time of the stay to converse together.

That now, however, he is glad to see them sober again at their departure, and was willing to speak with them before they went to furnish them with some provisions for their journey.

That we have now had with them a very friendly treaty, which with all others heretofore they are constatnly to remember.

That as they spoke in behalf of all the Indians on this side of Sasquehananh, excepting those of Conestoga, the Governor wishes that they had also come with them, but since they have not, Sasoonan and Metasheekay are desired to inform the chiefs of Conestoga, vsiz: Soteeryole and Tagultaleese or Civility, that they have been here renewing their League, yet we were sorry that we saw not all our friends together, that to the end they might be partakers of the same League, we had sent each of them a matchcoat, and should be glad to see them with the first good conveniency.

That hearing they design to leave Conestogo, we should desire an opportunity of discoursing them before they quit that ancient settlement, and that they should say that same thing to those that are removed; that the better to cover them from the night dews in their travels, we give each of them a stroud matchcoat.

That as they had particularly recommended Opessah, we were very well pleased with their regard to him, and as a token of our taking him into the same friendship with them, now gave him also a Stroud.

All wihch being interpreted to them and provisions delivered for their Journey, viz: some loaves and one hundred weight of Biscuitts, with 12 Pounds of tobacco and pipes, they returnèd their hearty thanks with expresisons of great satisfaction.

But Sasoonan complained that they were much abused by the quantities of rum brought amongst them, and requested the Governor to cause a stop to be put to the pratcice.

Upon which they were told of the very strict laws made against it, but that it was impossible for us to know who came thither into the woods amongst them without their information, that it would be in their power effectually to prevent it that if they would stave all the rum that came amongst them, which they were directed by the Governor to do without fail as oft as any came.

They thereupon desired the Governor's written order for it, and acordingly the following order was issued.

By the Honorable Charles Gookin, Esqr., etc.

Wheras, notwithstanding the several penalties laid by the laws of this province, upon those who sell rum to the Indians, complaints are made by them, that great quantities are still carried into the woods to their great loss and damage. For the more speedy prevention of which,

it is ordered by the Governor and Council, that all Indians who shall at any time see any rum brought amongst them for sale, either by the English or others, do forthwith stave the casks and destroy the liquor, with suffering any of it to be sold or drank, in which practice they shall be idemnified and protected by the Government against all persons whatsoever. Dated at Philadelphia, ye 22nd of June, 1715."

We observe here that their is something like a break in the pleasant relations between the other Indians of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers and the Conestogas. Just what caused the Conestogas to leave and move 20 miles away is not very clear.

1715—The Conestogas Now Come and Explain their Removal and Other Actions.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 606, it is stated that on the 13th of Sept., "Sotyriote, Chief of ye Conestoga Indians, with divers others of his nation and of the Ganawoise, being in town last night, on the message sent them from this Board by Sassooan and Metashichay, two of ye Delaware chiefs ye 22nd of June last, the Council met to consider of the treaty to be held with them.

And as they are come at the request of this Government, it is therefore agreed and ordered that according to ye custom of ye Indians, a present should be made to them, viz: six Stroudwater matchcoats, six Duffel matchcoats, six blankets, half a barrel of Powder, and hundred pounds of lead ,with some tobacco and pipes, and that care be taken of their entertainment, as also that some present should be made to Harry the Interpreter, to ye value of three pounds or thereabouts.

That they be informed that the Indians of Delaware with Opessah in behalf of the Shawanois coming hither of themselves last 4th month, did in a solemn manner renew the treaty and confirm the bond of friendship between us, which they did in the name and behalf (they said) of all Indians on this side of Sasquehannah, those of Conestoga excepted, when they left to speak for themselves, and therefore that we desired that these Indians would also come to visit us as the others had done, that we might at the same time renew our Leagues of friendship with all our friends and brethren, that that they had always been such to us, and that our conduct to each other had always been so friendly, and the leagues of his friendship had been so often repeated and confirmed that we were desirous to see them as our friends and brethren, as often as any others of our Indians for which reason we had sent them that message.

The Indians not being met, the conference and treaty with them was deferred, and the Council adjourned for that purpose till in the morning at seven." This sets forth the discussions of the first day.

At page 607 we are told what happened the next day as follows:

"The afore mentioned Indians,with their interpreter, mett, and the present provided, the Governor ordered them to be informed that he, with the Council, were glad to see them, and would have been pleased if it had been sooner. That Sasconan, in behalf of his own and all our other Indians on this side of Sasquehannah, those of Conestoga excepted, had in the most friendly manner renewed their treaties and confirmed the bond of friendship between us. That we were upon desirous to see them also, that we might have at the same time

the satisfaction of conferring with and entertaining all the nations of our friends around us, and by that means have an opportunity to know how it was with them.

That we had heard that they had a design for moving the Conestoga, to leave room for the English to settle there; but that we desired they should not make themselves uneasy, and if they thought it might be more for their conveniency to be a greater distance, we should expect first to be acquainted with it.

They were also particularly informed of what passed between our Delaware Indians and us, at the last treaty and the minutes then taken were interpreted to them, with all which they appeared very well satisfied.

The presents as yesterday ordered were delivered to them, amounting to about 20 Pounds in value, besides the three pounds ordered to Harry, the interpreter, and the charges of their entertainment.

Upon their receiving of these they were particularly desired to be careful from time to time, to inform us of any strangers coming amongst them, and of everything new that should happen amongst them, for as we were friends and brethren, we must be concerned for their safety and welfare, as well as our own.

They all appeared extremely pleased, and the Council adjourned.

On the next day, September 15, the Governor left town but authorized the Council to hear the answer of these Indians, whereupon the chief of the Conestogas by his interpreter said, "That they were well pleased to find that the Indians who were here in summer, had shown themselves so mindful of former treaties and agreements that were made with William Penn, at his first arrival; that their old men were generally gone off the stage, and that a younger generation had come into their place; that they on their parts should ever desire to live in the same peace and friendship with us, that their fathers had done, and that not only they but that their and our posterity might do the same, from generation to generation. That all things were well amongst them, and they had nothing in relation to this Government to blame or in anywise find fault with.

They then laid down four strings of white wampum, and said, that Opessah, who was formerly a King of the Shawanois, near Conestoga, but had now for some years been abroad in the woods (as he said) a hunting, had just as their coming away from Conestoga, sent them a message with that wampum, to tell them he was now going a hunting again, that they thought it convenient to acquaint this Government with it, and that if they hear anything further of his proceedings, they will not fail from time to time to give us an account of it, and as they had always lived in peace, and we and they had been as Brethren and friends, so they desired we might ever continue the same, that they had nothing to complain of, but desired we would for their greater ease in trading with our people, asquaint them with the certain prices of our goods.

They then presented to the Board seventeen deer skins in ye Hair, and eighteen foxes skins. They were told in answer to this, the same things that had been said to Sasoonan and the Indians with them; that it was impossible to set any prices, for goods were sometimes cheaper, sometimes dearer, and the traders would sell their goods dearer

at Sasquehannah, after they had been at the pains to carry them some days journey on horseback, thither, and that we could advise them to no other method than what we took ourselves, which is that every man should bargain as well as he could for himself, but in the meantime as we had passed a law, that none called Christians should offer them any injury, is if they received any they were desired to acquaint us with it and they should be redressed.

It was further pressed on them to be very careful on their parts that no difference arise between any of their and our people and if there should be they would acquaint us with it immediately, that we might duly inquire into it, and justice should be done them if they were anywise wronged.

Then provisions being ordered to be provided for them by the Treasurer for their return home, and all the accounts to be discharged by him.

They were dismissed and the Council adjourned."

From all this we see that the matter which was likely to be difficult was finaly settled with the Conestoga Indians.

1715—Our Conestoga Indians Make a Treaty With Virginia.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 87, Governor Spottswood of Virginia, writes to Governor Keith, referring to the treaty which the Conestogas and others had made with his Province, and says that they have not kept their engagements made on the last day of August, 1715, but that in violation of those engagements they made war upon the Catawbas and upon the white settlments of Virginia in all which the Governor of Virginia puts the blame upon our Conestoga Indians. This ends all we have to say under the year of 1715.

1716—The Minutes of the Conestoga Treaty Lost.

In Vol. 2 of the Col. Rec., p. 613 a visit of the Conestogas and Delawares to the Council is set forth but it seems that the minutes of the proceedings were not taken and we can not tell just what purpose took them to Philadelphia. The Colonial Records give the following account of it:

"Sotayriote, the Chief of the Conestoga Indians, Tagotelessah or Civility their Captain, Sheekokonickan, a chief of the Delaware Indians being come to town, attended the Governor in Council; but ye clerk having neglected to enter ye minutes of what past as he did all other relating to these people, which J. Logan himself took not with his own hand, they are with others irrecovably lost."

1717—John Cartledge Sends Word of Disturbances Among the Conestogas.

In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Rec., p. 15 it is set forth under the date of June 19, this year, as follows: "The Secretary by the Governor's order laid before the Board a letter he had received this afternoon from John Cartledge of Conestogoe, giving him an account of some distuurbances amongst the Indians there; as also one enclosed from Lahya, Civility, and some others of the chiefs of the Indians on the Susquehanna, wherein they desired him to come to them without delay, to consult with them about affairs of great importance: They having no notice (it is probable) of the Governor's arrival. The Governor hereupon thought it incumbent on himself to give them a visit and to the end they might have time as they desired, to call their people together, he was pleased to appoint the seventeenth day of July next, to be the time he would see

them at Conestogoe; and in the meantime the Secretary was ordered to write a letter to them to that purport, and to send a belt of wampum as a token of friendship and confirmation of this message."

We can at this date understand the extreme importance of the urgent visit which the Conestogas asked the whites to make to them, but we may rest assured that matters of importaince were to be adjpusted, especially does this show, what caused Governor Keith to go to the Indians as soon as possible.

1717—The Delaware Indians are Now at Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 19, it is stated that at a Council held at Conestoga the Chief of the Delawares was present. I do not believe that they were simply as visitors attending this treaty but that they now lived on the Susquehanna River which may be seen under this same date in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 45, where we are told that the Chiefs of the Delawares, formerly on Brandywine but now inhabitants on the Susquehanna River" were come to Philadelphia, therefore, I make this bit of history a separate item so that the fact of the Delawares moving from the Schuylkill river to the Susquehanna River may be made prominent. We shall see later that these Delawares caused us much grief because it was they who in 1755 helped to slaughter Braddock's men at Fort DuQuense and later, who in and about Carlisle and Cumberland stealthily butchered many of the white pioneers of these sections.

1717—A Great Treaty at Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec.. pp, 21 and 22 it is set forth that the following proceedings took place, "at a Council held at Conestoga, the 9th day of July, 1717." Then follows a list of the members of Council who journeyed with Governor Keith to Conestoga, and took part in this treaty. They were Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Anthony Palmer, Robert Ashton and John French. The importance of this treaty is attested by the fact that these six men were perhaps the most prominent sextette in Pennsylvania at this time. The report of the treaty is as follows:

"Present the Chiefs, and others of the Conestogoe or Mingo Indians, the Delawares, the Shawanoise and Gunawoise, all inhabiting upon or near the banks of the River Susquehannah.

A memorial from Captain Christopher Smith, of Virginia, having been presented to the Governor, was read at the Board in ye words following, viz:

To the Honorable William Keith, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware; and the Honorable Council at Conestogoe, Capt. Christopher Smith humbly Sheweth,

That he being commissioned and instructed by the Honorable Alexander Spotswood, Esq., Governor of Virginia, to go to New York, and with the lycense and permission of the Governor of these said province of New York, to discourse with the Indians or elsewhere concerning the murdering of some Catawba Indians at Fort Christianna in the Colony of Virginia, who are in amity with the said Government of Virginia, which said insult was then supposed to be committed by the Senequa Indians, and also to demand the Delivery up of the prisoners taken at the place aforesaid, with reparation for the in-

sults done upon the said Catawba Indians.

And whereas, the said Christopher Smith, by the assistance of his Excellency Brigader Hunter, Governor of New York hath procured the confession of the said Senequa Indians, wherein they acknowledge that some of their men were concerned in the killing, of some of the said Catawba Indians near Fort Christanna aforesaid, but do say that they did not know the said Catawba Indians were in amity or upon a treaty with the Government of Virginia and have now ingaged for themselves, that all acts of hostility against the said Catabaw Indians or any others in amity with the said Government of Virginia shall leave, and if the woman Prisoner lately taken in Virginia by some of their men, who (at present is escaped out of their hands) be taken up by any of their people, that she shall be safely delivered up to the Governor of New York, in order to be sent back to Virginia; and the said Christopher Smith, being lately informed that some of the Shawanois Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania, and in amity with this Government, were present and concerned in the murder and insult aforesaid, committed at Fort Christianna aforesaid, Humbly Request Your Honors assistance and Countenance in obtaining an interview with the said Shawanois Indians and an interpreter to assist him in discoursing with the said Indians; and if it appears that any of the Indians in friendship with your Government have been concerned in the committing the aforesaid fact, that the said Christopher Smith may have your Honor's assistance and countenance in procuring reparation for the wrong done, but if it appear that none of the Indians in Covenant or friendship with you have been concerned in this cruelty, that then he may be assisted in making such terms of Friendship with the said Indians, which by his commission he is fully empowered to do, as for the future may do for the safety and quiet of his Majesty's subjects, and the Indians in amity with the Government of Virginia and Pennsylvania. CHRISTOPHER SMITH.

The said Capt. Smith (being desired so to do), produced his commission from the Governor of Virginia, under the seal of that Government, together with his instructions referred to in his said commission both of which were also read.

And because the subject of the said memorial principally concerned the said Shawanoise Indians, Martin Chartiere who understood and spoke their language well, was sworn as an interpreter on this occasion.

The insult lately made on the Government of Virginia, at the Fort Christianna, as it is mentioned in the said memorial was then fully related to those Indians, and they required to inform the Governor whether any of their nation were concerned in that fact, or know anything of it.

They answered that six of their men had accompanied that party of the Five Nations who had committed the fact, but that none of those six were here present, their settlement being much higher up the Susquehannah River, and being asked such further questions as Captain Smith requested might be proposed to them in this affair, they answered to them severally as follows, viz:

That according to the information they had received from the six persons aforementioned of their Nation, after their return home, there was only eighteen persons of the whole company imployed in that attack

near the said Fort at Christianna, and that the above mentioned six of their nations were with the rest, at some considerable distance by the side of a creek or brook, and were no way concerned in it, neither did they know anything of it until the return of the said party of eighteen who had killed six men on the spot, took one prisoner who soon made his escape, and a woman whom they carried along with them, and that this was all they knew of that matter.

Being further asked whether any of their Indians knew anything of killing Major Joshua Wynne, in Virginia, about five years agoe, they said they did not know anything of it

Whether they knew anything of the Indians killing a negro man in Virginia, belonging to Captain Robert Hicks, about four years agoe, they answer they knew nothing of it.

Being asked what they knew of some Indians of the Five Nations having about four years agoe plundered a company of Virginia Indians, trading at Enoe River.

They answer that they had often heard talk about such a thing, but that none of them were concerned in it, or could give any account of it.

The Shawanoise and all the other Indians present were further asked whether they had any prisoners of the Catawba Indians, or of any other Nation in friendship with Virginia. The Shawanoise answered that they had one prisoner a young man taken some years ago, whom they produced; but all the others answered they had none.

It was demanded of the Shawanois that this prisoner should be returned to the Catawbas, from whence he was taken. Their King or Chief answered that they had taken him several years ago, when he was but a little lad; that he had now forgot his native language and spoke theirs and that they did did not think themselves obliged to return him at this time.

Being further prest to it, the Chief answered that if the King of the Catawbas, whom he now understood were in league with Virginia, would come hither and make peace with him and his people (the Shawanois), he might have the young man back with him, if it was desired; but that that Catawbas were a people of great extent, and there were many nations under that name.

The young man was asked whether he was willing to return, but would give no answer.

Captain Smith proposed that he might have liberty to treat with those Indians in order to make a league with them in behalf of the Government of Virginia, to which he was authorized by Colonel Spotswood commission and instructions.

The Governor answered that he did not conceive it to be necessary or useful that any person whatsoever should be permitted to treat with the Indians, except the Government of that Colony, to which the Indians respecively belonged; but if Colonel Spotswood (for whom the Governor had a very great regard) desired to make any treaty with the Indians who lived under the protection of this Government, for establishing a peace and good understanding between them and the Indians under the protection of Virginia the Governor himself, with advice of his Council, would heartily endeavor to accomplish a treaty upon such reasonable terms as Colonel Spotswood might propose in behalf of Virginia; and that in the meantime the Governor now would at this juncture (as it

has been usual in this province) insist upon our Indians friendship too, and a good correspondence with, all the English Colony's, with their dependent Indians, and Virginia in particular.

The Governor then spoke to the Indians by the Interpreters, in the words and manner following.

That they must carefully remember that all the several Government, (which the interpreters particularly inumerated), from New England to South Carolina inclusive; thought they have different Governors, yet they are all subjects to the great King and Emperor of the English; so that when any Government makes a treaty of friendship with the Indians, they must also treat and make the same bond of friendship for all other English people, as well as themselves, by which means all the Indian nations who are in League and friendship with any English Government, must also be friends to each other.

If, therefore, any of you shall hurt or molest the Indians, who are at this time in friendship with any English Government, you hereby break the league of friendship made with this Government, which, as it has been most inviolably observed on our part, we do positively expect the same to be done on yours; and if any of you receive damage or are injured by the Indians who are in peace with any English Government, if you can discover what Indians they were that did it, this Government, on your complaint, will endeavor to procure satisfaction from that English Government, to which such Indians belong.

The Governor further told them by the same interpreters, that he having given himself the trouble to come hither at this time, upon their request he had not provided himself with any presents for them, being they knew that Philadelphia has always been the place of treaty with this Government, where they ought first to come and offer theirs.

But nevertheless, it being the first time the Governor had seen them he would take this opportunity to put them in mind of several parts of their duty, which they might more punctually observe, he had purchased a few things from the traders, as a small testimony of his good will to them.

Then the presents being laid upon the ground before the Indians the Governor proceeded to tell them.

1st That he expected their strict observance of all former contracts or friendship made between them and this Government of Pennsylvania.

2dly. That they must never molest or disturb any of the English Governments, nor make warr upon any Indians whatsoever who are in friendship and under the protection of the English.

3dly. That in all cases of suspicion or danger, they must advise and consult with this Government before they undertook or determined anything.

4thly. That if through accident any mischief of any sort should happen to be done by the Indians to the English, or by the English to them, then both parties should meet with hearty intention of good will to obtain an acknowledgement of the mistake as well as to give or receive reasonable satisfaction.

5thly. That upon these terms and conditions the Governor did in the name of their Great and Good friend William Penn, take them and their people under the same protection and in the same friendship with

this Government, as William Penn himself had formerly done, or could do now if he were here present.

And the Governor hereupon did promise on his part to encourage them in peace, and to nourish and support them like a true friend and brother.

To all which the several chiefs and their Great Men presently assented, it being agreed, that in testimony thereof they should rise up and take the Governor by the hand, which accordingly they did with all possible marks of friendship in their countenance and behavior."

In addition to the fact of the treaty it seems important here to notice that the Conestoga Indians desired to know what Christians were settled back of them in the woods and to what nation they belonged, which attests the fact that a good many whites were now coming into this section. It is also worthy of notice here that this item would seem to indicate that Peter Bezalion at this time lived at or near Conestoga.

1717 — Governor Spotswood Again Complains Against the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 84, in a letter to Governor Keith, Governor Spotswood says that while he was holding a treaty on the Virginia frontier with the chiefs of the Catawbas, a party of Conestoga Indians (and likely some of the Five Nations from New York) learned from the Tuscaroras that the Catawbas were unarmed, making a treaty and then came among them, killed some and carried others away.

1717—Five Hundred Young Five Nation Warriors at Susquehanna.

In the same book last cited. p. 85, Governor Spotswood further complains that there was a march in August and September of five hundred young warriors of the Five Nations and that they advanced as far as Susquehanna River; and declared that they were going on down to the Maryland settlements.

I cite this simply to show that the Conestoga country was a famous place of resort at this time for the tribes of the Five Nations and other Indians, and to show the prominence of this section. It is further shown that at the same time there was a great deal of Indian butchering and massacreing going on about Conestoga and Susquehanna.

Governor Spotswood also complains in this letter that they fell on a company of men, women and children, and that they killed many of them, and that one woman eccaped after much cruelty and went to Virginia famished with cold and hunger.

1717—A Line Thrown Around the Conestoga Indian Camp for Protection.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 48, there is set forth a statement of Governor Keith to the Conestoga Indians some of which were in Phiadelphia at that time that "We have had a line thrown around them (the Conestogas) that none might come near them; and had their corn fields fenced in by John Cartiledge's care,whose house alone was placed in those lines so that he could look after the tract and also the bounds of it." This shows the care that the authorities were now taking of the Indians at Philadelphia."

1717—Notes on the Conestoga Treaty.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 168, appears the following:

"Extracts from Council-Book E., 18th July, 1717.

Fo. 12. Governor Keith's treaty with

the Chiefs of ye Conestogoe or Mingoe Indians, ye Delawares, ye Shawanoise and Ganawoise, wherein are no complaints about land.

16th June, 1718.

At a treaty with ye Chiefs of the Conestogoe Indians, a Chief of ye Shawanois, a Chief of ye Delawares, and one from the Ganawais, they were pressed by ye Governor to be free, and if they had anything to complain of that want to be redressed, they should without reserve communicate it. Had nothing to complain of, but that some bad straggling people brought too much rum amongst them and debauched their young men. And after presenting a new King of ye Conestogoes, and ye delivery of presents on both sides, departed, expressing themselves very happy in the friendship, and under the protection of this Government."

I quote this principally to show that there were no land disputes at this time about Conestoga with the Indians; but we shall see that later than this there were some few disputes.

1717—Lands Surveys at Conestoga Disturb the Indians.

It is set forth in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 37 that "The Governor acquainted the Board that the Proprietor's Commissioners of Property had lately represented to him in writing, that certain persons from Maryland had under color of rights from that Province, lately surveyed out lands not far from Conestoga, and near the thickest of our settlements to the great disturbance of the inhabitants there, and that for preventing the disorders which might arise from such incroachments, they desired that magistrates and proper officers should be appointed in those parts in order to prevent the like for the future."

1717—An Indian Town in Conestoga Manor Laid Out.

In Vol. 9 of the Pennsylvania Arch. p. 49, appears the following:

"1, Feb'y, 1717. The Commissioners of Property by their warrant directed to Jacob Taylor, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, order him to survey a tract of land lying between Susquehanna River and Conestogoe Creek from the mouth of the said Creek as far up the river as the lands granted to Peter Chartier and they by a line running from the said river to Conestogoe Creek and make return thereof to the Secretary's office for the proper use and behoof of William Penn, Esq., proprietary and Governor in chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, his Heirs and Assigns forever.

The said tract was surveyed pursuant to the above warrants and returned into the Secretary's Office and called 16000 acres in which is included the tract of land called the Indian Town.

It is suggested that the said William Penn by some instrument of writing gave permission for an old Indian named Johass and his Indians to live upon the said Tract of land called the Indian Town containing about five hundred acres and the same was alloted to them as a place of residence by the said William Penn. In or about the year 1763, some of the descendants of the said Johass then residing on the said tract of land were there killed and the remainder (except one or two that escaped) were sent for by the Magistrates of Lancaster and put into the work house for protection and safety but were there all killed.

Upon the decease of the above Indians the Proprietary's Agents immediately took possession of the said tract called Indian Town and his tenants have quietly occupied it and paid the rent to the proprietary's till his grant in September last."

Several things are to be noticed in connection with this item (1) that as the months were formerly reckoned January and February instead of being the first months of the year were the last two months of the year, and this February, 1717 was likely really Febraury, 1718; (2) That the old Indian Johass seemed to be the principal resident in that part; and the Indians that were killed by the "Paxton Boys" are here stated to have been his descendants so that the tribal government was maintained at that time. The document or certified copy and plans referred to in this item by a foot note at the bottom of p. 50 are said to have been found with the papers. As further evidence of the survey of Conestoga Manor, Paper No. 3349 of the Taylor Papers contains this item, "The proprietor, Dr. October 21, 1717, to the survey of Conestoga Manor, being with the allowances of 6 per cent., 16,500 acres; and to chaining, marking and calculating, 1 Pound, 14 s. 8 & ½ d." And under the date of May 19, in the same paper appears, "a survey of 2100 acres at Shickasolongo, chaining, marking and accounting, 8 Pounds; so here we find a provision made by this big survey of Manor township for the whites, and within it an Indian Town for the Conestoga Indians.

1718—Conestoga and Shawnese Chiefs on a March to Philadelphia.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 45 occurs the following, under the date of June 16, 1718, "Tagotolessa or Civility, the preent chief or Captain of the Conestoga Indians with Weeaywais, Soohywais, Cannatellan and Calhaheherot of the same Nation, George, an Indian sent to represent the Ganawais and Sheeckokonichan, a Chief of the Delawares, formerly on Brandywine, all at present inhabitants on Sasquehannah, being lately come from their respective habitations to pay a visit to this Government they now waited on the Governor and Council, and John Cartledge and James Hendricks being interpreters, both skilled in the Delaware tongue.

The Governor ordered John Cartledge to acquaint them, that upon their visit he had at their desire now called Council, in order to hear what the Indians had to lay before them.

Togotelessa, Captain of the Conestogas, said that they were come only on a friendly visit to see us, and to renew the old League of Friendship that had hitherto been between us and them, that most of their old men were indisposed and could not undertake the journey, but they had brought some of their young men to see us, and learn how they of themselves ought when they come to more advanced years treat with their parents and friends.

The Governor told them that their visit was very acceptable, and he hoped all was well with them, but desired them now to be free, and if they had anything to complain of that wanted to be redressed, they should without reserve communicate it. They then presented a small bundle of skins, and said that they had some time before the Governor's arrival lost their King in war, but there were those left amongst them who have the same respect and friendship for this Government, that

he had in his life time. That now he is gone they are more sensible for their loss of so good a man to Govern them, and they heartily lament him, for they hope that his place will be supplied and the same friendly disposition will always be continued among them. And now they desire that the Governor is to take notice, that though their last good King is taken from them, they have one left who is very nearly related to him, who has an English heart and a great love for the Christians. Him they have now chosen for their King in the others stead, and as such present him to the Governor by the name of Oneshanayan.

Then when laid down a second small bundle of skins, and proceeded to say, that their king being present with the chief of the Shawanois and Ganawase, what he, viz: Tagotelassa or Civility says is what will all agree in with one voice and mind; that they are glad to find themselves in good and happy circumstances, for that they have not for some years past had a Governor who took such notice of them, but now the present Governor gives them the same satisfaction as if they thought that William Penn himself was amongst them; that they had brought a few skins not by way of present, for they were not worthy to be accounted such, but only to lay them under the Governor's feet to keep them and his House clean; that they came not to make any new treaty or League of Friendship, but only to renew or confirm those which had been made, and were hitherto invincibly kept on both sides.

They threw down a third parcel of skins, and Civility said, that he with some of the young men hadthis last Spring some inclination to go out to war towards the Southward, but being put in mind that it would not be agreeable to this Government and after receiving the Governor's letter forbidding them to proceed, they desisted; that they intended to go out this next winter a hunting, that way, and think it proper to acquaint this Government therewith, for that they bear such a respect to the Government, and know that we have always been so ready to protect and assist them, that they are agreed not to do anything which will be disagreeable to us, but that they look upon themselves but like children rather to be directed by this Governor than fit to offer anything more on this head.

But they must crave leave to add one thing further, viz: that they have reason to think the authority of this Government is not duly observed for that notwithstanding all our former agreements, that rum should not be brought amongst them, it is still carried in great quantities, they had been doubtful with themselves whether they should mention this, because if they were supplied with none from hence, they would be from Maryland which would be a means of carrying off their peltry thither, but there have been such quantities of that liquor carried of late amongst them, by loose settlers who have no fixed settlements, that they are apprehensive mischief may arise from it, that though they are perfectly well inclined when sober, yet they can not answer for their people when drunk, and least any inconveniences may ensue from thence to this Government whom they so much respect, as well as to their own people, they desire this may be taken into consideration, in order to be prevented and redressed by all proper measures."

Shecokkeneen added, that the

young men about Pexton had been lately so generally debauched with rum, carried amongst them by strangers, that they now want all manner of clothing and necessarys to go hunting, wherefore, they wish it would be so ordered that no rum sould be brought amongst them by any except the traders, who furnish them with all their necessarys, and who have been used to trust them and encourage them in their hunting.

Having thus delivered themselves, they withdrew, and the treasurer and the secretary were ordered to take an account of the real value of their small presents, and to provide some English goods, exceeding that value by about one-fourth or a third at most, and then Council adjourned until four in the afternoon.

Present: The Honorable William Keith, Esqr.; Lt. Gover., William Trent; Jonathan Dickinson, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Samuel Preston, Robert Assheton.

The same Indians attending again, the Governor ordered the Interpreters to deliver to them what follows, being first drawn up in writing, viz:

That their friendly visit on a design to brighten and strengthen the chain which had for so many years bound and united them and this Government together as one people, was very acceptable. They were sensible that William Penn, the Lord of this Country, had been as a Common Father to them; that he had given it in charge to all those who governed in his stead, to treat them in the same friendly manner he had done himself that the present Governor, for his part always be as ready as a father to embrace and support them, while they continue the same fidelity to this Government they had hitherto done.

That we were all much affected with the loss of their last Good King, and the Governor would have been pleased to see more of their old men, and however, he now took the young men that came on this visit by the hand, as those that were coming up in the places of the ancients, and were to continue the same friendship with our younger people, that their parents, the elders on both sides had done before them.

That we kindly received the person they had appointed their King or Chief, in the place of our good deceased friend, if it be by a general approbation. The Governor hoped he would always have the same heart and friendly disposition towards the English that his predecessor was well known to have in his lifetime, and would unite himself and all his people with his Government as one heart and one body; that for the future we should apply to him as their chief in all publick business, and doubted not but the old men would assist him with their advice in the best manner for theiradvantage and preserving a strict tie of friendship with us.

That the Governor could not take in good part their motions towards going to war last Spring, considering that they had engaged themselves to their contrary in the last treaty with him at Conestogae. The Governor expects that they will not make the last advance that way for the future, without the approbation and leave of this Government, for they are now but weak in themselves, and may be rash attempts draw wonderful enemies upon them, and not only entirely ruin themselves, but engage us as their friends into their quarrels; they must therefore be Governed in this point by this Government, who can judge better of these affairs than they are capable.

The Governor is sensible they may have too just cause to complain of loose idle fellows bringing quantities of rum amongst them to their great injury, that this has not for some time past been sufficiently looked after, but the Governor would speedily take care to have it in a great measure prevented. That they of their parts must endeavor to prevent their women and young people coming to Philadelphia to purchase and carry up rum from hence, which too many were ready to deliver them privately for their skins, and that they meet with any brought amongst them, they should stave it as they had formerly been ordered and undertook to do. That in reference of the surveys of land, they can not but be sensible of the care that has been taken of them, they had expressed a willingness to retire from Conestogoe; yet the Government here had persuaded them to continue near us; we had run a line around them that none might come near them, and had fenced their corn fields by John Cartledge's care, who alone being placed within those lines, may be the more capable of looking after the tract and the bounds of it. It is also further thought fit, that lines should be run around the other Indian towns, as soon as conveniently may be to secure them the more effectually from incroachments. But while such care is taken of them, it is expected they shall in all cases on their parts shew a due regard to this Government, that they be aiding to all its officers in what may lie in their Power, that they suffer no idle persons to spread rumors amongst them or if they hear any such that they give no credit to them, that if they can discover any evil minded persons to have ill designs against this Government, or any part of it, they must without delay disclose it to the Governor or some person in authority under him. In fine they ought ever to consider us as their best and nearest friends, who have always been and ever will continue ready to relieve and protect them, while they on their parts remain faithful as their ancestors or fathers have hitherto done before them.

That as they offered the Governor a small token, so now for the conveniency of their return, there are a few garments provided for them, with some powder and shott to kill venison, some tobacco and pipes, and when they go some bread and a dram will be provided for them, and the Governor expects they will be careful hereafter to provide likewise for himself and his attendants, or those who shall be sent at any time for their services at Conestogoe.

These things being delivered to them they appeared very well pleased, and to that part in which the inclosing by surveys the lands where they are seated, which would not be broke in upon; they further desired, that the lands on which the Shawneis and Ganawese are settled on Susquehannah, should likewise be encompassed with lines at the distance of four miles from the river, that they might not be disturbed by the cattle of any persons settling near them.

The skins they delivered in the morning having been numbered and weighed as ordered, they were found to be,

	Pds.	s.	d.
28 sumer deer skins in the hair, many of them ordinary weight 6Sl. at 18d.	5	2	0
10 small Drest Skins, wt. 18l. at 3-6d.	2	2	0
I Good Winter Buck in the hair		6	0
2 Bear Skins at 8 ps.....		16	0
	8	6	0

What is prepared and was delivered them, are	Pds.	s.	d.
8 Stroud Water Coats of the best sort, at 17-6d...	7	0	0
10 lb. of Powder, at 20d...		16	0
20 lb. lead, at 3d.....		5	0
6 pr. Stockings, pt. Blew and pt. Red, at 2-9d....		16	6
1 Doz. Tobacco Boxes at..		7	0
1 Doz. Tobacco Tongs, at.		5	6
12 lb. Tobacco, at 4d.....		4	0
3 Doz. Pipes		1	0
1 Red Stroud to the Queen		17	6
	10	12	2

These being delivered the Governor gave them an entertainment, and the secretary was ordered to provide for them as from the first all necessaries, during their stay and for their journey on their return home."

This was a prominent treaty and much that had heretofore disturbed these people was now put at rest and settled.

1718—Additional Steps Taken Towards the Conestoga Road.

It is perhaps appurtenant to this Indian subject to notice the steps taken to further open communication to this Conestoga settlement; and the proceedings to do so are set forth in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 43 as follows:

"A petition of several inhabitants of and near Conestogae, setting forth the great necessity of a road to be laid out from Conestogoe to Thomas Moore's and Brandywine, was read and the Board having taken the said petition into consideration, appointeded Isaac Taylor, John Cartledge, Ezekiel Harland, Thomas Moore, Joseph Cloud and William Marsh, to lay out the said Road, and make report thereof at this Board, in order to be confirmed."

I cite this to show that the necessities of both the Indians and the whites made this road a very much desired thing."

1718—The "Old Sawannah Town."

In Vol. 19 of the 2nd Series of the Penna. Archives, p. 625, under the date of the second of the 11th month, 1717-18, which is the second of January, 1718, at a meeting of the Council board it is stated that, "The Commissioners being informed that Matthias Vanbebber, from Maryland, taking with him Henry Hollinsworth, had lately surveyed a considerable tract of land near the head of Pequea Creek in this Province, including within the same the Old Sawannah Town, by virtue of warrants from Maryland, and offering the people settled under this Government to sell lands to them in right of Maryland and make them good titles for the same."

This item I quote not so much for its disclosure of the claims of Maryland but for the purpose of establishing the "Old Sawannah Town." It is here set forth as being near the head of Pequea Creek; and in the Quarter Sessions Records of Chester County of the year 1719, August Sessions, a road is described crossing the Octoraro Creek near the "Old Sawannah Town," so that it would appear that the Shawnese Indians had their towns all along the Pequea Creek and also all along the Octoraro Creek.

1718—An Indian Signer of the Conestoga Treaty of this Year.

In Vol. 2 of Watson's Annals, p. 209, he gives the following eulogy of Nedowaway and says: "Nedowaway was an Indian Chief of the Delawares, of more than common character, who had become a Christian, and died in Ohio in 1776, at ninety years of age. His name appears among the signers of the treaty at Conestoga in 1718; and in his childhood he is said to have seen Wil-

liam Penn on his second visit in 1701-2. As a trusty and discreet chief, he had been trusted with the preservation of all the verbal speeches, bead vouchers, and wampum, and with such writings and instruments as had come from William Penn and his early Governors, etc.

He was grieved with the encroachments of the white men, westward, on the Indian Lands; and early forseeing that wars must ensue, and that his people must be sufferers, he resolved with his people to get far off in the west. By the advice of the Wyandot chief, he settled on the Cayahage river, where he was visited and seen by Heckewelder in 1772.

See in his picture in this work, how pensive he sits alone, and ponders in the mute eloquence of grief, upon his former well known scenes, along the mountain range traversing the Susquehanna, near Harrisburg. The picture seems to speak his inward emotions and distress at being obliged to leave the regions of his former home."

This strikes me as an interesting episode revealing the side of Indian character that we do not always give credit for.

1718—Jealousy Against the Palatines Amongst the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 2 of the Votes of Assembly p. 220 the Assembly in a speech to the Governor says, in referring to the Palatines settling among the Conestoga Indians, "That the coming in of so many foreigners rests upon us with great concern and the more for that they have no license from the King to transport themselves here; and the royal charter seems to be against them, unless they were denizis'd or at least come under the proper tests that should largely distinguish them from his Majesty's enemies.

Therefore, we desire that the Governor would be pleased to favor us with his sentiments in the premises and either appoint a committee of the Council to join a commission of this House, or otherwise, as the Governor shall think fitt, to concert proper methods to remove the jealousies already raised in the minds of the inhabitants concerning these foreigners; as also to prevent the inconveniencies which may attend their settlment in one place, or promiscously among the Indians."

The fear of difficulties arising between the Foreigners and the Indians, is here set forth.

1719—Colonel French's Treaty with the Conestoga Indians.

On the 28th of June, 1719, Colonel French reached Conestoga in compliance with a direction from the Government that he should go there to make a further treaty with those Indians; and having done so he gives the following report of the treaty which is found in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 78; and in which report he states that he addressed the Indians as follows:

"Friends and Brethren:

By the seal to this paper affixed, and by my old acquaintance and friendship with you, you will believe that I am a true man, and sent from your good friend and Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, to let you know that we will be pleased and satisfied with the letter he received, by the care of our good friend John Cartledge, in the beginning of this month, signed in behalf of you four nations here met, in which letter you declare severally your intentions of keeping his words, and if any among you have done amiss, and departed from what was

right and good in keeping your promises, to observe strictly with all the Indians in Friendship and League with the English, you have therein acknowledged your errors and mistakes, and engaged to offend no more in that nature or case.

The Governor takes these assurances of your good behavior very kindly, and now he and his Council have sent me on purpose to visit you that I might further treat with you, and receive from you in the same manner and as fully as if he and his Council (of which I am one) were all here, and present with you a renewal of these good promises and engagements with you, so well and largely give him an account of your affairs and how matters go with you. I must therefore acquaint you from my Governor, that as you in your treaty call yourselves his children, he will always treat you as his sons, and he has, ever since your good friend William Penn, (who is now dead) send amongst you endeavored by all means to keep you in peace, and give you other tokens of his friendship that you might flourish and increase, that your old men might see their children grow to their comfort and pleasure, and that the young men might bury their old parents when they die, which is much better than to see your old people mourn for their young sons, who rashly and without cause go to war and are killed in the prime of their years; and he now hopes that you are fully convinced that Peace is better than war, which destroys you and will bring you to nothing; your strong young men being first killed, the old women and children are left defenseless, who soon will become a prey. And so all the nation perishes without leaving a name to Posterity.

This is plain mark that he and we are your true friends, for if we were not then we should encourage you to destroy one another. For friends save people from ruin and destruction but enemies destroy them, and this will serve as a mark to know all people by who are your enemies, either amongst you or elsewhere, if they want, or study to throw strife and dissention amongst you. These are a base and bad people, and ought to be rooted out from amongst you; for love and friendship makes people multiply, but malice and strife ruins and destroys. Such should therefore be shut out, both from you and us, as disturbers of our peace and Friendship which hath always continued.

I am also to acquaint you, that you have in a grave and solemn manner renewed your last treaty with me, on which message I now come, that our Governor will write to all the Governors of the English, that the Indians within the Government are resolved to live peaceable and quietly, and for that reason that they should give notice to all their Indians thereof, and that all the friends to the English should be accounted as one people, and the Governor desires that you will let him know of what nation these Indians were who gave you the late disturbance, that they may especialy be ordered to do so no more.

I am also to acquaint you that it is the Governor's pleasure, that if any of the Five Nations come amongst you to trade or hunt, that you receive them as friends and Brothers; but if they come amongst you either to persuade you to go to war or to go themselves, or in their return from it, that then you have nothing to do with them nor entertain them; for he expects that none of his

friends will know any people but such as are peaceable, lest they bring you into a snare, and you suffer hurt for their faults.

The Governor expects and requires that if any Prisoners by any means whatever fall into any of your hands that he be quickly acquainted with it, and that no person offer or take upon him to kill any stranger prisoner for it will not be suffered here. He has been much displeased at what happened, and was done by some amongst you last year in these parts, but he is now again a friend upon their promise and engagement to do so no more, and will take no more notice of it if they observe and fulfill their words. It is indeed a shameful and a base thing to treat a creature of their own shape and kind worse and more barbarously than they would a Bear or Wolf, or the most wicked creature upon earth. It is not man-like to see a hundred or more people singing songs of joy for the taking of a prisoner, but it is much worse to see them use all their contrivance of torture and pain to put that unfortunate creature to death after such a manner and war as other Nations, especially the English, never heard of it; for if they in a just war kill their enemies it is not like men in the battle, and if they take them prisoners they use them well nad kindly, until their King gives them orders to return them to their own Country. They take no pleasure to meanly burn, pinch or slash a poor man who can not defend himself, it shows mean spirits and want of true Courage so to do. For men of true Courage are always full of mercy. I am commanded to tell you, and I would have you remember it well, that no person whatever offer after this time to put any man to death by torture here, for whoever does it must answer to the Governor and Government at their peril. It is inconsistent with the ways of Nations; it is a violent affront to our Government, and it is contrary to the Laws of the Great King and will not suffer it.

As our natural and good friendship has long continued, so the Governor hopes, and the Government also, that it will last from one generation to another, as long as the sun endures, and that we shall all be of one mind, one heart, one inclination, ready to help one another in all just and good ways, by Charity Compassion and mercy, sticking close and inviolably to all treaties heretofore made, and most exactly to this now concluded, which he hopes will forever last and remain to your good and prosperity, which he and his Government heartily wish. And as it is expected that every article of this treaty be from the whole hearts of all of you, so if amongst yourselves you know of any who have from your last treaty or will dissent from this, let them be known either by their own words or your knewledge of them, for what I do is done with the whole consent of our Governor, Council and People."

The Council at Conestoga in addition to Colonel French consisted of Capt. James Gould, Joseph Piegeon, John Cartledge, James Hendricksson; and Canatowa, Queen of the Mingoes, Sevana, King of the Shawanese, Wightomina, King of the Delawares, Waninchack, King of the Canawages, and Capt. Civility of Conestogoa; and before that Council the Indians the next day, June 29, 1719, gave the following report:

"Civility Interpreter in behalf of the four nations, who all agreed to return one answer, acquainted John Cartledge, Interpreter for the Eng-

lish, that this day the Indians were met to return an answer to the Governor's speech by Colonel French, and on no other account. Looking upon everything said to Colonel French to be said as if the Governor and his Council were there present, and well knowing Colonel to be a true man to this Government and to the Indians. They return with one heart and mind their thanks to the Governor for his kind message. They meet him and take him by the hand, and are forever determined that his will shall be theirs, and that on all occasions they will be ruled by the same..

They desire that the Governor may be acquainted that they are much pleased that his message came whilst their young people were at home, for whom they had lately been in pain and trouble as being absent and abroad, that they might hear his good words and Council which both old and young of the Mingoes, Shawanese, Delawares and Conawages are resolved to hearken to; for though hitherto they have taken Night for Day, yet now by his good counsel they can see the light and what is good for them. They are glad that none of their young people miscarried in their late Journey, and that being now present, they have an opportunity of hearing the Governor's message by Colonel French, for most of them were absent when the other letters from the Governor came, as also that they have an opportunity to ask their opinions and designs. Their young people all agree to obey the Governor's words and message, and as Colonel French yeterday told them that what he said was with the whole heart of Governor and Council; so they declare that what they say is not from their mouth only but from their whole hearts, and the heart of every one. They desire the Governor to believe, and be assurred that they will be obedient to his words, and that they ever have and ever willl advise their young people to be mindful of his good advice. They acknowledged themselves so much obliged to the Governor for his care and concern for them, that they intended in two months time to wait upon the Governor personally, to return their heart thanks for such love from him and his Government.

Colonel French also produces an account of his Expenses, viz.: eight Pounds five Shillings expended in money and for the trouble of his Journey and negotiation he refers it to the Board, who allow him ten Pounds.

John Cartledge's Acct. of his several Disbursements and payments to the Indian, and his charges in entertaining and treating them on several occasions, by order of the Government, was also laid before the Board, viz: nine Pounds, ten Shilling supplied in Goods for a present to the Indians at Colonel French's aforementioned treaty, and three pounds for other presents, and ten Pounds sixteen Shillings and four pence for his several other expenses and trouble, amounting in all to twenty-three Pound, six Shillings and four pence due to John Cartledge; which account being duly examined is allowed, and order to be recommended to the Asesmbly to order the payment thereof, together with Colonel French's account the whole being forty-one Pounds, eleven Shillings and four Pence, and is the whole charge of Indians treaties for the present year."

What this treaty contained and the report of it needs no comment, as it is sufficiently set forth in the cecords.

1719 — The Indians on the Susquehanna Accused of Outrages in the South.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec. p. 86, Governor Spotswood of Virginia complains against our Indians as follows:

"After your Indians found themselves not strong enough to attempt anything upon our Christianna Indians in their new situation, they marched home in May, 1719, openly threatening to return again with a greater force to try the strength of our Fort, and having taken their route through our inhabitants, they marched as through an enemy's Country, living on free quarters, and committing several robberies and outrages on their way, and that we might understand they intended to continue their course. They in their way home, stopt on the 20th of May at the Conoy Town, under the Government of Pennsylvania, there sent for one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Chester, and upon his (Mr. John Cartlidge's) arrival they sit down before him in a grand Council of War, produce fifteen prisoners, bid him discourse with two of them that spoke English. He finds them Virginians born, and intercedes for their lives and liberties; they refuse his request and in fine tell him they have made a path to pass and repass to and from the Southward, having removed all obtacles out of the way, and that they expected to have free recourse for their people amongst the English plantations, whilst they were making war.

Soon after they returned in several parties carrying themselves very rudely to our outward inhabitants, and in the month of July last, they approached Christianna and ravaged our corn fields close to the Fort there, upon which our Indians sallied out and a skirmish ensued, wherein were two of ours and four of yours killed. In September following they came in the Night and lay in ambush before the gate at the Fort, and at the opening thereof they shott the first person that came out, and kept firing upon the Fort until the English got to the great Guns, and so scared them away without any further mischief done at that time.

At length I found means to persuade one of their War Captains, (who calling himself Connaughtoora) to come in with ten more to a Council held here at Williamsburg, on the ninth of December last, where I with abundance of civil treatment, endeavored to engage him to carry a Belt of Peace to their Five Nations in behalf of our Christianna Indians, but he hautily refused the same, and answered that they would not be at peace with them upon any terms, however I prevailed upon him to carry it with this proposal: That the Five Nations should observe their ancient treaty with this Government so far as not to come among the English Plantations, and particularly that none of their Warriors should approach within twenty miles of our Fort at Christiana."

From this complaint of Spotswood's we are almost forced to admit that the Conestogas and other Indians of this neighborhood being forced by the Senecas and other tribes of the Five Nations, who were their masters were forced to make war parties into Maryland and Virginia, much against their will as we shall see very clearly in the remonstrance which the Conestogas made about these proceedings the next year.

1719—The Conestoga Indians Complain that the Southern Indians are Attacking Them.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 66, at a Council held it was set forth by Governor Keith that he received a letter from Conestoga and his comment upon it as follows:

"I have received a letter from the Indian Chiefs at Conestogoe by a letter to Mr. Secretary Logan, which inform us, that our Indian Hunters have been atacked near the head of Potowmack River by a considerable body of Southern Indians come out to war against the Five Nations, and the Indian settlements on Susquehanna

They have killed several of our people, and alarmed them all, so that the careful attention and vigilance of the Government was never more called upon than at this Juncture, and much will depend upon your unanimous and steady resolutions to support the administration in all its Parts."

From this it will appear that the above complaint of Spotswood may be unfair because our Indians now complain that the Southern Indians were making war upon them.

1719—Indian Wigwams Along the Octoraro Creek.

Rupp in his History of Lancaster County at the bottom of page 42, in a note says, "The Shawnese had wigwams along the bank of the Octoraro creek, near the present boundary of Chester and Lancaster county. When the road, in 1719 to Christiana bridge, etc., was laid, its course was defined —to the fording place at Octoraro, at old Shawana town, thence over Octoraro, along the Indian path, etc. Court Records, at Chester, August Term, 1719."

1719—An Attack Made Upon the Indian Traders.

In Vol. 1 of Watson's Annals, p. 97, he says that in the year of 1719 the Indian Traders at the head of Potomac were attacked by some Indians and defeated, with the loss of many lives.

1719.—A Lot of the Five Nations Now Live at Conestoga.

It appears from Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p .66, that some of the Five Nations are living on the Susquehanna at this time, because in the book and at the page mentioned, a letter from the Chiefs at Conestoga states that the Southern Indians came out to war with the Five Nations and against them and against other Indian settlements on the Susquehanna River, and that several of our people were killed. And on p. 67 of the same book additional views are given of the same event and it is there stated that peace is likely to ensue.

1720—The Governor of Virginia says that Our Indians Caused Bacon's Rebellion.

In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Rec., p. 89, Governor Spotswood of Virginia in a long letter to Governor Keith, which begins at p. 82, sets forth in regular order the different war expeditions which he claims our Indians made to the South among his Indians; and among other things he says that in 1712-13 they came to his country and assisted the Tuscaroras to slaughter people of the South; and that a little later, during the Tuscarora, war, two hundred of our Indians went south and fell upon the Virginia traders; and that in 1717, while he was with the Chiefs of the Catawbas making peace, our Indians joined with the Tuscaroras and fell on the 28th of August and the 15th

of September of the same year five hundred of our young warriors began a slaughter on some of his Indians about the Susquehanna river; and on the unarmed Catawbas; and that in 1718 our Indians were hovering around the white settlements in the South, looking for a chance to kill their people; and that in 1719 our Indians started back but threatened to come again with force, and that on their way home they stopped on the 20th of May at Conoy Town and sent for John Cartledge, one of the Justices and complained to him; and finally he accuses them that a good long time ago they lead the famous insurrection into Virginia called "Bacon's rebellion."

1720—The Main Body of the Tuscaroras are Now on the Susquehanna River.

Governor Spotswood in the letter just quoted in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec. says that these Tuscaroras massacred some hundreds of English and that they have at this day the chief murderers, and the greater part of their Nation seated under their protection near Sasquehanna river where they removed when they found that they could no longer support them against the forces which the English brought on.

1720—James Logan Again at Conestoga in a Treaty.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 92, James Logan makes a report of another treaty he held at Conestoga, and he sets forth the report, as follows: "James Logan, Secretary, reported to the Board, that having lately acquainted the Governor that he had occasion to go towards the farther end of the Great Valley, on the road to Conestogoe, the Governor had desired him not to fail to proceed to Susquehannah and there discourse the Indians concerning their late message to him, excusing their not coming to town had been proposed by reason of some trouble they were under, the loss of some of their men slain by the Southern Indians; and thereupon desiring the Governor to come up to them; That acordingly he went, and finding the Indians desirous to speak with him, he appointed the 27th of last month, that the Chiefs of the Mingoes or Conestogoe Indians, the Sachem or Chief of the Shawanese, the Chief of the Ganawese, with several of their people, and some of the Delawares, met him on the said day at John Cartledge's, and being all sate, Peter Bizallion and John Cartledge, Interpreters, James Logan first spoke to the Indians telling them, that as they had been long expected at Philadelphia, in pursuance of their own messages for that purpose, but instead of coming had lately sent to the Governor, desiring for some reasons that he would come up to them; He, their old friend, with whom they had been acquainted in their treaties for twenty years past, being now come upon business in these parts are willing to hear from themelves, now only how it was with them, but the occasion of their delaying their journey to Philadelphia so long, and at length sending the message to the Governor. They hereupon sat silent for some time without appearing ready to speak to anything, and make no returns, the Secretary pressed them to answer him, telling them that he asked these questions in behalf of the Governor and the Government, that they themselves had appeared desirous to speak to him, and that as they now had an

opportunity they ought to proceed and speak their minds freely. To which at length they answered, that there had been lately killed by the Southern Indians twelve men, ten of the Mingoes or Five Nations and two Shawanese, about one hundred and sixty miles from that place, which was the occasion of their sending that message. James Logan asked them whether these two Shawanese had been abroad hunting, they answered, No! They had gone out to war. He then demanded the reason why they would offer to go to war after their solemn promise to our Government to the contrary. The Chief of the Shawnese replied that a dispute arising among some of their young men, who was the best man, to end it they resolved to make the tryal by going out to war, that they could not be restrained, but took the opportunity of accompanying some of the Five Nations that were going out and took their road that way.

The Secretary told them that he should have a great deal to say to them on these heads, and that the day being now far advanced, he must desire them to meet him the same place in the morning, and then treating them to some drink they withdrew.

Next morning the same persons attended, bringing some bundles of skins with them, from whence it being conjectured that the Indians designed to begin a discourse. All being seated after some time being spent in silence, the Mingoes or Conestogoe Indians began. A Ganawese Indian, who called him Captain Smith, and is said knows all the several languages, viz: his own or the Ganawese, the Mingoe, the Shawnese and Delaware, to perfection, being appointed interpreter into the Delaware Tongue, and Peter Bizallion and John Cartledge interpreting that into English. They spoke as follows, viz:

That the last year Colonel French came to them on a message from the Governor to inquire into their health, and how it was with them, their children and their grandchildren.

That they were now ready to give an answer to all that he had said to them, but that now they would speak freely from the bottom of their hearts, and their friend might depend on not having words only but their truest inward sentiments without reserve; and then they laid down a bundle of undrest deer skins.

That Colonel French and those with him told from the Governour, that the message that the Governor sent them and the advice he gave them was for his heart and for their good, and that they would as freely speak from their hearts. The Governor advised thme to go out no more to war, nor to join with any of the Five Nations or others, that when out for that purpose, but to live at peace with all people, and if any prisoners were brought to their towns, they should not suffer them to be burnt or tortured; that though some of their people were killed once or again, yet they should not go out but bear it, but the third time they might all go out as one man together; that this they thought was somewhat too hard upon them, if they must be confined as prisoners at home, and could not go to meet their enemies that came against them.

That when Governor Penn first held councils with them, he promised them so much love and friendship that he would call them brothers, because brothers might differ, nor children because these might offend and require correction, but he would reckon them as one body, one blood, one heart and one hand; That they always remembered this, and should

on their parts act accordingly; that few of the old men who were at those councils were living; these were removed and those were then very young men are now grown up to succeed, but they transmitted it to their children, and they and all theirs should remember it forever; that they regarded not reports or what was said abroad, their head was at Philadelpha, and they were one with him, on him they depended that they should know everything that concerned them.

The Ganawese in behalf of their people say, they are glad that they never hear anything from the Government, at Philadelphia, but good advice and what is for their advantage; that their present chief was once at a Council with William Penn before they removed into this Province, and that since they came into it, they have always lived quiet and in Peace which they acknowledge, and are thankful for it; that the advice that is send them is always so much for their good that they can not but gladly receive it, When the sun sets they sleep in Peace and in Peace they rise with him, and so continue while he continues his course, and think themselves happy in their Friendship, which they shall take care to have contniued , from Generaton to Generation. And that as it shall thus forever continue on their side; so they desire that the same continue on the Governor's part, and that if any reports should be heard concerning them, they desire it may not be believed to their disadvantage, for they will still be true and the same they at first professed themselves and then lay down a bundle of Deer Skins. To Conestogoes say, that William Penn made a league with them to last for three or four generations; that he is now dead, and most of their ancients are also dead but the league still remains and they now take this opportunity to renew and strengthen it with their friend, who has always represented William Penn to them since he left them; one generation may die and another may die but the League of friendship continues strong and shall forever continue so on their part. And this is not said in behalf of themselves, the Mingoes only, but of all the Indians on the river, and they give another Bundle of Deer skins. Captain Civility throws down a small bundle of furs and says, that they all join and send that as a present to the Governor to make him a Beaver Hatt. They say in behalf of the Ganawese, that they have no writing to show their league of friendship as the others have and therefore desire that they may be favored with one at least if they should transgress by reason of rum, which is brought to them in large quantities, they must be cast off and forgotten that ever they were in friendship with us.

The Indians being met again after some refreshments, the Secretary spoke to them as follows:

It must be a great satisfaction to all honest and good men, to find that the measures that great man, William Penn, took to establish a firm friendship with you has had such an excellent success. Your predecessors and you have always found him sincere in what he professed. He always ordered those in power during his absence to shew you all the like friendship and affection. Every Governor that came has been the same to you, and the present Governour, Colonel Keith, shewed the same disposition immediately upon his arrival, by hastening up to you with his council and many of his freinds as soon

as he heard that you were in trouble.

You on your parts have been faithful and true to us, whatever reports might have spread, yet the chain was still preserved strong and bright. You never violated it. We have lived in perfect peace and Unity above any other Government in America, and you renewing the chain at this time upon the Decease of your great Friend, with us who remain alive, is so affectionate and kind that I shall not fail to represent it duly to the Governor and your good friends in Philadelphia. This chain has been made nearly forty years agoe; it is at this time strong and bright as ever, and I hope will continue so between our Children and your Children, and their Children's children to all Generations, while the water flows or the sun shines in the Heavens; and may the Great Spirit who rules the Heavens and the Earth, and who made and supported us all, who is a friend to all good men who love Justice and Peace, continue the same blessings upon it forever.

But my friends and brothers, as we are obliged to take care of each other, and as the English have opportunities of seeing farther than you, I find myself obliged in behalf of our Governor and Government, to offer you some advice that may be of great importance to you, and which at this time is absolutely necessary.

You acquainted me yesterday with a loss that you had sustained, viz: that twelve men, ten of the Five Nations and two Shawanese, had been lately cut off by the Southern Indians, not two hundred miles from this place, which grieves me exceedingly.

I am scarcely willing to mention the Cause of it lest I should trouble you, but I must do it for your good; I should not be a true friend should I forbear it.

You know then, my Brothers, that the cause is, that some of your young men had unadvisedly gone out to war in company with others of the Five Nations against these Southern Indians. Young men love to go sometimes to war to shew their manhood, but they have unhappily gone against Indians that are in Friendship with the English. You know, that as of the Five Nations some are called Isawandcwaes, some Cayoogooes, some Onondogoes, some Oneyookes, and some Connyingoes, yet they are all one people, so the English though they have different Governments, are divided into New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, yet they are all under one great king who had twenty times as many subjects as all these, and has in one city as many subjects as all the Indian that we know in North America. To him we are all subject and are all governed by the same laws; Therefore, those Indians who are in League with one Government are in League with all; your friendship with us recommends you to the Friendship of all other English Governments, and their friends are our friends. You must not therefore, hunt or annoy any of the English or any of their friends whatsoever.

These Southern Indians, especially the Tootelese, formerly made friendship with you, and I believe that it was they who lately sent you the nine belts of Wampum, to continue the League; They Desired Peace, yet the Five Nations and some of your rash young men have set upon them; pray remember, they are men as well as you, consider therefore, I request

you, what you would think of yourselves should you suffer these or any other people to come year after year and cut off your towns, your wives and children, and those that escape should sit still and not go out against them, you would not then deserve to be accounted men; and as they, you find are men it is no wonder if they come out to meet these young fellows and endeavor to destroy them and their families.

I must further, as your friend, lay before you the consequence of your suffering any of your young men to join with those of the Five Nations They come through your towns and bring back their prisoners through your settlements, thus they open a clear path from these Southern Indians to your Towns, and they who may have been wrong may follow that open path, and first come directly as the path leads to you. Thus you, who have done but little and by the instigation and advice of others may be the first that are fallen upon, while those of the Five Nations are safe at home at a great Distance with their Wives and Children, and you may be the only sufferers.

They have hitherto come out to meet their enemies, who were going to attack them, and like men they fight them; but as I am your friend I must further inform you that these people would come quite up to your towns to do the same to you that they have suffered, but your being settled among the English has hitherto preserved you, for the Governor of Virginia and Carolina can no longer hinder them from defending themselves; and desired peace and would live in Peace if it might be granted them.

I must further inform you as a friend that this whole business of making War in the manner you do, is now owing to those who desire nothing more than to see all the Indians cut off, as well to the Northward as the Southward, that is the French of Canada, for they would have the Five Nations destroy the Southern Indians, and the Southern Indians destroy you and the Five Nations, the destruction, being their Desire. The Governor told you, by Colonel French, that they were your enemies who put you upon war, and they are your truest friends who would preserve you in Peace, Hearken to the advice of your friends and you will be preserved. You see how your numbers yearly lessen; I have known about three score men belonging to the Town, and now I see not five of the old men remaining.

What the Governor has said to you by himself, and by Colonel French, and what I now say to you is for your own advantage, and if you are your own friends you will pursue the advice that is given you. If any of the Five Nations go this way in their going out to war, and call on any of you to accompany them, you must inform them as you are in League with us, and are as one people, you cant not break your promises, and it can not be pleasing to them to see you living in such friendship with us. I have said enough on these heads, and you I hope will lay it up in your hearts and duly observe it; let it sink into your minds, for it is of great weight.

The Ganawese having hebaved themselves well since they came amongst us, and they shall have what they desire. Your people of Conestogoe about twenty years agoe brought the Shawanese with them to Philadelphia to see and treat with Governor Penn, and then promised the Governor that they would answer for the Shawanese that they should

live peaceably with us and in friendship with us, but we find their ears are thick, they do not hear what we say to them, nor regard our advice.

The Chiefs of the Shawanese answered to this with a deep concern, that this was occasioned by the young men who lived under no Government; that when their king who was then living, Opessah, took the Government upon him, but the people differed with him; he left them, they had then no Chief, therefore some of them applied to him to take that charge upon him, but that he had only the name without any authority, and could do nothing. He counselled them, but they would not obey, therefore he can not answer for them, and divers that were present, both English and Indians, confirmed the truth of this.

The Secretary hereupon admonished him and the rest to take a further Care, that what had been said should be pressed upon the young people and duly observed, and then calling for Liquor and drinking with them dismissed them.

But the Indians, before they would depart, earnestly pressed, that on account of this treaty should with all possible speed be dispatched to the Governours to the Southward, and to their Indians that further mischief might be prevented, for they were apprehensive that the Southern Indians might come out to met the Five Nations, and then they, as had been said to them lying in the road might be the sufferers, but they truly desired peace, and were always against molesting any Indians that were under the protection or lived in friendship with the English.

The Secretary then proposed to them that they should send some of their people with Belts of Wampum to the Governor of Virginia, to assure him of their resolution to live in Peace, and to desire him to acquaint all his Indians with the same. They readily agreed to send the belts without delay and promised the following week to bring them to Philadelphia, but they seemed apprehensive of danger to their People in going to Virginia, where they were all strangers, unless the Governors would send some English in Company with them to protect them.

After this conference was ended, Civilty desired to speak with the Secretary in private, and an opportunity being given, he acquainted the Secretary that some of the Five Nations especially the Cayoogoes, had at divers times expressed a dissatisfaction at the large settlements made by the English on Sasquehannah and that they seemed to claim a property or right to those lands. The Secretary answered, that he (viz: Civility) and all the Indians were sensible of the Contrary, and that the Five Nations had long since made over all their right to Sasquehannah to the Government of New York, and that Governor Penn had purchased that right with which they had been fully acquainted. Civility acknowledged the Truth of this but proceeded to say that he thought it his duty to inform us of it, that we might the better prevent all misunderstanding.

The Secretary having made an end of his report, the Governor observed, that from the last particular year if there was ground to apprehend that the Five Nations, especially the Cayoogoes, did entertain some secret grudges against the advancing of our advancig settlements upon Sasquehannah river, and that it was very much to be suspected that the Five Nations were spirited up by the French agents from Canada or Missisippi, to make these new and groundless claims upon us whom

they believed to be a mild defenceless people, and therefore liable to be with less hazard and more easily insulted than any of the neighboring colonies; that though the Governor was not under any immediate apprehension of Danger from the Indians of the Five Nations, yet our present security semed to depend upon the strength and authority of New York, and not upon the peaceable disposition of faith of these barbarians; That if the French (as it was but too probable at this juncture), should pursue their usual policy in not only debauching the Indians everywhere from the English interest, but also to provoke and encourage them to make war upon one another, and thereby to embroil all the English settlements upon this continent every Colony would in that case find themselves sufficiently employed in their own proper defence. And these things had made such a deep impression upon the Governour's mind, but he could not but think of the Public safety, as well as his honor and character, to be particularly concerned in making such timely provision for the defence of this colony, as the nature of the Constitution and the good inclinations of the people would permit, unto which end the Governors believed that a voluntary militia might be raised and put under such good regulations by an Ordinance as could give no offence to any, but be of a general advantage and security to the Trade and People of this province.

The members present being all Quakers, some of them desired to be excused from giving their sentiments upon a subject of that nature but all seemed to acquiesce that leave that matter wholly to the Governour's prudence and good conduct. The Secretary was in the mean time directed to examine whether there was any ground for the Five Nations to claim a right to any lands upon the Sasquehannah; and also it was moved and agreed upon, that the Governor should write to the President of New York representing the ill treatment of our people lately received from those of the Five Nations in their last return from the Southward and the ill consequence which may possibly ensue from their opening a path to war through our settlement upon Sasqquehannah."

Governour Keith considered this treaty at Conestoga a matter of great importance and he wrote to the Governor of New York about the affair. the main points of which letter were, that we have a great reason to be apprehensive of the growth of the French settlements and the power of the Jesuits over our Indians on the Susquehanna, and that the Jesuits are very active in trading to get our Indians over to the French and that the Southern Indians are very much provoked and come out to fight the Five Nations and pursued to the Susquehanna river. He further says that when Governor Penn settled this country, when he came to treat with the Indians settled on Susquehanna River, he began to deal with New York concerning it, and that Governor Penn on his last visit about twenty years ago held a treaty with the Conestogas settled on Susquehanna River and that the question about the land was taken up.

So here we see in this letter that difficulties about the land around Conestogoe were again arising, and we also see what seems to be a clear admission that Penn made the two trips to Susquehanna, of which we have spoken of before. All this may be seen in Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, pp. 99 to 102. One of the chief questions that Logan was trying to settle was the dissatisfaction of these lands around Suquehanna.

1720—The Conestoga Indians Complain that the Five Nations Compel Them to Go South to Fight.

There is no doubt that the subjection to the Five Nations which the Conestogas were compelled to undergo was very galling to them and frequently brought them into dangerous situations and compelled them to go on expeditions in the South against their friends. The Conestogas, Conoys, the Ganawese, the Delawares and the Tuscaroras, all of which tribes lived around about Conestoga and Susquehanna, were under the Five Nations at this time and if they refused to obey the Five Nations, they were in great danger of being butchered themselves. Their condition was pitiable and in a paper sent to the Council at Philadelphia they set forth their sad condition. This paper and the proceedings connected with it are as follows: At a Council held at Philadelphia, July 20, 1720, besides the Council and the Governor there were present also "Conestogoe Indians Tagoleless or Civility, Oyanowhachso, Sohais Connedechto's son, Tayucheinjeh.

Ganawese: Ousewayteichks or Captain Smith, Sahpechtah, Meemeeivoonnook, Winjock's son, George Waaspessum, and John Prince.

Shawanese: Kenneope.

Edwad Farmer, Sworn Interp'r.

The Secretary acquainted the Board, that the Indians present were sent by their chiefs from Conestoga, in pursuance of the resolution they had taken at the conference he had lately held with them there, of sending a message to the Goernor of Virginia.

The Interpreter, by the Governor's order, told the Indians that their Governor was glad to see them and to hear of the welfare of their people.

The Indians delivered two Belts of Wampum with a written paper, which they say contains the whole of what they were ordered to deliver to the Governor and Council at the time.

The said paper was read, and is as follows:

July 16th, 1720.

To our Friends and Brothers, the Governour and James Logan, at Philadelphia. These as to what hath been proposed by our Friend and Brother James Logan, when here, of our sending to the Southward Governments to confirm a peace; We are very willing to have and keep Peace, and therefore send a belt of Wampum to confirm it, but we must leave it wholly to you to perfect the same. As to any of our People on this river going to the Southern parts about the same, it will doubtless occasion the death of us, while the Five Nations still follow the practice of going there to war, of whom at this time there is a great number going that way; therefore, we plainly tell you, we know not what measures to take, but leave all to you, resolving to follow your council, but sure we are to suffer for what we have already yielded to do in the affair aforesaid as soon as the Sinnekaes come to know thereof, if not protected by you, for they will be enraged against us when they know that we are willing to be at Peace with those Nations, that they resolve to maintain war against, and will certainly cut us off as well as the Back Christian Inhabitants; for they we are sure, do not bear true affection to your Government, and some of them are already very bold and impudent to the Christian inhabitants and us also for their sakes, whom we are unwilling should have any damage done by them if we can prevnt it, and in real

good will do certify the Government that we believe they will shortly have some trouble with them if not prevented. Our Captain Tagoteless, and some other of our people comes with our words to you, and this present letter taken by his interpretation, by our good friend John Cartiledge, whom we could have been glad if he would have come himself and given an account of matters. We are your true friend and Brothers at Conestogoe." See 3 Col. Rec., . 102. B.

This needs no further comment as everything is set forth fully in the paper.

The next day the Council being met again the Governor spoke as follows to them concerning their troubles:

"That nothing can be more acceptable to this Government than that the Indians should live in Peace with all the Nations around them, but above all with those who are friendly with the English Governments. The Governor has often seriously exhorted them to it, and they had engaged to go out no more to war, with which engagements he had acquainted the Governours to the Southward, and more specially the Governor of Virginia, by Captain Smith, who came from that Governour to the Northward, on purpose to engage the Northern Indians to live in Peace with all his people and friends. And the said Gentleman, Captain Smith, they may well remember, was present with the Governour at his first conference with them at Conestogoe soon after his arrival, when they promised in that treaty to go out to war no more.

That it was a very great satisfaction to all parties to find them thus engage themselves, though what was proposed to them was wholly for their own benefit and advantage. Captain Smith carried this news with gladness, and the Governour of Virginia and his people received it with joy, and everybody believing that they might surely depend on these assurances.

Yet notwithstanding all these, some of their young men had been unhappily prevailed on to go out against the same people. The Governor is very well pleased to hear by the Secretary's respect on what they lately said on that head at Conestoga, that they condemn these proceedings, and excused themselves by the influence the Five Nations have over their people, and that the young men caried on by the Heat and Blood to martial exploits, and to shew their manhood are difficulty restrained by the more sage advice of their elders. But it is now hoped that these young men, some of them having forfeited their lives by their disobedience to their Elders, are also as fully resolved most strictly to observe these present engagements; and though the Goverour really lies under some disadvantages in the representation he is now to make to the Governours of Virginia and Carolina, by reason of their having failed in their former, yet he will without delay acquaint these Governours with their renewed resolutions, and give them all possible assurances from our Indians, that nothing in their power shall divert them from a strict observance of what they have promised for the future, and as a binding proof of it according to the custom of their Nations, shall convey these two belts of Wampum as firm and inviolable seals to all that they have said. These the Governour will convey to the Governour of Virginia with letters in their favour who sent them, and a particular account of their country and habitations, with all which the Governor of Virginia will undoubtedly take care to acquaint

all his Indians and people, and engage them for the future to consider our friends as his friends, and the Governour will endeavor to make them all as one People.

But as this will require some time, and all the Indians in those Southern Parts, can not be immediately acquainted with these messages, though the Governor intends to use all possible dispatch. They must in the mean time take care of themselves and keep out of the way of the Warrior's path, till a good and perfect peace and good understanding can be settled.

But after the Governor has thus proceded in their behalves, and in some measure pledges his honor for them, they must not fail on any terms whatsoever, most strictly to make good their present engagements against the Perswasions of all People whatsoever.

We are all friends to the Five Nations and have a great respect for them, and these can not but be pleased to find out that our Indians live in such Friendship with their English Neighbors, as to resolve also to live in Peace with all their friends. Whenever any of these Minquays come amongst them, they must not fail to inform them that they and we are one people and not to be separated in interest, and we desire that the Minquays also may be the same, and live with us as brotters."

This being interpreted, it was ordered that they should be supplied with a Quarter Cask of powder, fifty pounds of lead, five gallons of rum, with Bisket, Pipes, Tobacco, etc., for their Journey; in the mean time that the Treasurer or Secretary should see them duly accomodated. This is set forth in Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, pp. 103 to 105.

1720—The Cost of the Second Treaty Made at Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p 107 the cost of James Logan's second treaty at Conestoga is set out as follows: "The Secretary laid before the Board an Account of the charges of a Treaty held with the Indians at Conestogoe, the 27th day of June last, being Eight Pounds Four shillings and Eight Pence; as also an account of goods and provisions supplied the Indians at Philadelphia, by order of this Board the 20th of July last, amounting to Eight Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Five Pence, the whole charge being sixteen Pounds, eighteen Shillings and one penny, from which deducting the presents received from the Indians to the value of ten Pounds, four Shillings, there remains due to the Secretary the sum of six Pounds, thirteen Shillings and one penny, which accounts being examined were allowed by the Board, and the Treasurer is ordered to pay the said Ballance to the Secretary fortwith."

1720—The Southern Indians Retaliate on the Conestogas.

The above account of the Five Nations forcing the Conestogas to go southward and fight their friends is also taken notice of in Vol. 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 258, where it is shown that the expeditions to the South have caused an attack upon our Indians near the head of the Potomac River, by the Southern Indians who are on their way to Susquehanna to fight our people, by reason of the fact that the Five Nations compel our Indians to go to war against those of the South.

1720—The Shawanese, Ganawese and the Delawares Present at Logan's Treaty with the Conestogas.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 92, in which we have discussed the treaty made by James Lgoan with

the Conestogas and others, he sets forth that the Sachem or Chief of the Shawanese, the Chief of the Ganawese and the people of the Delaware Indians met him at John Cartledge's house the same as the chiefs of the Conestogas. I merely quote this item to show that these various other tribes were still living in this neighborhood at this time.

1721—A Message Sent to the Conestoga Indians, Because of the Dissatisfaction of the Virginian Government.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 116, it is set forth that a complaint of Governor Spotswood of Virginia caused the Governor and Council in Pennsylvania to send a message to the Conestoga Indians, in which he asked them to be very careful to obey all the laws and not to offend the Indians of the South nor the Governor in any way.

Keith says in this message that he has had many conferences with the Government of Virginia about our Conestoga Indians. As the result of this the Conestoga Indians and other Indians at Susquehanna river promised that they would not cross the Potomac river to go South, if the Southern Indians will not cross the Potomac River to come north. And the Governor further says that our Indians never do go down across the Potomac River.

1721—The Conestoga Indians Go to the Ohio and Wabash Rivers to Fish.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 116, Governor Keith in a speech, states that the Conestogas and other allied Indians go hunting and fishing on the branches of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers in the Fall of the year and do not return until the following May.

1721—The Conestoga Indians Send a Peaceful Message to the Southern Indians.

In the book and at the page last mentioned it is set forth that he Conestoga and allied Indians sent by Governor Keith to Virginia several belts of wampum as pledges of Peace with all the Indians from the South. On the next page we find that Keith begs the Governor of Virginia that I shall mention and include the Indians of the Susquehanna Country with his Cherokees and other Southern Indians.

1721—The Five Nations Come to Conestoga to Make a Treaty.

In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Records, p. 118, it is set forth that the deputies of the Five Nations are on their way to Conestoga to treat with this Province; and word is sent to Philadelphia that the Five Nationas are coming to treat. (120).

This statement is given by the Governor to the Board or Council in which he says that he had yesterday received an express from the Conestoga, intimating that they were certainly informed of some deputies of the Five Nations being on their way to Conestoga in order to treat with this Government. The Council decided, however, not to do anything until they heard of the arrival of the Five Nations at Conestoga, but in the meantime the Government will send a message to the Conestoga Indians to inform them about his negotiations for peace in Virginia.

As is shown on p. 120 of the same book, John Cartledge sent an express to Philadelphia, announcing that the deputies had arrived at Conestoga, that he entertained them at his house and desired them to come to Philadelphia and treat with the Governor.

That they were very reserved in telling their business and insisted that they must meet the Governor himself at Conestoga, where they wished him to come. . Cartledge also states that a considerable number of the Chiefs and others of the Indians of the Five Nations now actually at Conestoga, positively refused to go any nearer to Philadelphia than Conestoga and he urges the Governor to come at once and treat with them; and the Governor accordingly made the trip.

1721—Governor Keith's First Great Treaty at Conestoga.

Pressed by the above urgent demands that he should come to Conestoga to meet the Five Nations and other Indians the Council decided that the Governor should go on the journey; and the Governor named Richard Hill, Janothan Dickinson, Colonel French and the Secretary, James Logan to accompany him in his journey. It was decided that they would leave on Monday, the third of July. (See Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., pp. 120-121).

This treaty of Governor Keith also attracted the attention of the people generally and a notice of it may be found in the American Weekly Mercury, the only newspaper at that time which began publication in 1719 and ran until 1746, under the editorship of Andrew Bradford. The newspaper account is found in the issue of July 6, 1721, in which the paper states, "His Excellency, Sir William eKith, our Governor, with some of his Council and thirty other gentlemen set out Monday last for Conestoga in order to meet our Indians there and some of the Five Nation to settle a peace with them as usual."

It is to be noticed that the newspaper report states that thirty of the citizens went along. The return from Conestoga is also set forth in the same newspaper in the issue of July 13, 1721, where it is stated that, "On Tuesday night last, his Excellency, Sir William Keith, Baronett, our Governor, and the gentlemen who attended him arrived here (Philadelphia) from Conestoga. He went thither to meet the heads of the Five Nations who awaited his coming to renew the treaties of peace and friendship with them, and accomodated some irregularities committed by the young men of those nations of war ·Indians. The Governor and all the Company were handsomely entertained and treated at the house of John Cartledge, Esq., during their stay at Conestoga."

In the issue of July 27, 1721, the particulars of this treaty are advertised as being for sale, having been published by Andrew Bradford, but I can not find that the pamphlet was ever seen. Dr. Jordan of the Philadelphia Historical Society says that this pamphlet has never been seen in print. It is, however, quoted in Hildeburn's issue of the Pennsylvania press, p. 58. There is a Dublin reprint of it dated 1723, in the Ridgeway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which I have seen, and excepting the introduction, it is a literal copy of the Colonial Records.

This Irish reprint of 1723 (which is found in Vol. 797 in the Ridgeway branch, etc.,) sets forth on the title page that Andrew Bradford printed the original and published it at the request of the gentlemen whow were present at the treaty, and who went on the journey. It is said that it was reprinted by Eliz. Saddler and Sam. Fuller at the Globe & Scales in Meath street, Dublin, in 1723. The following glowing introduction appears in the book,which is not found in the Colonial Records;

"The Publisher to the Reader, Philadelphia, July 26, 1721.

Courteous reader: We here present you with an exact copy of the proceedings of the Governor in the late treaty with several nations of Indians at Conestoga, taken from the minutes of the respective councils, which were held on the occasion. And we hope this will be more agreeably acceptable to our correspondents than any abstracts that could be published in our Weekly Mercury.

The Indian village of Conestoga lies about seventy English miles distant, almost directly West of the city, and the land thereabout being exceedingly rich, it is now surrounded by divers fine plantations or farms, where they raise quantities of wheat, barley, flax and hemp, without help of any dung.

The company who attended the Governor consisted of between 70 and 80 horsemen, most of them well armed, and the directions that had ben given were so well observed that great plenty of all sorts of provisions were everywhere provided bot for man and horse.

His Excellency the Governor's care for the public safety of this colony plainly discovers itself in his management of affairs with the Indians in general as well as by his late toilsome journey to and fror Virginia and Conestoga. The good people of this city and province from a just sense of happiness they enjoy the present administration embrace all opportunities of expressing their love and esteem for the Governor, who at his return from Conestoga was waited upon at the upper ferry of the Schuylkill River by the Mayor and Aldermen of the City with about two hundred horse. After a refreshment of wine and other good liquors, upon the eleventh inst., about sunset his Excellency arrived in good health at his own house to the universal joy of all the inhabitants."

The official report of this treaty is found in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 121, as follows:

"Conestogoe, July the 5th, 1721.

"The Governor arrived here this day at Noon, and in the evening went to Capt. Civility's cabin, where four Deputies of the Five Nations, and some few more of their people came to see the Governour, who spake to them by an interpreter to this purpose, viz:

That this being the first time that the Five Nations had thought fit to send any of their Chiefs to visit him; he had come a great way from home to bid them welcome, that he hoped to be better acquainted and hold a further discourse with them before he left the Place.

They answered that they were come a long way on purpose to see the Governor and speak with him; that they had heard much of him and would have come here before now, but that the faults and mistakes committed by some of their young men had made them ashamed to show their faces, but now that they had seen the Governor's face, they were well satisfied with their journey whether anything else was done or not.

The Governour told them that tomorrow morning he designed to speak a few words to his Brothers and Children, the Indians of Conestogoe and their friends upon Susquehanna, and desired that the Deputies of the Five Nations might be presen. in Council to hear what is said t them.

At a Council held at Conestogoe, July the 6th, 1721.

PRESENT:

The, Honorable Sir William Keith Bart., Govr., Richard Hill, Colonel John French, Caleb Pusey, James Logan, Secretary, Jonathan Dickinson.

The Governor spoke to the Conestogoe Indians as follows:

My Brothers and Children,

So soon as you sent me word that your near friends and relatives, the Chiefs of the Five Nations, were come to visit you, I made haste and am come up to see both you and them, and to assure all the Indians of the Continuance of my love to them.

Your old acquaintance and true friend, the Great William Penn, was a wise man, and therefore he did not approve of war among the Indians whom he loved, because it wasted and destroyed their people, but always rocommended peace to the Indians as the surest way to make them rich and strong by increasing their numbers.

Some of you can remember since William Penn and his friends came first to settle amongst you in this country; it is but a few years and like as yesterday to an old man, nevertheless by following that great Man's peaceable councils this Government is now become wealthy and powerful in great numbers of people, and though many of our inhabitants are not accustomed to war and dislike the practice of man killing one another, yet you can not but know that I am able to bring several thousand into the field, well armed, to defend both your people and ours from being hurt by any enemy that durst attempt to invade us; however, we do not forget what William Penn often told us, that the experiences of old age, which is true wsdom, advises peace, and I say to you, that the wisest man is always the bravest man, for he safely depends on his wisdom, and there is no true courage without it. I have so great a love for you; my dear Brothers, who live under the protection of this Government that I can not suffer you to be hurt no more than I would my own children; I am but just now returned from Virginia where I wearied myself in a long journey both by land and water, only to make peace for you my children, that you may safely hunt in the woods without danger from Virginia and the many Indian nations that are at peace with this Government. But the Governour of Virginia expects that you will not hunt within the Great Mountains on the other side of Patowmeck River, being it is a small tract of land which he keeps for the Virginia Indians to hunt in, and he promises that his Indians shall not any more come on this side of Potawmeck, or behind the great mountain this way to disturb your hunting; and this is the condition I have made for you, which I expect you will firmly keep, and not break it on any consideration whatsoever.

I desire that what I have now said to you may be interpreted to the Chiefs of the Five Nations present, for as you are a part of them, and are in like manner one with us as you yourselves are, and therefore our Councils must agree and be made known to one another, for our hearts should be open that we may perfectly see into one another's breasts. And that your friends may speak to me freely, tell them I am willing to forget the mistakes which some of their young men were guilty of amongst our people; I hope they will grow wiser with age, and hearken to the grave Counsels of their old men whose valour we esteem because they are

wise; but the rashnes of their young men is althogether folly.

At a Council held at Conestogoe, July the 7th, 1721.

PRESENT:

The Honourable Sir William Keith, Bart., Governour; Richard Hill, Colonel John French, Caleb Pusey, Jas. Logan, Secretary; Jonathan Dickinson, with divers gentlemen.

PRESENT ALSO:

The Chiefs of Deputies sent by the Five Nations to treat with this Government, viz.;

Sinnekass Nation, Onondagoes Nation, Cayoogas Nation; Ghesaont, Tannawree, Sahoode, Awennool,Skeetowas, Tchehuque.

Smith, the Ganawese Indian interpreter from the Mingoe Language to the Delaware; John Cartledge and James Le Tort, Interpreters from the Delaware into the English.

Ghesaont, in the name and on the behalf of all the Nations, delivered himself in speaking to the Governour, as follows:

They were glad to see the Governour and his Council at this place, from home, and now they find it to be what they had heard of him, viz: their friend and brother, and the same as if William Penn were still amongst them.

They assure the Governour and Council that they had not forgot William Penn's treaties with them, and that his advice to them was still fresh in their. memories.

Though they can not write, yet they retain everything said in their Councils with all the Nations they treat with, and preserve it as carefully in their memories as if it was committed in our method to writing.

They complain that our Traders carrying goods and Liquors up Sasquehanna River some times meet with their young men going out to war, and treat them unkindly, not only refusing them a dram of their liquor, but use them with ill language and call them dogs, etc.

They take this unkindly, because dogs have no sense of understanding; whereas they are men, and think that their brothers should not compare them to such creatures.

That some of our Traders calling their young men by those Names, the young men answered, if they were dogs then they might act as such; Whereupon they seized a keg of their Liquor and ran away with it.

N. B. This seems to be told in their usual way to excuse some small robberies that had been committed by their young people.

Then laying down a belt of Wampum upon the table, he proceeded and said,

That all their Disorders arose from the use of rum and strong spirits which took away their sense and memory; that they had no such liquors amongst themselves, but were hurt with what we furnished to them and therefore desired that no more of that sort might be sent amongst them.

He presented a bundle of drest skins and said,

That the Five Nations faithfully remember all their ancient treaties, and now desire that the chain of friendship between them and us may be made so strong as that none of the links can ever be broken.

Presents another bundle of raw skins and observes,

That a chain may contact rust with lying and become weaker; Wherefore he desires it may now be so well cleaned as to remain brighter and stronger than ever it was before.

Presents another parcel of skins and says,

That as in the Firmament all clouds and darkness are removed from the face of the sun, so they desire that all misunderstandings may be fully done away, so that when they who are now here shall be dead and gone, their while people with their children and posterity may enjoy the clear sunshine and friendship forever, without anything to interpose and obscure it.

Presents another bundle of skins and says,

That looking upon the Governour as if William Penn was present they desire, that in case any disorders should hereafter happen between their young people and ours, we would not be too hasty in resenting any such accident, until their Colonel and ours can have some opportunity to treat amicably upon it, and so to adjust all matters as that the friendship between us may still be inviolably presrved.

Presents a small parcel of deer skins and desires,

That we may now be together as one people, treating one another's children kindly and affectionately on all occasions.

He proceeds and says:

That they consider themselves in this treaty as the full plentipotentiaries and Repesentatives of the Five Nations and they look upon the Governour as the Great King of England's representative, and therefore they expect that everything now stipulated will be made absolutely firm and good on both sides.

Presents a bundle of bear skins and says,

That having now made a firm league with us as becomes our brothers, they complain that they got too little for their skins and furs, so as they can not live by huntiug, they desire us therefore to take compassion on them and contrive some way to help them in that particular.

Presenting a few furs, he speaks only as from himself to acquaint the Governour, that the Five Nations have heard that the Governour of Virginia wanted to speak with them. He himself with some of his Company intended to proceed to Virginia, but do not know the way to get safe thither."

At a council held at the House of John Cartledge, Esq., near Conestogoe.

PRESENT:

The Honorable Sir William Keith, Bart., Governor, Richard Hill, Col. John French, Jonathan Disksinson, James Logan, Secretary.

The Governour desired that the Board would advise him as to the quantity and kind of the presents that must be made to the Indians in return to their and In confirmation of this speech to them; Whereupon it was agreed that twenty-five Stroud Match coats of two yards each, One Hundred wt. of Gunpodwer, two hundred of lead, with some Bisket, Tobacco and Pipes, should be delivered as the Governor's present to the Five Nations. And the same being prepared accordingly, the Council was adjourned to Conestogoe, the Place of Treaty.

At a Council held at Conestogoe, July the 8th, 1721. Post Meridiem.

PRESENT:

The Honourable Sir William Keith Bart., Governour.

The same members as before with divers gentlemen attending the Governour and the Chiefs of the Five Nations being all seated in Council, and the presents laid down before the Indians.

The Governour spoke to them by the Interpreters in these words.

My Friends and Brothers:

It is a great satisfaction to me that I have this opportunity of speaking to the Valiant and wise Five Nations whom you tell me you are fully empowered to represent. I treat with you therefore as if all these Nations were here present, and you are to understand what I now say to be agreeable to the mind of our Great Monarch George the King of England, who bends his care to establish peace amongst the mighty nations of Europe and unto whom all the People in these parts as it were but like one drop out of a Bucket, so that what is now transacted between us must be laid up as the words of the whole Body of your People and our People, to be kept in perpetual Remembrance. I am so glad to find that you remember what William Penn formerly said to you; he was a great and a good man, his own people loved him; he loved the Indians, and they also loved him. He was as their father, he would never suffer them to be wronged, neither would he let his people enter upon any lands until he had first purchased them of the Indians; He was just, and therefore the Indians loved him.

Though he is new removed from us yet his children and people follow his example and will always take the same measures, so that his and our posterity will be as a long chain of which he was the first link, and when one link ends another succeeds and then another, being all firmly bound together in one strong chain to endure forever.

He formerly knit the chain of friendship with you as the Chief of all the Indians in these parts, and lest this chain should grow rusty you now desire it to be scoured and made strong to bind us as one people together; We do assure it is and always has been bright on our side, and so we will ever keep it.

As to your complaint of our Traders, that they have treated some of your young men unkindly I take that to be said by way of excuse only for the follies of your people, thereby endeavoring to persuade me that they were provoked to do what you very well know they did, but as I told your Indians two days ago, I am willing to pass by all those things. You may therefore be assured that our people shall not suffer any injury to yours; or if I know that they do, they shall be severely punished for it; so you must in like manner strictly command your young men that they do not offer any injury to ours; for when they pass through the utmost skirts of our inhabitants, where there are no people yet settled but traders, they should be more careful of them as having separated themselves from the body of their friends, purely to serve the Indians more commodiously with what they want.

Nevertheless if any little disorders should at any time hereafter arise, we will endeavor that it shall not break or weaken the chain of friendship between us; to which end if any of your people take offence, you must in that case apply to me or to our chiefs; and when we have any cause to complain, we shall as you desire apply to your chiefs by our friends the Conestogoe Indians, but on both sides we must labor to prevent everything of this kind as much as we can.

You complain that our traders come into the path of your young men going out to war, and thereby occasion disorders amongst them, I will therefore my friends and brothers speak very plainly to you on this Head.

Your young men come down Susquehanna river and take their road through our Indian towns and settlements and make a path between us and the people against whom they go out to war; Now you must know, that the path this way leads them only to the Indians who are in alliance with the English, and first to those who are in a strict League of Friendship with the great Governor of Virginia, just as these our friends and children who are settled amongst us are in league with me and our people.

You can not therefore make war upon the Indians in League with Virginia without weakening the chain with the English; for as we would not suffer these our friends and brothers of Conestogoe, and upon this River to be hurt by any person without considering it was done to ourselves; so the Governour of Virginia looks upon the injuries done to his Indian brothers and friends as if they were done to himself; and you very well know that though you are five different nations yet you are but one people; so as that any wrong done to one Nation is received as an injury done to you all.

In the same manner and much more so it is with the English, who are all united under one great King, who has more people in that one town where he lives, than all the Indians in North America put together.

You are in League with New York as your ancient Friends and nearest Neighbors, and you are in League with by treaties often repeated, and by a chain which you have not brightened. As therefore all the English are but one People you are actually in League with all the English governments and must equally preserve the Peace with all as with one Government.

You pleased me very much when you told me that you were going to treat with the Governour of Virginia. Your nations formerly entered into a very firm League with the Government, and if you have suffered that chain to grow rusty it is time to secure it, and the Five Nations have done very wisely to send you there for that purpose .

I do assure you, the Governour of Virginia is a great and good man; he loves the Indians as his children and so protects and defends them, for he is very strong, having many thousand Christian warriors under his command, whereby he is able to assist all those who are in any League of Friendship with him. Hasten therefore, my friends, to brighten and strengthen the claim with that great man, for he desires it, and will receive you kindly. He is my great friend, I have been lately with him, and since you say you are strangers, I will give you a letter to him to inform him what ye have done, and of the good design of your visit to im and ti his Country.

My Friends and Brothers: I told you two days agoe that we must open our Breasts to each other, I shall therefore, like your true Friend open mine yet further to you for your good.

You see that the English, from a very small People at first in these parts, are by peace amongst themselves become a very great people amongst you, far exceeding the number of all the Indians that we know of.

But, while we are at peace the Indians continue to make war upon one another, and destroy each other, as if they intended that none of their people should be left alive, by which means you are from a great people become a very small people and yet you will go on to destroy yourselves.

The Indians of the South although they speak a different language, yet they are the same people and inhabit the same land with those of the North, we therefore can not but wonder how you that are a wise people should take delight in putting an end to your race. The English being your true friends labor to prevent it. We would have you strong as a part of ourselves, for as our strength is your strength, so we would yours to be as our own.

I have persuaded all our Brethren in these parts to consider what is for their good, and not to go out any more to war, but your young men as they come this way endeavor to force them, and because they incline to follow the Counsels of Peace and the advice of their friends, your people use them ill and often prevail with them to go out to their destruction. Thus it was that this town of Conestogoe lost their good king, not long ago, and thus many have been lost, their young children are left without parents, their wives without husbands, the old men, contrary to the course of nature mourn te death of their young, the people decay and grow weak, we lose our dear friends and are afflicted, and this is chiefly owing to your young men.

Surely you can purpose to get other riches or possessions by going thus out to war; for when you kill a deer you have the flesh to eat and the skin to sell, but when you return from war you bring nothing home but the scalp of a dead man who perhaps was husband to a kind wife, and father to tender children who never wronged you, though by losing him you have robbed them of his help and protection, and at the same time get nothing by it.

If I were not your true friend I would not take the trouble of saying all these things to you, which I desire may be fully related to all your people when you return home, that they may consider in time what is for their own good; and after this if any will be so madly deaf and blind as neither to hear or see the danger before them, but will still go out to destroy and be destroyed for nothing, I must desire that such foolish young men will take another path and not pass this way amongst our people, whose eyes have opened, and they have wisely hearkened to my advice. So that I must tell you plainly, as I am their best friend, and this Government is their Protector and as a father to them. We will not suffer them any more to go out as they have done to their destruction. I say again, that we will not suffer it, for we have the Counsel of wisdom amongst us and know what is for their good, for though they are weak yet they are our Brethren, we will therefore take care of them that they are not misled with ill Council; you mourn when you lose a brother, we mourn when when any of them are lost, to prevent which they shall not be suffered to go out as they have done to be destroyed by war.

My Good Friends and Brothers: I give you the same Counsel and earnestly desire that you will follow it, since it will make you a happy people, I give you this advice because I am your true friend, but I much fear you hearken to others who never were or never will be your Friends. You know very well that the French have been enemies from the Beginning, and though they made peace with you about two and twenty years ago, yet by subtle practices they still endeavor to ensnare you. They use arts and tricks and tell you

lies, to deceive you, and if you would make use of your own eyes and not be deluded by their Jesuits and Interpreters; you would see this yourselves, for you know they have had no goods of any value these several years past, except what has been sent to them from the English of New York, and that is now all over. They give fair speeches instead of real services, and as for many years they attempted to destroy you in war, so they now endeavor to do it in Peace; for when they perswade you to go out to war against others, it is only that you may be destroyed yourselves, which we as your true friends labor to prevent, because we would have your numbers increased that you may grow strong and that we may be all strengthened in Friendship and Peace together.

As to what you have said of Trade, I suppose the great distance at which you live from us has prevented all comerce between us and your people; we believe, those who go into the woods and spend all their time upon it endeavor to make the best bargains they can for themselves; so on your part you must take care to make the best bargain you can with them, but we hope that our traders do not cheat, for we think that a Stroud Coat or a pound of powder is now sold for more Buck skins than formerly; beaver indeed is not of late so much used in Europe, and therefore does not give a price, and we deal but very little in that commodity. But deer skins sell very well amongst us, and I shall always take care that the Indians be not wronged, but except other measures be taken to regulate the Indian trade everywhere, the common methods used in Trade will still be followed, and every man must take care of himself, for thus I must do myself, when I buy anything from our own people, if I do not give them their price they will keep it for we are a free people. But if you have any further proposals to make about these affairs I am willing to hear and consider them, for it is my desire that the trade be well regulated to your content.

I am sensible rum is very hurtful to the Indians; we have made laws that none should be carried amongst them, or if any were, that it should be staved and thrown upon the ground, and the Indians have been ordered to destroy all the rum that comes in their way, but they will not do it, they will have rum, and when we refuse it they will travel to the neighboring provinces and fetch it; their own women go to purchase it, and then sell it amongst their own people at excessive rates. I would gladly make any laws to prevent this that could be effectual, but the country is so wide and the woods are so dark and private, and so far out of my sight, that if the Indians themselves do not prohibit their own people there is no other way to prevent it; for my part, I shall readily join in any measures that can be proposed for so good a purpose.

I have now my friends and brothers, said all that I think can be of any service at this time, and I give you these things here laid before you to confirm my words, viz: five Stroud coats, twenty pounds of powder, and forty pounds of lead for each of the Five Nations; that is twenty-five coats, one hundred weight of powder and two hundred of lead in the whole, which I desire may be delivered to them, with these my words in my name and on behalf of this province.

"I shall be glad frequently to see some of your chief men sent in the name of the rest, but desire you will be so kind as to come to us to Philadelphia to visit our families and children born there, where we can provide better for you and make you more welcome, for people always receive their friends best at their own houses. I heartily wish you well on your journey and good success in it, and when you return home I desire you will give my very kind love and the love of all our people to your kings and to all their people.

Then the Governor rose up from his chair, and when he had called Ghesont the speaker to him, he took a Coronation Medal of the Kings out of his pocket and presented it to the Indian in these words.

That our children when we are dead may not forget these things, but keep this treaty between us in perpetual remembrance. I here deliver to you a picture in gold, bearing the image of my great master the King of all the English; and when you return home I charge you to deliver this piece into the hands of the first man or greatest Chief of all the Five Nations whom you call Kannygoodk, to be laid up and kept as a token to our childrens' children, that an entire and lasting Friendship is now established forever between the English in this country and the Great Five Nations.

1721—James Logan Continues the Conestoga Treaty After the Governor Left for Philadelphia

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 130, "James Logan, Secretary, further reports, that having continued at Conestogoe, after the departure of the Governor and the rest of the Company, he had the next day by the continued treaty held by James Logan Governour's approbation and direction held a discourse with Ghesaont, the Chief of those Indians and their Speaker Civility, the Captain of Conestogoe, and John Cartlidge, being the Interpreter.

That he had first put Ghesaont in mind of the great satisfaction the Governour had expressed to him in the Council upon their kind visit, and the freedom and openness that had been used to them on our parts, and therefore advised him if he had anything in his thoughts further relating to the Friendship established between us and the matters treated in Council he would open his Breast in his free Conversation, and speak it without reserve, and whatever he said on those heads should be reported faithfully to the Governour.

Ghesaont then, said that he was very well pleased with what had been spoken. He saw the Governour and the English were true friends to the Five Nations, but as to their people going out to war, which head we chiefly insisisted on, the principal reason was that their young men had become very poor, they could get no goods nor clothing from the English, and therefore they went abroad to gain them from their Enemies.

"They had at once a clear Sky and Sunshine at Albany, but now all was over cast, and they could no longer trade and get goods as they had done, of which he could not know the reason, and therefore they had resolved to try whether it was the same among the other English Governments."

"To this the Secretary answered, that they had from the first settlement of New York and Albany been in strict League and Friendship with that Government, and had always had a trade with and been supplied by them. with Goods they wanted

That it was true, three or four years past the French had come from Canada to Albany in New York, and purchased and carried a great part of the goods, Strowd waters especially, sometimes three or four hundred pieces in a year, which the Five Nations ought to have had; but that now, another Governor being lately sent thither from the Great King of England, he had made a law that the French should not have any more goods from the English; that this had been the reason of the Clouds and dark weather they complained of, but that now a clear Sunshine as they desired would be restored to them; That he knew very well this Gentleman the new Governour, that he had not long since been at Philadelphia, and at his (the Secretary's) house, and that he had heard him (the Corlear) say he would take care of his Indians should be well supplied for the future, and accordingly they might depend on it.

Ghesaont being hereupon asked whether they did not know that the French had for some years past had the Cloths from the English, answered, that they knew very well that these English goods went now in a new path, different from what they had formerly gone in, that they knew not where they went, but they went besides them and they could not get hold of them, though they much wanted them.

"The Secretary proceeded to say, that as New York and Albany had been their ancient friends, so they could best supply them, and they would certainly do it if they continued in their Duty on their part; that they were sensible the Great King of England had a regard for them, by the Notice he took of them almost every year; that all the English everywhere were their Friends. We were now very gald to see them, but wished for the future they would come to Philadelphia, as they formerly used to do; that he himself had seen their Chiefs twice at Philadelphia, the two years that William Penn was last here, and that when his son came over about three years after, now about seventeen years agoe, a considerable number of them came down and held a great Council with us, and therefore he hoped they would visit us there again, which would be much more convenient than so far back in the woods where it was difficult to accomodate them and ourselves, that however we were glad to see them there. This they knew was a Government but lately settled, but that they were now going into two Governments that had been much longer seated and were very rich, and would make them exceeding welcome; that we saw them in the woods only, at a great distance from home, but they would see the Governours of Maryland and Virginia at their own towns and houses where they could entertain them much better; that they would be very kindly received, for we were all of one heart and mind, and should always entertain them as Brothers.

"Ghesaont took an opportunity of himself to enter again on the subject of their people making Peace with the other Indians on the Main. He said that he had in his own person laboured it to the utmost; that he had taken more pains to have it established than all the French had done; that their people had lately made peace with the Tweuchtwese; that they had also sent some of their men to the Flat Heads for the same purpose, that they had now a universal Peace with all the Indians, excepting

three small Nations to the Southward with whom he hoped to have one concluded upon his present journey by means of the Governour of Virginia, that his own desires were very strong for Peace as his Endeavors had shewn, and he doubted not to see it established everywhere. He said the Governous had spoken very well in the Council against their young men going to war, yet he had not done it fully enough for he should have told them positively that they should not on any acount be suffered to go out to war, and he would have reported it accordingly, and this would have been a more effectual way to prevent them.

"The Secretary then proceeded to treat with them about the road they were to take, and it was agreed that the Chief of the Nantikokes, a sensible man, who was then present, should conduct them from Conestogoe to their own town on Wye Rver, that they should be furnished for their journey with provisions sufficient to carry them among the inhabitants, after which they were directed, as the Governour had before ordered, that they should produce his passport to the Gentlemen of the Country, where they travelled by whom they would be provided for; and the Nantikoke chief was further desired, upon their leaving the Nantikoke Towns to direct them to some of the Chief of Gentlemen and officers of those parts who would undoubtedly take care of them on sight of their passports and thereby knowng their business have them transported over the Bay of Annapolis. Being further asked how they would get an interpreter in Virginia where the Indians knew nothing of their language, and some proposals being made to furnish them they answered there would be no occasion for any care of that kind, for they very well knew the Governour of Virginia had an interpreter for their language always with him.

"Provisions being orderd for their journey and also at their desire, some for those of their Company, who with their women and children were to return directly home by water, up the river Sasquehanna, viz: a Bagg of Biskett, some pieces of Bacon and dried venison; these matters were concluded with great expressions of thankfulness for the Governours great care of them and their families, which kindness they said they never should forget.

"The Discourse being continued they were told it was now very near, viz: within one Moon of thirty-seven years since a great man of England, Governour of Virginia, called the Lord Effingham together with Colonel Dungan, Governour of New York,held a great treaty with them at Albany, of which we had the writings to this day.

"Ghsaont answered, they knew it well and the subject of that treaty, it was said about settling of lands. Being further told that in that treaty the Five Nations had given up all their rights to all the lands on Sasquehannah to the Duke of York, then brother to the King of England. He acknowledeged this to be so, and that William Penn since had the right to these lands, to which ~~Civility, a~~ descendant of the ancient Susquehannah Indians the old Settlers of these parts, but now reputed as of an Iroquois descent added that he had been informed by their old men, that they were troubled when they heard that their Lands had been given up to a place so far distant as New York, and that they were overjoyed when they understood William Penn had brought them back again, and that they had confirmed all their rights to him.

"Divers Questions were further asked him, especially concerning the French of Canada, their trade and fortifications, on which he said, that the French had three forts on this side of the River St Lawrence, and between their Towns and Mentual furnished with great numbers of Great Guns, that the French drove a great trade with them, had people constantly in or going to and coming from their Towns, that the French kept young People in their towns on purpose to learn the Indian Language, which many of them now spoke as well as themselves; that they had a great Intercourse with them, that about three hundred of their men, (viz: of the Five Nations) were seated on the other side of the Great River, that the French had this last Spring begun to build or to provide for building a Fort at Niagara Falls, but they had since declined it; he knew not for what reason, and they, (the French) had sent to his town (the Isanondonas) this last winter a great deal of powder to be distributed among them, but nothing was done upon it. Being particularly asked whether the French had-ever treated them about any of their Land, or whether the Indians had ever granted the French any, he answered No! that his People knew the French too well to treat with them about Lands; they had never done it, nor either granted them any upon any account whatsoever, and of this, he said, we might assure ourselves. Thus the day was spent in such Discourses, with a Pipe and some small mixt liquors, and the next morning Ghesaont, with the rest of his Company, returning from the Indian town, to John Cartilidge's, took their leaves very affectionately with great expression of thankfulness to the Governour and this Government for their kind reception."

1721—The Conestogas' King Killed in a Southern War.

In Vol.3 of the Col. Rec., p. 128, it is set forth that the Conestoga Indians lost their King not long ago, because the Five Nations compelled him to go along to the South to make war against the Southern Indians.

1721—Civility, A Descendant of the Ancient Susquehannocks.

In Vol.3 of the Col. Rec., p. 133, it is set forth that Captain Civility of the Conestogas was "a descendant of the ancient Susquehannocks; ' and it is also stated that the old Susquehannocks were reputed as being of the Iroquois stock, and that so was Civility reputed.

1721—John Grist Takes Conestogas' Lands without Consent.

In Vol.3 of the Col. Rec., p. 137, it is set forth that John Grist was in prison at Philadelphia and that he was arrested because with other persons he settled himself and family and took up lands on the Susquehanna River, without any warrant from the Commissioners of Property or temptuously defied any one to put him off, and that the complaint having been made to the Governor by the Indians of Conestoga in July last of the many abuses that they had received from John Grist; the Governour with the advice of some of the Commissioners, who were then with him at Conestoga, thought it was necessary to have John Cartlidge one of the Justices of the Peace, to go to Conestoga and warn Grist to get off the land, which he refused and was now thrown in jail, and he petitions that he may be given his liberty. And the board in Compassion to his poor famiy, is pleased to order that

he be given leave to carry off his corn, provided he will enter into a bond to move off the land and be of good behavior for one year, and pay his fees.

1721—The Nantikokes Move to Cocalico.

In Lyle's History of Lacaster County, p. 14 it is stated that the Nantikokes who first lived on Chesapeake Bay were allowed to move to Tulpehocken Valley and moved there until 1721, when the large settlement of Germans which came to Tulpehocken from New York made them restless and they moved to Cocalico Township in Lancaster County, settling along "Indian River" at the place known as "Indiantown"; as late as 1758 there were still several scattered tribes along the little streams of this vicility. The town covered 500 acres and came into the possession of John Wistar and Henry Carpenter. Another branch of the Nantikokes had a town on land owned by Levi S. Reist, called "Lehoy'. This land was also bought from Pennsylvania families by John Wistar. The Nantikokes understood the English language and were frequently with the whites; and afterwards moved up the West branch of the Susquehanna River.

1722—Conestoga Indians Killed By John and Edmund Cartlidge.

Richard Landgon, a butcher of Conestoga, took a message to Philadelphia of the death of an Indian at one of their towns above Conestoga, caused by blows by John or Edmond Cartlidge or both. Langdon got the news from several persons of responsibility near Conestoga. The Governor found it advisable to call the Council together and inquire of this matter; and they decided that it would be necessary to get further information. It was ordered that Langdon and David Robinson, a blacksmith near Perquayomen, should meet the board and give full information. This may be seen in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 146.

As the result of these investigations Colonel French was sent to Conestoga to investigate the affair. He did so and James Logan went with him. Upon their return they made a report, which may be found in the same book, p. 148.

1722—James Logan and Colonel French's Report of the Conestoga Indian.

In the last mentioned book,pp 148 and 149, Logan and French gave the following report:

"To the Honourable Sir William Keith, Bart., Goernour of the province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Deleware, and the Council of the same.

The Report of James Logan and Colonel French, of their execution of a particular commission to them directed.

May it please the Governour and Council:

Pursuant to the instructions given to us by the Governour we set out from Philadelphia for Conestoga on the 7th Instant, as soon as our commission was delivered to us, and the next day meeting with the High Sheriff of the County of Chester, according to an appointment made with him. We sent herewith a proper warrant before us for a greater Dispatch, to apprehend the two brothers John and Edmund Cartlidge, who were reported to have committed the fact which occasioned our Journey. On the 9th, in the afternoon, we came to John Cartiidge's house where

we found himself in the Sheriff's custody, Edmond Cartlidge was then informed, for his brother to join him to proceed on their business of trade towards the Patowmeck; but on our informing John of the necessity there was of seeing his brother. he was prevailed upon to send for him the next day, and accordingly he came. The same morning, we dispatched a messenger to summon Peter Bizaillion, who lives about 36 miles higher up Susquehanna, to attend us as Interpeter between us and the Indians, but he having no horses at home, and being far from neighbors, he could not get down till the fourth day after the messenger set out, viz: till the 13th in the afternoon.

Soon after our first arrival at Conestogoe we gave the Chiefs of the Indians Notice of our Business, and upon Peter Bizallion's coming, we appointed a meeting with them the next morning; accordingly, we met, with the Chiefs of the Mingoe or Conestogoe Indians, of the Shawanese and Ganawese, and some of the Delawares in Council, in which we spoke to them in the following words, interpreted in sentences, first from our language into Delaware Indian by Peter Bizaillion, who took an oath faithfully to interpret between us and the Indians, and afterwards was interpreted into the three other languages by Captain Civility of Conestogoe and Smith the Ganawese, who excels in the skill of those languages.

At a Council held at Conestogoe, the 14th day of March, 1721-2, between James Logan, Secretary, and Colonel John French, in behalf of the Governour of Pennsylvania, thereunto authorized by virtue thereof a commission to them from the Governour, under the Great seal, bearing date the 7th inst.; and also came

Civility, Tannacharoe, Gunnehatorooja, Toweena, and other old men of the Conestoga Indians, and

Savannah, Chief of the Shawanese; Winjack, Chief of the Ganawese; Tekaachroon, a Cayoogoe; Oweeyekanowa, Nostarghkamen, Delawares.

Present divers English and Indians.

The Secretary laying down a belt of Wampum on the Board before them. which he had taken with him for that purpose, spoke to the Indians, as follows:

Friends and Brethren:

William Penn, our and your Father, when he first settled this country with English subjects, made a firm League of Friendship and Brotherhood with all the Indians then in these parts, and agreed that both you and his people should be all as one Flesh and Blood. The same League has often been renewed by himself and other Governours under him, with their Council held as well in this place where we now are as at Philadelphia, and other places. Both his People and yours have hitherto inviolably observed these Leagues so that scarce any one Injury has been done, nor anyone Complaint made on either side, except one for the Death if La Tour and his company for near forty years past, and of this you are fully sensible.

Yet as all human affairs are liable to accidents which sometimes fall out even between Brethren of the same Family though issuing from the same Parents, so now your good Friend, our Governour and his Council having heard by report only, that one of our Brethren had lost his Life by some Act of violence, alleged to be done by some of our People, without receiving any notice of it or Complaint from you, but moved with great

Concern for the loss and unhappiness of the accidents, like true friends and Brothers, the very next Day sent us two, Colonel French and me, first to condole with you, which we now do very heartily, and next by the full Power with which we are invested to inquire how the matter came to pass, that Justice may be done and satisfaction be made according to the firm Leagues that have from time to time been made between us and you, for We will suffer no injury to be done to any of you without punishing the offenders according to our Laws; nor must we receive without just satisfaction made ot us, for so the Laws of Friendship and the Leaques between us require.

We therefore now desire you, that according to the notice we gave you three days agoe, to have all those persons ready here who know anything of this matter. You would fully inform us of every particular, for we are now here to take their Examinations, which we expect you will take care shall be given with Truth and exactness, and without any partiality from resentment or favour; that when our Governour and Council are assured of the Truth they may proceed more safely in doing of Justice.

This being interpreted, as has been said, into the four several Languages of those People, we judged it necessary that our Commission should be publicly read in the hearing and for the satisfaction of the English who were there, and then we proceeded and put the following Questions, and to examine Indian Evidence.

Quest. When did Civiliity and the other Indians of Conestogoe first hear of the death of the man, and by whom?

Answer. They heard of it by several Indians much about the same time.

Quest. Where was it done?

Answer. At Manakassy, a branch of Potomac river.

Quest. What was the man's name, his Nation, and rank among his own people?

Answer. His name was Sanataeny of the Tsanondowaroonas or Sinnekaes, a Warrior, a civil man of very few words.

Quest. What was his business there?

Answer. He was hunting, he being used to hunt in that place.

Quest. Who do you understand, was present besides the English at the Commission of the fact?

Answer. The Man had been hunting there alone, with a Squaw that kept his Cabin, till John Cartlidge and his people came thither to trade with him for his skins. John Cartlidge had an Indian guide with him of the Ganawese Nation, named Aquachan, who is here present; also two Indian Shawana Lads came thither about the same time, whose names are Acquittanachke and Methegueyt; also, his Squaw, a Shawnese woman, named Weyneprecueyta, Cousin to Savannah, Chief of that Nation who are all here present.

Then Winjack and Savannah, Chiefs of the Ganawese and Shawnese, were required to charge those four witnesses of the fact of their respective nations to speak the impartially, without malice or Hatred, Favour or affection on any account whatsoever. The three Shawanna Witnesses being desired to witdraw Ayaquachan, the Ganawese, aged according to appearance, about thirty years was called uon to give an account of what he knew, and accord-

ingly he said, that he came in the evening to the Indian Cabin in which Indian is dead, with John Cartlidge and Edmund Cartlidge, who had with them William Wilkins and one Jonathan, both servants to John Cartlidge with an intent to trade with the said Indians, for his skins, they having hired him to be their guide; that John Cartlidge gave the Sennikae some small quantities of Punch and rum three times that evening, as he remembers, as a free gift, and then sold him some rum; That both the Sinnekae and this Examinant were drunk that night; that in the morning the Sinnekae said he must have more rum, for that he had not received all he had bought; that accordingly he went to John Cartlidge and demanded it, but that John denied to give him any, and taking the pot out of the Indians hands threw it away; that the Sinnekae told him he need not be angry with him for asking more for he owed it to him, and he still pressed him to give it; that John then pushed the Indian down who fell with his neck across a fallen tree, where he lay for some time, and then rising walked up to his Cabin; That this Examinant was then by the fire which he thinks was about thirty or forty, others say a hundred paces from the Cabin; that he saw John Cartlidge strip off his clothing near the fire; That then this Examinant went up towards the Cabin and saw the Sinneka sitting on the ground with the blood running down his neck, and that when John Cartlidge came up he kicked him on the Forehead with his foot; that this Deponent was in liquor at the time and knows no more. Being asked if he saw any gun, he says he saw none.

Acqueannacke, the Shawana, aged in appearance about twenty-two years, says, that he came to the same place with John Cartlidge and his Company, that the Sinneka had liquor overnight, and was drunk with it; that he and the Ganawese sate up all Night, but this Examinant went to sleep. The next day the Sinneka asked for more rum of John Cartlidge who refused to give him any; that John threw away the Pot, and upon the Indian still pressing for more liquor drew him down across a Tree, that the Indian rising, went up to his Cabin; that William Wilkins followed him and met him coming out of the Cabin with his Gun, that Wilkins laid hold of him and the gun and they both struggled, but not much; That Edmund Cartlidge came up and forcing the gun from the Indian struck him three blows on the head with it, with which it broke. He struck him also on the Collar bone; that John Cartlidge being at the fire there stript off his clothes and coming up kicked the Indian on the side and broke two of his ribs; that the man then bled at the mouth and nose and was unable to speak, but rattled in the Throat; That John Cartlidge with his Company went to the fire, made up his goods and came away; that the Sinneka in the mean time came into his cabin where these Shawana lads left him, and followed John Cartlidge to trade with him; that this happened about nine in the morning, and John Cartlidge himself says, he left the place at ten by his watch.

Metheequeyta, the other Shawanna lad, aged about seventeen or eighteen years, confirms what the other young man, his companion has said, and declares he can say nothing further.

Hereupon, great pains were taken and Endeavors used to perswade these evidences, to declare of themselves all that they particularly knew without considering what the others had said, or were supposed by them to say, for they were kept apart during the examination, but the Indians could not be prevailed with, alleging it was to no purpose to repeat what others had already declared, and it was by many leading question that Acquanachke was induced to mention any part of what the Ganawese had said before.

Weenepeeweytah, the Sqnaw, was then examined and said, that she was in the cabin when her husband came in for the Gun. that she shrieked out and endeavored to hinder him from carrying it out, but could not; that she followed him and Wilkins being then by came up and laid hold of the Gun, but could not take it from him; that Edmund forced it out of his hand and struck him first on the Shoulder, and then thrice upon the head, and broke the gun with the blows; that John Cartlidge stript off his clothes and coming up to them found the Indian sitting and he then gave him one kick on the side with his foot, and struck him with his fist, that the man never spake after he received the blows, save that after he got into the Cabin he said his friends had killed him; that a great quantity of blood came from his wounds. which clotted on the bear skin on which he lay; that his mouth and nose were full of blood; that he died the next day about the same time he was wounded the day before; that she was alone with the corpse and went to seek some help to bury him; that in the mean time an Indian woman, wife of Passalty of Conestogoe, with the Hermaphrodite of the same place coming thither by accident and finding the man dead buried him in the cabin, and were gone from thence before she returned, but she met them in the way and understood by them that they had lain him in the ground.

Passalty's wife and the Hermaphrodite being called declared that Kannannowach, a Cayoogoe Indian was the first one who found the man dead, and that he hired them to go bury him lest the beasts or fowls should eat him; that it was about seven days after his death that they went thither, and the body then stunk; they found three wounds in his head and they washed away the blood and the brains appeared; that two of his ribs were broke, and his side on that part was very black.

These, may it please the Governour are the examinations of the Indian evidences which we have taken, with all the exactness that was in our power and with the utmost impartiality. We confess that we had no reason to be full satisfied with the management of the three Shawanese Indians vix: the two lads and the Sqnaw, especially the two first, for they seemed to have agreed on their story before hand, esepecially on the particular of the man's ribs being broke of which we conceive these two youths could not possibly know anything before they left the place, because they came from it much about the same time with the Cartlidge's and therefore we judge they could hear of it in no other way than by the woman afterwards, yet they were positive in affirming; And we have here given the whole, without retrenching anything in favor of any person whatsoever.

The belt of wampum was then taken up and shewed the Indians.

and they were told it was sent from the Governour by us, to be forwarded with a message to the Sinneka Indians upon this unhappy accident. They were therefore desired to think by the morning of a proper person to carry it, that the day being now far spent and the Company tired, (for we sate on the business near eight hours) we should leave what we had further to say for the next day, and accordingly desired them to meet us early in the same place. We then ordered two gallons of rum made into Punch, with the above, a hundred weight of meat and bread brought from John Cartlidge's, to be distributed among the Company which was large and provisions being exceedingly scarce at present among them.

The next day, viz. the 15th of March, we met the same Chiefs without other company to consult about sending the message before mentioned and Colonel by the same interpreters spoke to them as follows,
Friends and Brethren:

We informed you yesterday that we were sent by the Governour in very great haste from Philadelphia upon the news of this unhappy accident, which we have been enquiring into. We therefore, had not any time to bring with us any presents to make you, nor could we indeed believe they would be expected on this occasion. We thought, however, that if any should be wanted they might be easily had at Conestogoe, but find them very scarce. We have however procured two Stroud Coats to be sent to our Brethren, the Sinnekas to cover our dead friend, and this belt of Wampum, (Which was taken up), is to wipe away the tears. We yesterday recommended to you to think of a fit person to carry the message, which we hope you have done, and pitched upon one accordingly.

The Indians answered: They had deferred the choice of a person till this meeting and then they named some one of them to which we much desired to be the person, but he excused himself. At length one Skatcheetchoo, a Cayoogoe of the Five Nations, and of that next in situation to the Sinnekaes, who had for divers years resided among our Indians, was chosen and he undertook the journey, but said he could not leave his family, who then wanted bread, unless they were provided for. We assured him that the next day six bushels of Corn should be brought to him for his Family's support in his absence, and for his journey he should have a Stroud Coat, a new Gun, with three pounds of powder and six pounds of lead, which he seemed cheerfully to accept of; some Palatines, undertook on the Secretary's promise to pay to bring the Corn the next day; a Gun and the lead we had from John Cartlidge, but he having no good powder or Strouds at home, Peter Bizallion, promised to deliver these to the mesenger as he passed his house near Pexton. Soon after the two Stroud Coats were presented, one of the Conestogoe old men proposed to Civility, that John Cartlidge having before given them a Stroud, with a String of Wampum for the same purpose, these should also be sent with the others, which being approved of by the other Indians, the said Stroud and Wampum was brought and added to those we had delivered.

The messenger being fully concluded on, we desired Civility and him to be with us in the evening, at John Cartlidge's house, to receive the words of our message; but first we proposed to the Indians to send a

message for themselves in Conjunction with ours to shew their satisfaction in our proceedings, but they gave us to understand that they could not join any words of theirs to our present, for no such thing was ever practiced by the Indians, and they had no belt of their own ready, otherwise they would send it. Civility was then privately informed that we had a belt also for them (the Secretary having carried up two), which they might take as their own and send it accordingly. He seemed much pleased with this, and we prepared for that time to take our leaves but before we did this we judged it necessary to caution them, that from the example we had given them of our great care and tenderness over them, and our regard to our League made with them. They should be very careful on their parts not to give offense to the Christians who were settled near them, or by any means to injure their cattle or anything belonging to them; for as we would suffer none of our people to injure them without punishing the offenders. so we could not receive injuries without requiring satisfaction; and this we endeavored to impress upon them,. after which we took leave of them all, excepting Civility and the Messenger, and came to our lodging at John Cartlidge's whither also about two hours after came the said two last mentioned Indians; and to the messenger we delivered the following words as the signification of the Belt we sent with him, viz:

Deliver this Belt from the Governour and Government of Pennsylvania to the King of chief of the Sinnegaes, and say the words it brings are these:—

Wiliam Penn made a firm peace and league with the Indians in these parts nearly forty years agoe, which League has often been renewed, and never broken, but an unhappy accident has lately befallen us. One of our Brethren and your people has lost his life by some of our People; Rum was the first cause of it; he was warm and brought his gun in anger against them. They were afraid of his gun took it from him, wounded him and he died. Our Governour, on the first news of it sent us two of his Council to inquire into it. We have done it and we are now taking the offenders to Philadelphia to answer for their fault. We send these Strowds to cover our dead brother, and this belt to wipe away the tears; and when we know your mind you shall have all further reasonable satisfaction for your loss. Civility also received the other belt privately, promised they would hold a Council the next day among themselves, as they had before engaged to us, and sending that belt in their own name would give an account of it of our Governour's great care over them, and of all our proceedings in this matter.

Being the same time credibly informed that the Five Nations had sent down a large Belt of Wampum, with a figure of a Rundlet and an Hatchet on it to the Indians settled upwards on Sasquehanna, with orders to stave all the rum they met with we judged it necessary to send by the same messenger a public order, under our Hands and Seals, to all our traders whom we should met with, to acquaint them, as their carrying of rum to the Indians was against the Law, so the Indians staving it was no more than what from time to time they had been encouraged to do, and therefore they must take care not to cause any riot or Breach of the Peace, by

making any resistance, a copy of which order is here presented.

All this time from the first day of our arrival at Conestogoe John Cartlidge, and from the second day Edmund Cartlidge, had by virtue of our warrant, been in the custody of the High Sheriff of Chester, who accompanied us, or in that of persons deputed by him.

The next morning, Civility the Messenger, and divers of the old men came over to John Cartlidge's to see us at our departure. The Messenger assured us he would set out the next morning, viz: the 17th. that he hoped to be with the Sinnekaes in eight days, and to return in thirty; that he and Civility, upon his return, would come directly to Philadelphia to give an account here of the Discharge of his message.

We then very much pressed John Cartlidge, (Edmd.being gone before with an officer to his own house almost in our way) to hasten and go along with us. His wife grieved almost to distraction, and would force herself and her child with him, but was at length prevailed with to stay; this caused us some loss of time. The woman's sorrows being loud the Indians went in to comfort her, and so we departed.

We have brought both John Cartlidge and Edmund Cartlidge Prisoners to town with the lad Jonathan who was present at the fact, and have committed them to the custody of the High Sheriff of Philadelphia, where they now are. William Wilkins was one hundred and fifty miles up Sasquehanna trading for his master, and therefore too far out of our reach.

This, may it please the Governor, is in pursuance of our Instructions, the report we have humbly to offer of our executing the Commission with which we were intrusted.

JAMES LOGAN.
JOHN FRENCH.

An important thing to notice in this investigation is as shown on p. 270, that a lot of the English had collected around about Conestoga, where this inquest was held.

1722—Action of the Government on the Killing at Conestoga.

James Logan and John French not only acted as Commissioners but they brought the two Cartlidges along with them and put them in the custody of the Sheriff. It seems that the Indian had been killed and buried before they got to Conestoga; he was buried three days' journey from Conestoga. They had a very hard task to get a legal jury. This is found on p. 155 of Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec.

The next day on the 22nd of March, at Philadelphia the investigation was continued and John Cartlidge's servant was sworn After this the two Cartlidge's sent a petition to the Government from the jail, saying that they were sorry, that they did not intend to hurt the Indian and that they acted in self defense. They prayed a speedy trial and the Council admitted them to bail. They entered into the bail in the Court House before the Governor; and in a very public manner it was at once moved that John Cartlidge's name be dropped as a Justice of the Peace and that he be struck out. (See p. 156.) Both men succeeded in giving bail as we are shown on p. 157.

1722—The Feeling of the Indians at Conestoga About the Killing.

In Vol. 3 Col. Rec., p. 152, we are told that the Indians at Conestoga selected a Cayuga Indian to take the

news to the Five Nations and also the news of the proceedings, but the Indian said that he could not leave his family without provisions. The white people around Conestoga, therefore sent his wife a lot of corn and some of the Mennonites about Conestoga said that they would pay for more corn and take it there.

In the last mentioned book, p. 155, we are told that John Cartlidge's wife was very much distracted about this killing and that the Indians around there went to her and tried to comfort her and make her feel that Cartlidge would come out all right.

The messenger also returned from the Five Nations and made a favorable report.

1722—The Five Nation's Attitude About This Conestoga Killing.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., it is stated at p. 163, that a number of the Conestoga Indians and the messenger sent to the Five Nations, the Delawares and others being present in Council the Governor asked the messenger for a report and he said among other things, that when Logan came up to Conestoga because of those news that their cousin had been killed, that all felt a great sorrow and he delivered a belt of wampum to wipe the tears away. He also says that the Five Nations are well pleased with what has been done and that they hope we will keep the bones of the dead more in memory. He presented other belts and desired that the Governor would be strong friends with them.

On the report being made the Council decided that John and Edmund Cartliedge must be prosecuted according to law. And because the Five Nations think that they ought to be tried these two men were again arrested. Some of the Five Nations being present and the Contoga Indians also, the Governor said to them "Friends and Brothers of Conestoga, it makes our hearts glad to see how you brighten the chain and make it strong. The chief law among the English is that when any man has done another an injury, he must be punished, and these men who killed your cousin must be tried according to law."

Finally the Indians themselves asked that they would let John and Edmund Cartiledge go free and they were left go.

1722—The Conestoga Indians Much Excited About the Taking of Land at Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec. p. 178. it is stated that the Governor sent a letter by express to Conestoga on the land question and received news of the excitement in Conestoga. He said he found the Indians were much alarmed about a survey of land on the bank of the Susquehanna, that he held a Council with the Indians of Conestoga on Friday and Saturday and proposed that he would survey for them a tract on the West side of the Susquehanna river, beginning on the upper line of the new settlement and running back six miles into what is now York County, and down that line to a point opposite the mouth of the Conestoga Creek and then by a line into the river. This pleased them very much This land excitement became so great that the Governor ordered a company of the militia to set out from New Castle up to Octoraro to prevent the Marylanders from disturbing our Indians.

1722—Governor Keith Holds Another Council with the Indians at Conestoga.

On the 15th of June, 1722, Governor Keith was at Conestoga holding a Council to take up several questions, and among others was this question of surveying a tract of 70,000 acres of land across the Susquehanna, so as to keep people out and away from the Indians. This tract was known as Springetsburg Manor. The minutes of the Council are set forth in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 181, as folloks:

At a Council with the Indians at Conestoga, June 15th, 1722.

PRESENT:

Sir William Keith, Bart., Govr.

Col. John French and Francis Worley, Esqs.,

The Chiefs of the Conestogoe, Shawana and Ganaway Indians; Smith, the Ganaway Indian, and James Le Tort, Interpreters.

The Governor spoke as follows:

Friends and Brothers: The belts which I lately received from the Five Nations signify, that they are one people with the English, and are very kind neighbors and friends. They invite me to come to them at Albany, and make the chain between us as bright as the Sun. When they see me they will remember their great friend William Penn, and then our hearts will be filled with love and our Councils with peace.

You say you love me because I came from your father, William Penn, to follow his peaceable ways, and to fulfill all his kind promises to the Indians, you call me William Penn and I am very proud of the name you give me; but if we have a true love for the memory of William Penn, we must now shew it to his famiy and to his children, that are grown up to be men in England, and will soon come over to represent him here. Last time I was with you at Conestogoe, you showed me a parchment which you had received from William Penn containing many articles of friendship between him and you and between his children and your children; you then told me he desired you to remember it well for three generations, but I hope you and your children will never forget it. That parchment fully declared your consent to William Penn's purchase and right to the lands on both sides Sasquehanna; but I find both you and we are like to be disturbed by idle people from Maryland, and also by others who have presumed to survey lands on the banks of Sasquehanna, without any powers from William Penn or his children to whom they belong, and without so much as asking your consent.

I am therefore come to hold a Council and consult with you how to prevent such injust practices for the future, and hereby we will shew our great love and respect for William Penn's children who inherit their father's estate in this country, and have a just hight to the hearty love and friendship of all the Indians promised to them in many treaties, I have fully considered this thing, and if you approve my thoughts, I will immediately cause to take up a large tract of land on the other side of Sasquehanna for the Grandson of Wiliam Penn, who is now a man as tall as I am; for when the land is marked with his name upon the trees it will keep off the Marylanders and every other Person whatsoever from coming to settle near you to disturb you, and he bearing the same kind heart to the Indians which his Grand-

father did, will be glad to give you any part of his land for your own use and convenience; but if other people take it up they will make settlements upon it, then it will not be in his power to give it to you as you want it.

My Dear Friends and Brothers:

Those who have any wisdom amongst you must see and be convinced that what I now say is entirely for your good, for this will effectually hinder and prevent any person from settling lands on the other side of Sasquehannah, according to your own desire, and consequently you will be secure from being disturbed by ill neighbors, and have all that land in the same time in your own power to make use of. This will also beget a true hearty love and friendship between you, your children, and the great William Penn's grandson, who is now Lord of all this country in the room of his grandfather. It is therefore fit and necessary for you to begin as soon as you can to express your respect and love to him; he expects it from you according to your promises in many treaties, and he will take it very kindly.

Consider them my brothers, that I am now giving you an opportunity to speak your thoughts lovingly and freely unto this brave young man, Mr. Penn's grandson; and I, whom you know to be your true friend will take care to write down your words and to send them to England to the gentlemen, who will return you a kind answer, and so your hearts will be glad that the great William Penn still lives in his children to love and serve the Indians.

At a Council held with the Indians at Conestogoe, June 16th, 1722.

PRESENT:

Sir William Keith, Bart., Govr.

Colo. John French and Francis Worley, Esqs.

The Chiefs of the Conestogoe, Shawana and Ganaway Indians:

Smith and James LeTort, Interpreters.

The Indians spoke in answer by Tawenea, as follows:

They have considered of what the Governor proposed to them yesterday and think it is matter of very great importance to them to hinder the Marylanders from settling or taking up lands so near them upon Sasquehanna. They very much approve what the Governour spoke and like his Council to them very much, but they are not willing to discourse particularly on the business of land lest the Five Nations may reproach or blame them.

They declare again their satisfact'on with all that the Governour said yesterday to them in Council and although they know that the Five Nations have not any right to these lands, and that four of the towns do not pretend to any, yet the fifth town viz: the Cayugoes; are always claiming the same right to lands on Sasquehannah, even where they themselves now live; wherefore, they think it will be a very proper time when the Governour goes to Albany to settle that matter with the Cayugoes, and then all paties will be satisfied.

They asked the Governour whereabouts and what quantity of land does he propose to survey for Mr. Penn. it answered from over against the mouth of Conestogoe Creek up to the Governour's new settlement, and so far back from the river as no person can come to annoy or disturb them in their towns on this side.

They proceeded and say that they are at this time very apprehensive that the people will come when the Governour has gone to Albany and survey his land; wherefore they earnestly desire that the Governour will immediately cause the surveyor to come and lay out the land for Mr. Penn's grandson to secure them, and they doubt not but the Governour's appearance and conduct afterwards at Albany will make all things easy there.

Copy of the Governour of Pennsylvania's letter to the Governour of Maryland, dated from Newberry, on Sasquehannah, June 23d, 1722.

SIR: After I had been here some days I set out on Sunday morning last from Conestogoe towards New Castle by way of Nottingham, not without some hopes of having the happiness to meet you about the head of the Bay, from whence I daily expected to hear from you. But after I had proceeded twenty miles on my journey, I received an express on the road from two Magistrates of Pennsylvania, informing me that they, with some others, had been taken prisoners by a party of men in arms from Cecil county, and carried before the Justices of that Court, who detained them in custody two days, and afterwards dismissed them upon a verbal promise to appeer the next court. They also acquainted me of their being certainly informed by the Cecil Magistrates, that a warrant was issued by Mr. Lloyd fo surveying a Mannor to my Lord Baltimore, upon the banks of the Susquehanna above Conestogoe, including this settlement from whence I now write, and that an order has been issued by yourself in Council to press Men and Horses for that service, and that they were to set out from Baltimore on Monday, viz: next day, under the command of one Captain Dursey . Now, Sir, though I did not by any means give credit to all this relation, yet knowing the weaknesses and former attempts of some of your people of whom I have formerly complained to yourself, who justly bear the character of land Pirates, I was resolved to put it out of their power on this occasion to embroil us by their ridiculous projects, and returning immediately to Conestogoe,where I indeed had left the Indians but two days before, much alarmed with general reports, that the Marylanders were coming to survey the lands which no reasonable man could then believe. I now did, at the earnest request of the Indians, order a survey to be forthwith made upon the banks of the Sasquehannah, right against our Indian towns, and you will find the reasons I had for it more fully set forth in a copy of the warrant of the survey herein enclosed. As I found this absolutely necessary to be done for quieting the Indians, as well as to prevent the mischief which might happen upon any of your people presuming to encroach upon what these Heathens call their property; so likewise, it appeared to me to be the only method I could take at this juncture from preventing our own people from taking up or settling lands on this side to disturb or hamper the Indians unto whom this Province is bound by old Treaty to give them a full scope and Liberty in their settlemnts from the Christian inhabitants.

But that all things of this nature may be carried on with that openness of heart and perfect good understanding which I am sure we both desire, and that your own prudent mild conduct may be strengthened by all

the arguments I can furnish you for putting a just restraint upon that Covetous and most licentious Humor, with which you see we are continually plagued, I thought it my duty without delay to acquaint you by express with all that has been done here with the reasons at large.

Perhaps some ignorant, or I should rather say designing people, will endeavor to perswade you that this place is upon the Border of Maryland; Whereas in truth, there cannot be a clearer demonstration in anything of that nature, that it is about twelve miles to the Northward of Philadelphia, and I am sure I need not say any more to convince you that at least I have good reasons to insist upon it being within the limits of this province, without all manner of dispute.

My fatigue in the woods has brought a small fever upon me which an ounce of bark has pretty much abated, so that tomorrow I shall return home by slow journey directly to Philadelphia, where I should rejoice to see you once more but in all places and at all times I shall be, while living most faithfully, etc.

1722—The Cayugas Claim Land at Conestoga, Formerly Sold to William Penn.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec, p. 182, as shown in the above item, the Cayuga Indias had told the Constogas that certain lands round about Suspuehanna belonged to them and that Penn had not bought it; that the Conestogas say that they know the Five Nations have no right to those lands and that four of the Five Nations are satisfied but the Cayugas claim rights to lands and even to those where the Conestogas now live; and the Conestogas now ask the Governor to get this matter straightened out so no trouble will occur.

1722—Location of the Conestoga Indiantown and Fort.

By reverting to the survey of Springetsbury Manor which extended 15 miles Nortward from the mouth of the Conestoga creek. we are given another view of the location of the Conestoga Indiantown, for in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 183, it is stated that the Indiantowns are right opposite this tract of land, to be surveyed across the Susquehanna river.

1722—A Delegation of Conestogas Go to Philadelphia.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 189, it is set forth that the Indians of Conestoga go to Philadelphia to attend to important business. The language is as follows:

"Satseechoe, the Messenger, who in the beginning of last May was sent the second time to the Five Nations, being returned from thence, and accompanied to town from Conestogoe with Captain Civility, Tehanoote and Diohanse, the Governour appointed him a public audience, wherein by the interpretation of Civility from the Mingoe into the Delaware Indian tongue, and of Alice Kirk (who was first sworn to interpret truly,) from that into the English. He reported as follows:

That the people of the Five Nations wanted provisions so much, and were so busily employed in looking out for food that the Chiefs had not time to meet and open the presents sent them by the Governour; that he carried them altogether to the house of the King on the river where the Messenger was born (viz: the Cayoogoes), where he left them, and when they have leisure from providing themselves with victuals they will meet together and open them; that these

presents are all put together with those sent by the Governour of Virginia, and the Golden Medal sent by the Governour until our Governour and the Governour of Virginia come to Albany, to which place they desire the Governour and James Logan to come."

1722—The Conestoga Indians and the Five Nations Want the Cartlidges Pardoned.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 189, it is stated that the Indian delegation from Conestoga including some of the Five Nations reported to Council, "that they were glad the Governour sent them a Letter for that was like two tongue, and confirmed what the Messenger said to them. The great King of the Five Nations is sorry for the Death of the Indian that was killed, for he was his own flesh and blood he believes that the Governour is also sorry, but now that it is done there is no help for it and he desires that John Cartlidge may not be put to death for it nor that the Governour should be angry and spare him for some ime and put him to death afterwards; one life is enough to be lost, there should not two die. The King's heart is good to the Governour and all the English. One stuck a gentleman with a knife at Albany and they were sorry for it, but it was made up and nobody put to death for it. So they desire John Cartlidge may not die for this, they would not have him killed. John Cartlidge has been a long time bound, and they desire that he may be bound no longer. When the Governour comes to Albany, they will take him by the hand and their hearts shall be joined as their hands together. The Governours of New York, of Virginia and New England are to be here. The Indians will all meet and all will be made up when the Governour comes to Albany. The Governour of New England has sent them great presents of Match Coat, thirty bundles of goods all tyed up, and they are not yet opened. When the Governours come altogether to Albany, they will open and divide them. The Five Nations will be glad to see the Governours, they have been busy getting victuals as fish out of the River and some vension from the woods, but now Squashes and Pompions are come they will be able to travel. Their King is an old man and could not come thither; he can not travel as a young man, but he will come to Albany to see the Governour there, who he hopes will come in ten days. They desire that Satcheechoe may come hither with the Governour."

1722—The Five Nations Surrender All the Conestoga Land.

At a treaty held at Albany in 1722, the Five Nations said, "Brother Onas: those lands about Conestogoe which we now freely surrender to you all the Five Nations have claimed, and it is our desire that the same may be settled with Christians, in token whereof we give you this string of wampum." (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 201).

To this Governour Keith replied, (p. 202) "Brethren: You know very well that the lands about Conestogoe upon the River Sasquehanna, belong to your old friend and Kind Brother William Penn, nevertheless, I do here, in his name, kindly accept of the offer and surrender, which you have now made to me because it will put an end to all other claims and disputes if any should be made hereafter."

1722—Governor Spotswood of Virginia Intends Holding a Treaty at Conestoga.

In Vol.3 of the Col. Rec., p. 202, it is stated that, "The Secretary com-

municated to the Board a Letter he had received from the Governour of this Province, dated Albany the —— instant, informing him that Colonel Spotswood, Governour of Virginia, then with him at Albany, had resloved on his return homeward to hold a treaty with our Indians at Conestogoe, whither our Governour designed to accompany him, and therefore desires the Secretary to give notice by James Le Tort and Smith, the Ganawese Indian, to the Chiefs of the Four Nations of Indians settled upon Sasquehanna River, viz: The Mingoes or Conestogoe Indians; the Shawanese, the Ganawese and the Delawares to be ready to meet Colonel Spotswood and him at Conestogoe in the beginning of October; but James Le Tort and Smith, the Indian not being returned from Albany as the Governour expected, the said direction of the Governour's is at present impracticable. And further this Board is of opinion, that they can not concur in directing our Indians to meet the Governour of Virginia at Conestogoe, until this Government is acquainted with the end and Design of the said meeting."

This desire of Colonel Spotswood to hold a treaty at Conestogoe was not received well by the Council of Pennsylvania (3 Col. Rec., p. 206.) The members in Council differed very much on this matter and they decided to put the decision off for a while, and finally after the Council broke up the Governour found most of the members to be of a different opinion from him on the subject of Spotswood's intended treaty with our Indians. The result was that the Governor sent Spotswood a communication saying that he himself approved of the treaty and wanted the intimacy between the Five Nations and the Susquehannas made stronger but that the Council opposed. The Governor then suggested that the best thing to be done would be that Governor Keith would either wait on Governor Spotswood at Conestoga, where Governor had appointed the Chiefs of the Indians to meet Spotswood, or that he, Governor Keith, would communicate to the Indians whatever Spotswood wished to have done, (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 207).

Spotswood replied that he was very much surprised at the decision of the Council and from the tone of the letter he was very much disappointed. (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 208).

1722—A Message to the Conestogas, Delawares, Shawanese and Ganawese.

The Governor and the Council after the Albany treaty sent to the above named Indians a message and told them that a more firm League of Peace was now made. Keith also told them that he hoped that he and Spotswood would meet them; and that at the Albany treaty the Five Nations agreed the Conestogas, Shawanese and the other eight tribes under them would be kept from harm; and the Five Nations also agreed that neither they or the Conestogas shall harbor any negroes and that all negro slaves found in the woods would be returned to the owners.

1722—The Conestoga and Shawanese Indians Send an Answer to Council.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 215, the reply of the Conestogas and Shawanese is given as follows:

"The Governor not having sufficient time, at the last meeting of the Council to lay before the Board the answer he had received from the Indians at Conestogoe, by James Le

Tort, to the message sent them from himself and the Board, the 11th of October last, now orders the same to be read, and is in these words.

Conestogoe, Oct. 18th, 1722.

The Indian Speech to his Excellency Sir William Keith, Bart., Governour of the Province of Pennsylvania, and his Honorable Council at Philadelphia.

Brethren:

We have heard a relation of the Governour's proceedings at Albany, interpreted by James Le Tort, and are very glad for his safe return, as also of the Governour of Virginia and his proceedings, from which we have a small dread upon us, but we being here had not the opportunity to know what was acted.

The last time the Governour was here, we were in hopes he would clear all misunderstanding.

We are very thankful for the Governour's care in letting us know the law with respect to Virginia, and will take care to acquaint the others and take care to observe as directed by the Treaty, which is engaged on our parts.

We are thankful for the Belt of Wampum sent by the Governour in confirming the law, and acquainting us of the strictness of its ties.

We are troubled in mind of being stopped for fear of some evil consequences to happen thereby. Notwithstanding, we say, as the three Governours agreeing with the Five Nations on it, we are satisfied.

We were in hopes there should have been free liberty to pass and repass, but as it is agreed otherwise, we will observe.

We likewise, the Chiefs of the Conestogoes, Connays, Delawares and Shawannoes, sent this belt of Wampum to the Governour and Council to Confirm our speech, consent and approbation, and thankfully acknowledging the Governour's care for and on our behalf at the Treaty at Albany, and in the Spring our chiefs will pay a visit to your Excellency and Honorable Council at Philadelphia.

An answer also from the Shawana King in answer to that part of the message relating to the fugitive Negroes from Virginia, were read in these words:

Conestogoe, Oct. 18th, 1722.

From the Shawanna King to his Excellency Sir William Keith, Bart., Governour of the Province of Pennsylvania.

These are to acquaint your brother concerning these Negro Slaves belonging to Virginia, now at or amongst the Shawannoes at Oppertus. I will go myself and take assistance where they are not exceeding the number 10 as directed. And as soon in the Spring as the Bark will run, we will lose no time to perform the taking of them according to direction, for now they are abroad a hunting, so it can be done no sooner; besides, there will be Hazard in Seizing them for they are well armed, but we must take them by guile.

I am your Excellency's most humble Servant,

THE SHAWANNA KING.

1722 — Chester County Complains Against the Rum Selling at Conestoga.

In Vol. 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 312, it is set forth that Chester County filed a petition, asking that rum selling among the whites and Conestoga Indians shall be stopped.

1722—The Assembly Take a Great Interest in the Cartlidge Murder.

In Vol. 2 of the Votes of the Assembly, p. 310, the Assembly asked the Governor to find out all the facts concerning this killing near Conestoga, and on p. 213 the Assembly ordered an address to be drawn up and sent to the Governor on that same affair. This address is found, p. 314, and is very strong, setting forth the necessity of condemning to condign punishment those who killed the Indian back of Conestoga. This petition is signed by a great number of inhabitants. The Assembly also demands the re-arrest of the Cartlidges for the killing the Seneca Indian near Conestoga, (See p. 318); and they also vote 50 Pounds to investigate the killing, (See p. 321); and further they grant 100 Pounds to Governor Keith to go to Albany treaty to help to straighten out the affair with the Five Nations, (See p. 327); so that the whole cost of the Governor's party going to Albany and all the costs growing out of the murder at Conestoga reached upwards of 300 Pounds, a very large sum, which shows the great importance that the Governor attached to the unfortunate killing. We must remember that the sum of 300 Pounds is the same that was voted to Lancaster County afterwards to build a Court House and from this we can judge what it meant to vote 300 Pounds to investigate an Indian murder.

1722—Great Hardships Among the Shawana Indians.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 164, we are told that there was a great deal of hardship and suffering among the Shawanese Indians, so much so that they cannot go to the Philadelphia treaty. This time seemed to be a season of hardships much of which is made apparently by Governor Keith's treaty at Conestoga of June 15th and 16th, 1722, (See Col. Rec.,p. 181).

1722—The Shawanese and Connoys Go to Philadelphia to Pay Tribute to the Five Nations.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 187, is set forth that the Connoys and the Shawanese are going from Connoy to the Five Nations to pay tribute and further that they have captured some negro slaves from Virginia and now keep them prisoners among themselves, (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 206). At this time they were living on the Potomac and had negro slaves living among them, (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 211).

1722—Governor Keith Holds a Council With the Ganawese.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 181, it is set forth that in addition to the other tribes of Indians, the Ganawese were living about Susquehanna and Conestoga and that they made a treaty with the rest of the Indians and Governor Kieth.

1772—The Warrant for Springetsbury Manor Signed at Conestoga.

In Vol. 4 of Haz. Reg., p254, it is stated that the warrant for the Manor of Springetsburg, which we have before spoken of was signed and dated at Conestoga.

1722—The Old Parchment Treaty, of 1682 Shown by the Conestoga Indians to Geoveror Keith.

Gordon in his History of Pennsylvania, p. 603 says that in 1722 at the Treaty held at Conestoga by Governor Keith, that the Indians there showed him the original parchment

and treaty which William Penn had signed and delivered to them forty years before, that is the Great Treaty of 1682.

1723—The Conestogas Say They Will Never Forget William Penn.

In one of the articles last cited we observed that the Conestogas and Shawanese sent messages to the Government, and in them they made the statement that they will not forget William Penn, since he held the great treaty with them. I cite this simply because it seems to prove that they were present at the great traty.

1723—The Suquehanna Indian Tribes Send a Message to Philadelphia by Delegates

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 216, the Governor makes known to the Council certain communications he has had from the Indians on the Susquehanna and Conestoga. The account is set forth as follows:

"Then he communicated to the Board the speech of Whiwhinjac, King of the Ganawese Indians delivered to the Governor (when there was not a sufficient number of counsellors to make a Quorum) by Civility, in the name of the said Whiwhinjac, and of his and all the other three nations of Indians upon Susquehanna, viz: the Conestogoes, Delawares and Shawanese, at the Court House, May the 18th, and rendered English by Ezekiel Harlan, Interpreter,which was read and is as follows:

They rejoice that there is a Governor here from England that loves the Indians as William Penn did.

They remembered that William Penn did not approve of the methods of treating the Indians as Children, or Brethren by joining Hands, for in all these cases, accidents may happen to break or weaken the tyes of Friendship. But William Penn said, we must all be one half Indian and the other half English, being as one flesh and one blood under one Head.

William Penn often spoke to them and desired the Indians might heark to what he said, and after three generations were passed, and the People gone who heard these words, he desired that the writing which he left with them might be read to the fourth generation that they might know it was the sense of the words of their grandfathers.

William Penn knew the Indians to be a discerning people, that had eyes to see afar off, and ears to hearken unto and discover any approaching danger, and he ever looked upon them as his brethren.

William Penn told them that he perceived that the Indians delighted too much in going to war, but he advised them to peace, for if they went abroad to war they thereby provoke other Nations to come and destroy them.

We would not in that case give them countenance or any assistance, but if they lived at home in peace and minded their hunting he would not only take care of their goods and families to protect them but would also furnish them with powder and lead to defend themselves against those who might come to war upon them.

It was agreed both by William Penn and the Indians, that if it should happen at any time that either of them did forget the strict League of Friendship then made between them, the party who faithfully kept and remembered the Covenant chain should take the other, who had forgot, gently as it were by the shoulder and put him in mind of it again.

As the Governor went last year to Albany to make a firm peace with the Five Nations, and to bury the blood

of an Indian that had been spilt by the English, Whiwhinjac, the Ganawese King, here present, is coming in the name of all the four Nations of Indians, upon Sasquehanna, viz: The Ganawese, Shawannoes, Conestogoes and Delawares, to desire that the same blood may not be buried but washed away as it were by a swift running stream of water never more to be seen or heard of again, and they further desire the Governor to believe that as they are one flesh with the English, they look upon themselves to be equally concerned with them in accidents of that Nature.

They desire the Government may keep this treaty in remembrance, so as that no clouds of any kind may arise to obscure it, but that it may remain bright and lasting as the Sun, and they desire that the Settlers and young men near Conestogoe and their other towns, may be directed to treat them with kindness and respect like Brethren.

They also desire that the English may not be suffered to straiten or pinch the Ganawese or Shawannoes to make them remove further off, but to consider them as Brethren, for they have heard some words to this purpose which they do not care to mention.

They are glad to find the English continue to send their young men with Goods amongst them, and they acknowledge that the Traders are now very civil and kind to them, whereby they eat their victuals without fear and have a true relish of them.

The Shawannoes, Ganawese, Conestogoes and Delawares shall never forget the words of William Penn, but that since that treaty was made between them and him, they do not find that we have been so careful to come as often to renew it with the Conestogoe, as they have been to come to us at Philadelphia.

They then said Indians both old and young do return the Governour their hearty thanks for his care last year in sending Corn and Biscuit to their families when they wanted it very much.

Having finished what they had to say, Whiwhinjac, in the name and on behalf of all the Indians makes a present to the Governour of 200 Skins.

The young men of the Ganaway town, in behalf, of all their people say by way of complaint, that they have suffered many grievances.

Then the Governour's answer to the Indians, which he was about to deliver, was read and approved.

It was then considered by the Board what presents should be returned to the Indians, and agreed to be as follows: A Barrel of Powder, twelve gallons of rum, 300 lb. of Biscuit, one groce of pipes, 20 lb of Tobacco, 15 Stroud Match Coats, 15 Blankets, 5 pair of shoes and buckles, 5 pair of stockings, 150 lb of lead and meat to the value of twenty shillings."

1723—Upper Shawanese Send Another Message to Phialdelphia

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 219, there is mentioned a letter from Jas. Mitchell, Justice of the Peace, directed to the Governor, dated Donegal, April 25th, 1723, containing an address from Ocowellos' King of the Upper Shawanese, to which the Board agreed to make the following answer:

"In answer to the Message from the Upper Shawanese on Sasquehannah, mentioning their past visits,and another shortly intended to the Governor of Canada, whom they think fitt to call their father. The Governour and Council say, that William Penn's people in this country, are by treaties united to all the Indians as

in one body; but the French and English are two distinct people, as the long wars that have been between the English and them fully show. Now no Indians that are united with us can be joined to them, because that would divide the same body into two parts and utterly destroy it.

The Governour and Council therefore, can not agree that any of our Brethren should be joined in League to any other Nation or People than to the subjects of our great King George who is the head of all the English and their Brethren. If these Indians are united to us, we shall desire their company and that they may live with us as Brethren in peace and love as all our other Brethren have hitherto done and ever must do with us.

The Governour at request send them Five Gallons of Rum to clear their hearts at hearing of these his words, and one Strowd Match Coat to confirm them.

The Board agreed to meet the Indians at the Court Hause the same afternoon and accordingly,

P. M. PRESENT:

The Honourable the Governour and same members as in the afternoon, sundry gentlemen and many other people.

Whiwhinjac, Civility, sundry chiefs and other Indians.

Ezekiel Harlan and Indian Smith, Interpreters.

The Governour answered Whihinjac's speech of the 18th instant, as follows:

Brethren: You know that I came from William Penn to fulfill his kind words to the Indians, and to be as a father to them now, since he is gone.

It is also the orders and Command of the Great King George my Master, that the English and the Indians should live together as Brethren in one family.

If any of us therefore happen to be sick or in want of food the other should help him, and when any loss or misfortune befalls either the English or the Indians, the other is sorry and in grief for it.

You say William Penn knew you to be a discerning people that could hear and see afar off, and I say you know the English to be a faithful good people who always keep their treaties and Leagues punctually with the Indians and you also know that our laws make no distinction between our people and yours.

We being thus linked together in one Family ,we ought always but to have one Council and so be of one mind, and therefore we can not suffer one half to go to War while the other remains at home in Peace.

When any people are divided in their Councils and opinions, they grow weak and soon become a prey to their enemies.

In such cases you know it is the constant practice amongst your people to consult together in Council until the old and wise men overcome and convince the weaker heads of the young and foolish.

Just so ought you to do with us, because we are altogether one people; and then the family become strong in love, Peace and Friendship to each other.

Remember that this is the bright chain of Love and Friendship wherewith William Penn bound your people and his together, nevermore to be separated. By this Chain Philadelphia is joined to Conestogoe, and all the Indian towns upon Susquehannah.

By laying our hands as it were on this chain, we can safely travel by night or by day through all your towns, and into the woods, and in like manner your people are hereby conducted safely through all our settlements back again to us at Philadelphia.

You must know and remember that it is my proper office and business as Governour of the whole countrey to keep this chain perfectly clean and free from the least speck of rust.

You therefore Whiwhinjac, King of the Ganawese who have now spoke to me in the name and on behalf of the four Nations of Indians upon Susquehannah must remember that I am now going to say and tell the other chiefs of these nations that I expect you and they being frequently in Council together with your old and wise men will be exceedingly careful to keep the End of the Chain towards your own settlements alwoys bright and clean, and you may assure all your people that as often as any of them have occasion to come down to visit their Brethren the English here, they shall not find the least spot on this end of the chain fastened here, which is always in my view and shall be my particular care.

The dead body of our Indian brother whom you mention was covered by me at Albany in the sight of all the Chiefs of the Five Nations and to the satisfaction of the kindred; nevertheless I take it very kindly that you now desire the blood may be washed away under the ground never more to be seen or heard of. This shows that you are truly onr Brethren, and hereupon I embrace and as it were take into my arms you and all your people.

I will take care that no English Settlements shall hereafter be made too near your towns to disturb you, so that the Shawanoes and Ganawese, may remain in peace where they now are, for we are well pleased with them as neighbors and do not desire to see them remove further from us. But as I have always been ready to hear your complaints and take care of you as my own children, so I must also do by the English; wherefore I desire you will be mindful to treat them like Brethren of the same Family and do not suffer your young people with their dogs and arrows to hunt and kill their Creatures.

I give you these things here before you to confirm what I have said, viz: the presents before mentioned.

I have also ordered some provisions and gallons of rum to help you back to your families, and I heartily wish you a good journey home to Conestoga, which was done:—

Civility, the Intrepreter, told the Governour he had something to say, which was,—

The Indians well approve of all the Governour has said except where he told them that the English Law made no difference between the English and the Indians, for they should not like upon an Indian committing a fault, that he should be imprisoned, as they had seen some Englishmen were.

To which the Governour answered.

That they misapprehended the meaning, which was, that if any Englishman did injury to an Indian he should suffer the same punishment as if he had done it to an Englishman. But if an Indian committed robbery or such like crime against the English, he would acquaint their chief with it and from him expect satisfaction.

Then Civility told the Governour that they looked upon it as a great hardship for them to be confined from hunting on the other side of Potowmick, for that in their neighboring woods was but little game.

To which the Governour answered:

That the Five Nations by their treaty with the Governour of Virginia, had agreed not only to forbear themselves but also to restrain the

Susquehanna Indians from hunting there, for that he (Civility) knew that some of the Five Nations under pretence of hunting had gone there formerly and murdered and plundered some of the English, which was the cause of making that severe article in the treaty.

Then Civility said, that Whihinjac and the rest proposed to proceed to Annapolis, to renew their League of Friendship with the Governour there as he has done here, and they thought proper to acquaint him thereof.

To which the Governour answered: That the people of Maryland and Pennsylvania were very good friends and he was contented they should go, but that the Indians should consider that as they were inhabitants of Pennsylvania, they were immediately subjects of the Governour and none other."

1723 — First Cause Inducing the Shawanese to Move to Ohio.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 329 there is a message dated 1732 from the Shawanese to our Governor. In it they say that "about nine years ago (which would be 1723) the Five Nations told us that we do not well to settle there (at Pequea) for there was a Great noise in the Great House and in three years we should know what they had to say." This message further says that the Five Nations threatened the Shawanese that if they would not obey they would put petticoats upon them. So it would appear from this that the Five Nations first frightened the Shawanese to move away from Lancaster County.

1723—The Indians On the Susquehanna Agree Not to Hurt the Indians in the South.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec. p. 221, it is set forth that Captain Civility told the Governor that he would do what he could to restrain the Five Nations from going South under the pretenses of hunting, for they really go South to murder.

1723—The Indian Nations Now Living on Susquehanna River.

In Mombert's History of Lancaster county, p. 24, he refers to this conference held in 1723, in which Whiwhinjac, the Ganawese chief made the speech and he calls our attention to the fact that this Ganawese chief mentions the four Nations living on the Susquehanna, viz: the Conestogas, Shawanese, Ganawese and Delawares.

1726—The Walking Purchase Again Causes Trouble.

In Vol. 2 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 481, under the date of 1726, it is stated the Indians claim they bought back out of the walking purchases all the land extending one mile on each side of the West Branch of the Brandywine creek, from the said branch to the source of the said creek. I put this in under Lancaster County Indian matter because the West Branch of the Brandywine practically touches Lancaster county.

1727—The Conestoga Chiefs Come to Philadelphia.

In Vol. 3 of the ol. Rec., p. 271, a very interesting visit of the Chiefs of the Five Nations and also Indians from Conestoga to the Government is given. It is set forth as follows:

"At a Council held at Philadelphia, July 3d, 1727.

PRESENT:

The Honourable PATRICK GORDON, Esqr., Lieut. Governor.
James Logan, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, William Fishbourn, Evan Owen, Clement Plumstead, Esqrs.

Present also, several Chiefs of the Five Nations, but most of them of the Nation of the Cayoogoes, viz:

Connosoora, Cagongsaniyong, Cantaraghengrat, Tannewhannegah, Cannawtoe, Seelowacks, Achyiawanra, Onaquadeghoa, etc., with Civility and Satcheetchoe of Conestogoe and divers of the Ganawese, etc.

These, with divers other Indians, arriving from the Five Nations and Sasquehannah four days agoe, desired a meeting with the Governour as on this day. The Governour, to give them an opportunity summoned the Council for that purpose, who being mett, and these Indians seated,

The Governour told them by Mrs. M. Montour, a French woman, who had lived long among these People, and is now interpretess, that he was glad to see them all well after so long a journey, and was now ready with his council to receive what they have to say.

Tannewhannegah spoke, and by Montour the Interpretess said, that the Chiefs of all their Five Nations being mett together in one of their towns they held a great Council, and that these who are now present came in the behalf and by the advice of all the rest, that they understood the Governour of this province had divers times sent for them to come hither, and that they were now accordingly come by the advice of all their Brethren to know the Governour's pleasure.

That the first Governour of this place, Onash, (that is Goverour Penn,) when he first arrived here, sent to them to desire them to sell land to him, that they answered they would not sell it them, but they might do it in time to come, that being several times sent for, they were now come to hear what the Governour had to offer.

That when the Governour was at Albany he had spoke to them to this Purpose. Well, my Brethren you have gained the victory; you have overcome the People and their lands are yours. We shall buy them of you. How many commanders are there amongst you, and being told there were forty he said then if you come down to me I will give each of these Comanders a suit of Cloaths such as I wear. They say that a former Governour proposed to some of their Nation, as they were passing by Conestogoe, to go to War against their enemies, that he would buy that land at Tsanandowa, for that he had a mind to settle some of his people there, (as being in his road), who would supply them with necessaries in their Journey; that they answered they were then going to war and could not attend affairs of land, but at their return they would lay the matter before their chiefs, who would give their answer, and now they are come to hear what the Governour has to offer.

They add that the said Governour, when he was at Conestogoe, desired those warriors to speak to the chiefs about the Purchase of that land; that having no Wampum to send by them as a token of the Message, he gave the Warriors a cask of powder with some shott, a piece of red Strowds and some duffels, that the Warriors delivered their message to the Chiefs, who have now sent to lett the Governour know they are willing to proceed to a sale; and with this Speech they present two very small bundles of Deer Skins for a confirmation.

The Governour told them that he would answer them in the morning to all they had said, and they departed.

JULY 4TH.

The Council and the Indians being mett according to Appointment, the Governour by the same Interpretess, in answer to what the Indians said yesterday spoke to them as follows, viz:

The Governours of the Province, who have all acted here in the Place of William Penn, the first and Great Governour of the same, have always been pleased with every opportunity of cultivating and improving a friendship with the Five Nations, and the present Governour and his Council take their visit very kindly at this time, but they have been misinformed when they supposed the Governour had sent for them; the Journey is very long and he would not have putt them to so much trouble, or if he had seen occasion for it, he would according to custom have sent some Messenger with a token, by which the Five Nations might have been assured of the truth of the Message.

Governour Penn, (that is Onash,) when he first came into this Province took all the Indians of it by the hand; he embraced them as his friends and Brethren, and made a firm League of Friendship with them, he bound it as with a chain that was never to be broken; he took none of their lands without purchasing and paying for them, and knowing the Five Nations claimed the lands on Sasquehannah, he engaged Colonell Dungan, Governour of New York, about forty years since to purchase their right in his behalf, which Colonell Dungan did, and we have deeds from him for all those Lands.

The Five Nations were so sensible of this that they never since claimed these Lands, though we have many visits from them hither for brighten the chain of Friendship. And Five years since, when Sir William Keith and four gentlemen of the Council were at Albany, at a general meeting of all the Five Nations their Chiefs of themselves confirmed the former grant, and absolutely released all pretentions to these Lands; our records shew this, and these people who are now here cannot but be sensible of it.

When a former Governour of this place, with his Council, made a present at Conestogoe to some of the Five Nations then passing that way, it was not with any view to purchase the lands at Tsanandowa. The Governour thanks them very heartily for this offer to sell these lands, if they are not yet purchased, but he can not treat about them at present. William Penn's son, who was born in this countrey is expected over here, and then he may treat with them if he think it proper. In the mean time, as these lands lie next to our settlements, though at present at a great distance, we shall take this offer as a proof of their resolution to keep them for him.

This is what the Governour has to say about the lands, but as they are come a long journey to visit us, he gives them as our Friends and Brethren these goods now laid before them desiring that of the five guns one may be given to the chief of each of the Five Nations, with three pounds of powder and as much lead and the rest may be divided as they shall think proper. And we have also provided Bread, Cheese, Rum, Pipes and Tobacco, for their support in their return.

The Governour doubts not but that they are fully convinced of our Friendship and regard to them, and that they will consider their reception here as a proof of it. The Governour recommends to them to notify the Chiefs of the Five Nations what passes between us, that it may be kept in perpetual remembrance.

The Goods which were last night ordered for them are,

5 fine Guns,
15 Strowd Match Coats,
10 Blankets,
10 Duffel Matchcoats,
12 Shirts,
50 lbs. of Powder,

100 lbs. of Lead,
2 dozen Knives.

Ordered further:

To the Intrepretess 1 Stroud, 1 Shirt, 1 Matchcoat.

To her husband, Carondawana, 1 Strowd and another to her Niece.

To Civility, 1 Strowd, 1 fine Shirt and 1 pair of Stockings.

Also, 1 cwt. of Bisket, 10 Gallons of Rum, with Cheese, Tobacco and Pipes, for their journey.

After the said Indians had received their presents and were parted, they again applied desiring an opportunity of offering something further and the Governour appointing the same afternoon, they mett and presenting six very small bundles of Deer Skins, proceeded to say:

That they are come hither to see the Governour in his Government, and are very well pleased with the opportunity given them, and with the Governour's discourse this morning, concerning the covenant chain and the Friendship that has long subsisted between them, and it is this they desire may be kept bright and shining to the Sun, and that neither rain nor damps nor any rust may effect it to deprive it of its lustre; and that the Governour and his people and they and their people, their children and our children may ever continue as they have hitherto been, one Body, one Heart and one Blood to all generations.

They are, (they say) but of one Nation, but they speak in behalf of all the Five Nations and by authority from them all. All humane things are uncertain, and they know not what may befall them, or into what misfortunes they may be involved, if they hear any news relating to us like Brethren they will inform us of it; and if we hear any ill news relating to them they desire also to be informed of it, for when they meet with any misfortune and troubles they will apply to us and acquaint us with them, as their Friends and Brethren.

They say that there are come many sorts of traders among them, both Indians and English, who all cheat them, and though they get their skins they give them very little in pay. They have so little for them, they cannot live, and can scarce procure Powder and Shott to hunt with and gett more. Those traders bring but little of these, but instead of them they bring rum, which they sell very dear, at least three or four times what it is worth, and of this they complain.

They take notice that both the French and English are raising fortifications in their country and in their neighborhood, and that great numbers of people are sent thither, the meaning of which they do not very well conceive; but they fear some ill consequences from it, and make it now known to us as their Brethren.

They desire there may be no settlements made upon Sasquehannah higher than Pextan, and that none of the settlers thereabouts be suffered to sell or keep any rum there, for that being the road which their people go out to war, they are apprehensive of mischief if they meet with liquor in these parts. They desire also for the same reasons, that none of the traders be allowed to carry any rum to the remoter parts where James LeTort trades, (that is Allegheny on the branches of Ohio). And this they desire may be taken notice of, as the mind of the Chiefs of all the Five Nations for it is all those Nations that now spek by them to all our People.

The Governour received their present kindly thanked them for that they had said, and that they might have

something in return for their last present, it was ordered that the Quantity of Powder should be increased to a hundred pounds, and instead of 100 lbs. they should have a hundred Barrs of Lead.

The Governour told them he would answer what they had last said in the morning, upon which after a Friendly entertainment by the Goverour and Council they parted."

This answer which the Governor promised to give them he gave on the 5th of July and among other things he told them that everything is peaceful and harmonious now and that there is no bad news and no danger, but that there will likely be war in England; that the Indian traders must be watched because they try to sell high and buy cheap; that we are trying to do all we can to stop the rum trade and that we are not allowing any settlements to be made above Paxton (now Hains') and he says the Indians ought to be very careful not to go past Susquehanna above the mountains. He then told them as they are preparing to go the Government had provided them powder and lead for hunting and some rum and provisions.

1727—The Chiefs of the Five Nations Coming from Philadelphia to Conestoga Commit Depredations.

In Vol. 1 of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 205 the following letter is given:

CALN, ye 3d of ye 9ber, 1727.

May it Please ye Governour,

These may certify that on the 16th day of July last, 1727, Richard Thomas of the Township of Whiteland, came before me and did declare on his sollem affirmation, that ye King of ye Five Nations of Indians having been at Philadelphia to treat with the Governour, and did on their return with his Company take up their lodging near to his house where they resided about four days and nights together, the nearest neighbors contributing to their necessitys what they could ye neighbors being few and poor could not supply them to ye full, at which place they killed one of his cows, which he valued at four pounds, and desired of me a warrant to apprehend ye said Indians, but I being informed that they had a letter of credit from ye Governour to all persons to supply them with what they wanted, (and they being gone from the said Richard Thomas' two days), I thought it most proper not to send a hue and cry after them; but to write to John Wright and Tobias Hendricks to treat with them about it in an amicable way, and to get satisfaction for the party injured; but they having passed down Suskehanna before my letters came to hand, they missed of the opportunity. However about 3 days since ye said Richard Thomas came again to me and informed me that he had been with the Governour to lay his case before him, in order to meet with relief, but (as he says) ye Governour would give no orders about it until he had received some information from me to set ye case in a true light, in order to which he on ye second day of this instant, November, 1727, brought two of his near neighbors, namely John Straightfellow and Henry Atherton, who according to ye laws and customs of this province, did attest, and solemnly declare by ye said cow killed, as above to be well worth four pounds; and I being sensible of the truth of ye above narration, shall conclude, who am ye Governour's most hearty friend and servant. To Command,

GEORGE ASTON."

1727—The Killing of Thomas Wright Near Conestoga.

As we have said above Wright was killed during the year 1727 and the correct report of it is found in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec. p. 285, where it is stated, "That Mr. Logan acquainted the Board, that last night he received a letter from John Wright, Esqr., one of the Justices of the Peace of Chester Co., giving an account that one Thomas Wright was killed by some Indians at Snaketown, forty miles above Conestogoe, which letter together with the depositions of John Wilkins, Esther Burt and Mary Wright, and an inquisition taken upon the dead body were all laid before the Board.

The said Depositions being read, sett forth, that on Monday, the Eleventh of this Instant, September, several Indians, together with one John an Indian Trader, and the said Thomas Wright, were drinking near the house of the said Burt, who was singing and dancing with the Indians after their manner, that some dispute arising between one of the Indians, and the said Wright, Burt bid Wright knock down the Indian, whereupon Wright laid hold of the Indian but did not beat him, that afterwards Burt struck the Indian several blows with his first, that the said Wright and Burt afterwards retired into the house where the Indians followed them and broke open the door, that while Wright was endeavoring to pacify them Burt called out for his Gun and continued to provoke them more and more, that hereupon the said Wright fled to the henhouse to hide himself whither the Indians pursued him and the next morning he was found there dead. The Inquisition on the body setts forth, that the said Wright came to his death by several blows on his head, neck and temples,which the Jurors say, they believe, were given by the Indians.

Jonas Davenport, who brought this account, and was one of the Inquest, being called in and examined says, that he was informed by credible people living near the place where the murder was committed, that John Burt sent for rum to the Indians which they drank, and that he afterwards sent for more, that a dispute arising between Burt and the Indians, the said Burt filled his fists with his own Dung and threw it among the Indians; that it is generally believed that if Burt had not provoked and abused them to so high a degree the matter might be made up amicably, and that though it is very certain the Indians killed Thomas Wright yet that the said Burt was the principal occasion of it. Being likewise examined of what Nation these Indians are, says that they are of the Munscoes Indians, who live on an eastern branch of the Susquehannah.

The members of the Board observed that this was the first accident of the kind they had ever heard of in this Province since its first settlement; and that though the Indians, who committed the fact, had received very provocations, yet as a subject had lost its life, it is absolutely necessary the Government should take Notice of and move in it for notwithstanding it will be difficult, as the fact was circumstanced to call these Indians regularly to an account, yet some proper measures ought to be taken to make the Indians in general sensible of the Outrageousness of the action, and to oblige them to make satisfaction as the nature of the case will admit of. It was hereupon further observed that this Government had been formerly happy above most of our neighbors, in preserving a good understanding and an uninterrupted Friendship with

all our Indians, which was affected by the just and obliging measures our late proprietor first took with them, by which he had greatly endeared them to himeslf and to this Goverrment, and the same methods had been for years constantly continued by treaties with them, held at a small expense, for that the whole charge, one year with another had not exceeded the allowance of Fifty Pounds per annum, which the Assemblies from time to time had formerly granted, but that now for six years past, viz: the five last years of the late administration, and one year since the present Governour's arrival we have had no manner of treaty with our own Indians, upon which they think themselves slighted and have complained of it on divers occasions; that the late Assembly also, being sensible of this, by their Speaker accompanied by the whole House, when the last bills were passed, had signified to the Governour that the House was desirous a visit should be paid to the Indians as usual, and it was hoped when the season of the year would admit of it, care would be taken to do it, for which the ensuing House would undoubtedly make a suitable provision, since the late one of their own motion thought fit to make such an application."

1727—A Treaty With the Conestogas to Be Held; No Treaty During Six Years.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 286, it will be noticed that the account of the death of Thomas Wright sets forth that there has been no treaty with the Indians for over six years and that such a treaty ought now to be had, because the troubles would not occur so frequently if there were such Treaties.

1728—A Report that the Delawares are Ordered to Fight the English.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., pp. 295 and 296, an account is given, in which it is stated that James Letort came to inform the Governor that he was lately come from a town on the upper parts of the Susquehanna River and that he heard while there that the Five Nations had ordered the Delaware Indians, who used to live in what is now Lancaster Co., but who moved west, to fall upon the English. This report afterwards turned out to be untrue.

1728—A Council Held with the Delaware Indians.

The King of the Delwares and some Shawanese visited the Council on the 4th day of June 1728, which may be seen in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 316. The Governor told them that he was glad to see them and that he had proposed to meet them all at Conestoga, last Spring, but he heard that Civility and some other Indians had gone away and then he postponed the visit. He told them that ten days ago he did meet some tribes at Conestoga. He put them in mind of the fact that they had likely heard that some Shawanese about twenty days ago came into these parts of the State and fell on some of our inhabitants, and that the matter must be attended to.

1728—The Delaware Indians Say the Whites Are Settled on Lands They Never Paid For

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec, p. 319, the old Delaware King Allummapees made a speech to James Logan, in which he said, He was grown old and was troubled to see the Christians settle on lands that the Indians had never been paid for, they had settled on his land, for which he had never received anything.

That he is now an old man and must soon die, that his children may wonder to see all their father's lands gone from them, without his receiving anything for them that the Christians now make their settlements very near them, and they shall have no place of their own left to live on.

That this may occasion a difference between their children and us hereafter, and he would willingly prevent any misunderstanding that may happen.

1728—James Logan Shows the Indians That We Do Own the Susquehanna Lands

In the same book last cited, at p. 320, James Logan made the following reply about the land question on the Susquehanna:

"That he had not otherwise been concerned to the lands of this Province, than as he was intrusted with other Commissioners by the Proprietor to manage his affairs of property in his absence. That their great Friend, William Penn, had made it his constant rule never to suffer any lands to be settled by any of his people, until they were first duly purchased by the Indians, and his Commissioners, who acted for him in his absence, has as carefully used the same method, they never agreed to the settlement of any lands till the Indians were duly satisfied for them. But he said, he judged it proper in his audience to take notice of our great unhappiness, in having too many amongst us who take a delight in disturbing the Peace of the Publick by any means in their power, and amongst other methods they had endeavored even to beget an uneasiness in the Indians, but how little reason there was for any complaint against him, or the Commissioners, he should make appear.

He said, that Sassoonan now present, with divers others of the Indian Chiefs, about ten years since, having a notion that they had not been fully paid for their Lands, came to Philadelphia to demand what was due to them, that the business was heard in Council, and he then produced to those Indians a great number of deeds, by which their ancestors had fully conveyed, and were as fully paid for all their lands from Duck Creek to near the Forks of the Delaware, and that the Indians were then entirely satisfied with what had been shewn to them and the Commisioners to put an end to all further claims, or demands of that kind, in consideration of their Journey and trouble, made them a present in the Proprietor's name and behalf, upon which they agreed to sign an absolute release for all those Lands, and of all demands whatsoever upon account of the said purchase, and exhibiting the said instrument of release, desired it might be read, which was done."

He then shows the Indians the very deeds they had signed for these lands, viz: all the land between the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, dated the 17th of September, 1718. This tract included the tracts North of Lancaster County or what is now Lancaster County.

1728—The Indians Complain of the Germans Settling Among Them.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 322, one of the Indian Chiefs said that he could not believe that the Christians had settled on those lands until he saw it with his own eyes. The lands referrred to here are about Tulpyhocken in Montgomery County, which lands were taken up by a Colony of Mennonites who came over from New York; and James Logan gave them the following explanation:

"That he was sensible the Palatines were settled there, but as he had observed before, it was without the consent or knowledge of any of the Commissioners, and how they came hither he should now make this audience sensible. He said, that when he left his house this morning he did not expect this affair would be now mentioned, but hearing after he came abroad that it was intended, being unable himself to walk, he had sent for one paper, which he could easily direct to, that if he could have gone himself among his papers, he could have produced some letters and affidavits that would more fully explain the matter, but he hoped that what he had there would be sufficient to make it clearly understood. It was a petition from those Palatines themselves, directed to the late Governour Sir William Keith and the Council, all wrote in the hand of Patrick Baird, who was then the Secretary to the Governour and Clerk of the Council, and who it was that drew it would appear by its stile."

1728—Captain Civility of Conestoga Sends a Letter to Council.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec, p. 333, after the minutes of Council were read it is stated that, "The Governor laid before the Board a letter he had received from Captain Civility, acquainting him that several of the Delaware, Shawanese and Ganawese Indians, were come to Conestogoe and had brought many skins with them for a present to the Governour; that they proposed to fulfill their promise of coming to Philadelphia this Fall, but the death of his, Civility's child had so much afflicted him that he could not come with them, and therefore they had all resolved to defer their visit til next Spring, at which time they would surely come to the Governour at Philadelphia.' '

1728—The Shawanese Kill Two Conestogas Near Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec, p. 302, "The Governour acquainted the Board that a letter from Mr. Wright at Conestogoe was lately communicated to him, giving an account of a differences, which might in end affect the peace of the Province. His Honour likewise said he had received a petition, signed by a great many of the inhabitants in the back parts of quarrel that was like to ensue between the Indians of these parts and the Shawanese, these last having killed two of the Conestogoe Indians, that they seemed prepared for war, and that therefore his presence was desired as necessary to settle those difference, which might in end affect the peace of the Province. His Honour likewise said he had received a petition signed by a great many of the inhabitants in the back parts of this country, setting forth that they are under some apprehensions of being attacked by the Indians, that many families have left their habitations through fear of them, and praying that proper measures might be taken for their safety.

And therefore the Governour now moved to the Board that since it is of great importance to compose those differences speedily, which would oblige him to take a journey to Conestogoe, it would be requisite that the Assembly should meet as soon as possible, which the Board from the consideration of what the Governour had said readily agreed to, and the 14th Currt. being proposed for the time of their meeting was approved, it is therefore ORDERED that writts be forthwith issued for that purpose."

1728—The Shawanese Have Now Started to Move.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec, p. 309, it is stated that the Shawanese are

now near Durham's Iron Works at Pechoquealin. This place is in Bucks county, (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 329) and from this place the Shawanese came armed and painted for war, but not in a large number and through their foolishness 400 people gathered together and two were killed, (See 3 Col. Rec., p. 317).

1728—The Conestogas Now Want to Go to War Against the Shawanese.

The Conestogas and Shawanese now are growing to be enemies of each other and this is one of the causes which induced the Shawanese to leave for the West, as we shall see they did about this time. The situation is set forth by John Wright of Hempfield now Columbia, in a letter to James Logan, found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 213. The letter is as follows:

"Hempfield 2, 3 mo, 1728.

My fd. James Logan:

About three weeks I gave thee a few lines with an account of the Indians returned from Warr, since which time there has happened (as we are informed) a murder to be committeed by two of the Shawny Indians, upon a man and a woman of the Conestogoe Indians and they demanding two murderers to be given up; the Shawanys sent them with some of their own people, who called at Per Shurtaes, and he giving them rum, eather by persuasion or their own inclination let the murderers make their escape, which the Conestogoe Indians resent so highly, that (as it is reported) they threaten to cut off the whole nation of the Shawnys. Yesterday there came 17 or 18 of the young men commanded by Tilehausey, all Conestogoe Indians, painted for the Warr, all armed; we enquired which way they ware going they would not tell us, but said, they or some of them were going out to Warr, and that there was some Canoys to go with them. But we hearing the above report are apt to think that they are going against the Shawnys. It is all our opinions that the Governour's presence pretty speedily is absolutely necessary at Conestogoe, to settle affairs among the Indians, they seeming at present to be in a distracted manner or condition, and the hardness of the winter sweeping away their corne, they will be obliged to go a summer hunting sooner than usual, that if the Governour come not soon he will miss of them. If you please acquaint the Governour with the above contents, with my hearty sarviss to him and kind love to theyself and family from thy real friend JNO. WRIGHT."

1728—The Shawanese Now Begin to Annoy the Other Indian Tribes.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 216, there is a letter set forth from James Le Tort, stating the action of the Shawanese as follows:

Catawasse, May ye 12, 1728.

We always thought that the Governour knew nothing of the fight between the Shawaynos and the White People. We desire the Governour to warn the back inhabitants not to be so ready to attack the Indians, as we are doubtful they were in that unhappy accident and we will use all endeavors to hinder any such like proceeding on the part of the Indians. We remember very well the League between William Penn and the Indians, which was, that the Indians and white people were one, and hopes that his brother, the present Governour, is of the same mind, and that the Friendship was to continue for three Generations; and if the Indians hurt the English it is the same as if they hurt themselves; as to the Governour's desire of meeting him, we

intend as soon as the Chiefs of the Five Nations come to meet the Governour, we will come with them, but if they come not before hereafter, we will go to Philadelphia to wait on the Governour. We have heard that William Penn's son has come to Philadelphia, which we are very glad of.

JAMES LE TORT."

1728—A New Proof That the Shawanese Reached Pennsylvania After the Coming of Penn.

It will be remembered that in prior items we adopted the view of Conyngham, who says the Shawanese came to Pennsylvania in 1678 and in 1698, but in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 223 in a message from the Council the Shawanese are reminded that, "William Penn made a firm peace and league of Friendship with all the Indians, and the chain from time to time has been brightened. The Shawanese were not then in this Country; they came long afterwards and desired leave of the Conestogoe Indians and William Penn to settle in this Country. Leave was granted them and they promised to live peaceably." The letter then sets forth that the Governour is now about to set out for a treaty. One page 224 the Shawanese admit that they were very foolish and if they had not been, the killing which is above referred to would not have happened.

It is further stated at p. 228 of the same book that the Shawanese came to us as strangers about thirty years ago.

1728 — Governour Gordon Places Guardians Over the Shawanese.

In Vol. 1 of th Penna. Archives, p. 228 it is found necessary to give Henry Smith and John Petty powder to hold the Indians somewhat in check about the Susquehanna River. The Governour gives them their instructions as follows:

Messrs. HENRY SMITH, JOHN PETTY.

As business now calls you towards Susquehannah, I desire you, without fail, if you can, to see my friends, Allummapees, Opekassed, Shachalawlin, and Shakellamy, give my kind love to them, as to my Brethren, and let them know that I designed about this time to make a visit to some of our neighboring Governours, if according to their promise they had come down hither last month. Lett them know I wait for them and am concerned I hear nothing of them. I hope, however, I shall now see them in a few days.

Inquire also after the Shawanah Indians, and if you can see Kahowatchy, know of him, why his friends left Pechoquelin, after they had promised to meet me at Durham Ironworks.

Tell all those four first named Indians that I know they have clean hearts without spott, and I expect from them, when they come, such an account of all their affairs as one brother gives another, they see we treat them as we do one amongst ourselves, without any difference, we are one people, and they must in all respects treat us with the Friendship, Truth and Justice that we use to them. We all expect this of them as our Brethren.

Tell Shalkallamy particularly, that as he is set over the Shawanah Indians, he can give a good account of them, they came to us only as strangers, about 30 years agoe, they desired leave of this Government to settle amongst us as strangers, and the Conestogoe Indians became security for their behavior. They are also under the protection of the Five Nations, who have sett Shakallamy over them. He is a good man, and I hope will give a good account of them.

Give my kind love also to Carundowna and his Wife, and speak to them to the same purpose. Lett him know I expect of him, that as he is a great Captain, he will take care that all the people about him shall shew themselves good men and true hearted, as he is himself, and that I hope to see him at the Treaty. Tell him Jonah Davenport never complained of him, and therefore there was no occasion for his letter on that head.

If there be any mischief done in those parts, I expect they will seize the persons who are guilty of it, that they may be punished and Justice may be done on every side, for our people are very numerous and they will not be abused. I wil not suffer any injury to be done to the Indians without punishing the offenders, and they must do the same Justice on their parts, for then we shall truly be as one People.

These are my words, which I send thus written, sealed with a Publick seal and signed under my hand, to which my friends will give full credit. Dated at Philadelphia, the first day of September, Anno Dom. 1728."

1728—The Governor Sends Word to Captain Civility at Conestoga.

Gordon after his Conestoga arrangement left certain work to be performed by Captain Civility, to whom he sends a letter dated Sept. 2. 1728, found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p 329, which is as follows:

"My very good friend Captain Civility:

When I left Conesstoga I was in hopes of seeing you before this time, but I suppose you waited for the chiefs of the Five Nations.

I hear some of these have been at Conestoga since I was there, and that they were gone down to Maryland.

If you can by any means meet with them, whether at Conestoga or elsewhere, I desire you to present them with this Belt of Wampum from me, and tell them that I desire earnestly to speak with them about some business that may concern them.

Therefore, if they will come to me at Philladelphia, they shall be satisfied, and I hope will be pleased with their Journey.

This being a matter of importance at this time, I request your Friendship herein, and desire that you would come along with them, as you are our brother on whom we very much depend."

1728—The Governor Sends Instructions to Wright and Blunston., At Conestoga

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p 229, the following instructions were sent by Governor Gordon to John Wright and Samuel Blumston, two Justices of the Peace on the Susquehanna River:—

"Philadelphia, 2nd September, 1728.
John Wright & Samuel Blunston,
RESPECTED FRIENDS

Much contrary to our expectations, we find there are still some Commotions amongst the Indians, that require to be looked into, and we are now apprehensive that the Story we first had in the Spring of the Tweektwese or naked Indians or Miamis (for they go by all these names, who live to the Southwest of Lake Erie being invited to attack this Country, is not altogether without a foundation, very few of our Indians have been privy of it, if there be anything in it, one Manawkyhickon, a near relation of Oquaala's who was hanged last year in Jersey with one Collupny one of the Five Nations, but French by birth, who both live near Shamokin or Susquehannah, are the Chiefs who

have been laboring mischief. Our Lennappys or Delaware Indians knew nothing of it. The Shawanese we know are ready for any Mischief. How far the Five Nations are privy to it we can not judge. But the Governour and Council who met yesterday upon it, are of opinion that it is of very great importance to us to have an opportunity of speaking with those Chiefs that were lately at Conestogoe, if they are not yet returned, for which purpose this with the enclosed is now sent Exrpress that if possible they may be prevailed on to step hither.

You are therefore requested (if I Wright can travel so far) to give Civility the enclosed letter to him, explaining it in the best manner it can be done, delivering him also the Belt of Wampum for the Chiefs, though it is desired, when he speaks to them, if they are to be mett with that you or some of you could be present. It were to be wished he were more to be depended on, he can not but think himself but under some obligations since the last treaty, but these work not on some dispositions. He is the best however that at present is to be mett with to undertake it, and we must endeavor to make the best of him.

If those Chiefs are not come back to Conestogoe, they should be carefully waited on and enquired after. Or if they are anywhere on the River, and not far above Pextan, they should be brought back if possible. And if they can not be prevailed on to come to Philadelphia, they may it is possible be perswaded to stay at Conestogoe a few days, for to wait for one who may come up to them from hence. If they should not even agree to this as we know they account themselves great men and are stiff, then it is desired that they may be told as follows.

That from the first settlement of this Country, especially of late years, there has been always a firm friendship between us and the Five Nations. They may remember a firm League was made with their Chiefs at Conestogoe 18 years agoe, and again with Ghesaont 7 years agoe at the same place, and again at Albany the next year or 1722, between all their Chiefs and our Governour with divers of our Council, who went thither to meet them, and that at all these times, especially the last, the Chain or League of Friendship that had formerly been made with them was brightened and made as strong as it was possible to be made by Man. The same also was done in some measures last year with some of the Cayoogoes though that is not the nation we have generally treated with. The Onondagoes having commonly been the people that have been sent to us, and therefore we wondered that but nine of the Cayoogoes came at that time to visit us. That if they have anything to say to us on any account whatsoever, we should be glad to hear it from some of their Chiefs, and they may be assured they shall meet with their true Friends and Brethren in us.

But on the subject of the Cayoogoes, Caution should be used that these people who are come thither are principally of that Nation, and therefore their Nation should be first enquired into, and no distinctions be used that can give any offence. They account the Onondagoes their best Gentlemen, though not numerous.

Then if there be room for it, they might be asked, whether ever they heard that any of the French Indians were encouraged to attack this Coun-

try, upon which they may be told, that this has ever been a peaceable country, and that by being perfectly just to the Indians and all men, by making them as one People with us, and doing them all the Justice in every case that we deal to one another, we laid a firm foundation for Peace, that we would have Peace with all men, but if any shall be so unreasonable as without any provocation to attack us, we are now a very great people and very numerous, and do not want means to defend ourselves by force, but like good men we would choose to be defended rather by our Justice and Upright dealings than by arms, for we believe mankind was made to serve God and for a much nobler end than to be knocked on the Head.

They may be told also, that they know very well the French are always contriving mischief against the English to trouble them, and spare no lies, no false stories and endeavors to seduce and deceive the Indians. But were it in the power of the French and Indians that join them as it is not at all in their power to destory the English, then the Five Nations having none else to depend on but the French would be entirely ruined, they can not supply goods as the English can, and when they get the Upperhand and have nothing to fear they are proud and cruel masters. The Indians would then be slaves, they have therefore the strongest reasons in policy and on their own account, to be hearty friends and adhere closely to the English interest. It is their own interest and that will not deceive them.

These things ought on all occasions to be inculcated in the way of conversation, but with a seeming carelessness, as it were ridiculing the follies of those who have any favorable opinion of the French as Friends to the Indians, and they must if possible be talked over with these Chiefs. Philadelphia would be the best place, but if not here, then there, by such as may go from hence, or by any others that can do it.

If I. Wright's health will not suffer him to travel so far, for which I should on other accounts be extremely troubled, it is hoped I Blunston with Adam Cornish may manage this affair, and it might be advisable that Eliz'r Cornish, who speaks the language should privately between themselves enter into as close a discourse as possible with Civility about what news he hears or what he knows.

This affair will give you some trouble, but it is equally every man's concern in the Government who has anything in it that he values. If any charge accrue it must be born by the Publick. We hear by an Indian that at Shamokin they have hanged one Timothy Higgins, a servant to Henry Smith, an Indian trader, but we hope it is not true. Said Smith and John Petty are gone up today to know how matters are in those parts.

The substance of this you will easily see is to be managed with as little noise as possible, that no alarm may be given without a real occasion. We hope there will be none, for on Indian Stories there is very little dependence, but prudence will advise to precaution wherever it can be used.

Pray dispatch the Messenger as soon as possible with a letter to ye Governour, from whom this should have come, but time would not so well allow it".

1728— Captain Civility's Message To The Governor

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p 233, Captain Civility sends the following letter to Governor Gordon:—

"Honarable Gouvner:—

When you was hear in the spring Wee had a Counsell together and wee did conclude to Come doune to Philadelphia in about two months after that time, but wee of Conastogoe having sent so sevarell of the Indians that live a great way of, who are now on thear rode coming to see and speak with the Gouvner, and the Shawnays, Conoys, and Delawares have brought a greatt maney skins to Conastogoe in order to present the Gouverner, but Captain Civillity hath his own child dyed lately and he is so mutch troubled that he can not come, therefore the Conestogoes. Delawares. Shawnays and Conoys, designes to stay till next Spring, and then they will come to see and treat with the Gouvner att Philadelphia.

CAPTIN SIVILITY, X his mark.
Conestogoe, October 1st, 1728. To William Chetwode at Wm. Murrays, To the Honorable Patrick Gordon, Esqr., Governour of Pennsylvania.

1728—Captain Civility Sends Another Message to the Government.

In the same book and page last mentioned Captain Civility, who is now very much trusted and relied upon as a leading figure at Conestoga among the Conestoga Indians and who has the ancient Susquehannock blood in him, send this letter to Governor Gordon and the Council.

"My Brethren:

The late death of my Child Causes so much Trouble and sorrow thatt att this time It putts all other thoughts outt of my mind. Nevertheless, I still remember and retain the Governour's late good speeches to us here att Conestogoe, and am very glad thatt I once more heard the words of William Penn; but as I said before, my grieffe and sorrow so overpowers mee thatt I am sorry thatt itt makes mee uncapable att this time to answer ye words of my old good friend Wm. Penn. This I send to you of my selfe without consulttation of any, for my Eyes are full of tears for ye sake of my child. Here are severall Shawaners and Conoys come, ye rest wee expect every hour, so that wee have had no Councell as yett, and whether they will come to Philadelphia or not I can nott tell as yett:

My trouble is so greatt at this time thatt itt so putts all other thoughtts outt of my mind thatt I do nothing butt crye every day, and con not bear to come intto the sight of my friends, otherwise would have come down with my friend Edmund Cartlidge:

When my grieff and sorrow is a little over and we have had our Councell here, you shall hear from us if I doe not come myselfe. In the mean time I am your good Friend,

CIVILITY."

1728—Shawanese Leave Lancaster County

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p 329 as we have noticed before the Shawanese in 1723 were told to leave Lancaster County and about three years later they were frightened by the Five Nations about their lands and about a year after that the Delawares commenced to trouble them. And about the same time 1727 as we have already seen they got into a foolish fight with the Conestogas and others and the result of it was that they left Lancaster County. They were asked in 1732 why they left and the message which the Chiefs gave and the reasons for leaving are set forth in the book and at the page last mentioned, as follows:—

"The Cheiffs of the Shawanese to The Honourable Governour of Pennsylvania.

Wee receive your message by our friend Edmund Cartlidge, and take itt very kindly and return you thanks for ye dram given us, and wee hereby acquaintt the Govern'r of the reason thatt wee are come to settle here att Ohioh.

About nine years agoe the 5 Nations told us att Shallyschohking, wee did not doe well to setle there, for there was a greatt Noise in the greatt house and thatt in three years time, all should know whatt they had to say, as far as there was any settlements or the Sun Sett.

About ye Expiration of three years affore S'd, the 5 nations came and said our land is going to be taken from us. Come brothers assist us lett fall upon and fight with the English, wee answered them no, wee came here for peace and have leave to settle here, and we are in League with them and can not break itt.

About a year after they, ye 5 nations, Told the Delawares and us, since you have nott harkened to us nor regarded whatt we have said, now wee will put pettycoatts on you, and look upon you as women for the future and nott as men. Therefore, you Shawanese Look back towards Ohioh, the place from whence you came, and return thitherward, for now wee shall take pity on the English and lett them have all this Land.

And further Said now since you are become women Ile take Peahohquelloman, and put itt on Meheahoaming and Ile Take Meheahoaming and putt itt on Ohioh, and Ohioh Ile putt on Woabach, and thatt shall bee the Warriours road for the future.

One reason of our leaving our former settlements and comeing here is severall negro slaves used to run away and come amongst us and wee thought the English would blame us for itt.

The Delaware Indians some time agoe bid us departt for they was dry and wanted to drink ye land away, whereupon we told them since some of you are gone to Ohioh, we will go there also, we hope you will not drink that away too.

And Whereas the Governour desires to see some of us at Philadelphia we shall answer his requestt for some of our Chieffs, will come this Summer and pay him a visitt, but how many of us and exactt the time wee know nott as yett, butt when wee are gott so far as Peter Charteries, wee shall send word how many of us there is and when wee shall bee there and bring our friends ye Conestogoes allong with us in the mean time, we remain your friends and Brethren.

Presentt: NOOCHICKONER,
James Letort. his X mark.
Interpreter. PAWQUAWISE.
Peter Chartire. his X mark.
his X mark UPPOCKEATY,
his X mark.
QUEEQUEEPTOO,
his X mark

Taken down by mee,

EDM'D. CARTLIDGE

To The Honourable Governour of Pensilvania, These with Care and Speed.

June ye 7th, 1732 or there abouts."

This leaving of the Shawanese is also referred to and explained in Vol. 15 of Haz. Reg., p. 82.

1728—Gordon Prepares For the Conestoga Treaty

In Vol. 3 of the Votes of the Assembly, p. 50 Gordon tells the Assembly that he has arranged to meet the Conestoga Indians in May and also all the other Indians in that section. Upon his return the Assembly want a copy of the treaty and they are not satisfied with the Governour

simply returning the treaty but they want to examine it themselves, (See 3 Votes of the Assembly, p. 52). This request of the Assembly grew out of the fact that the presents the Governor made at the treaty amounted to 147 pounds and this sum was very large, and for that reason the Assembly want to inspect the Treaty carefully.

1728—Letort Sends Word That the Five Nations are About to Join the French

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 295 it is set forth that James Letort from the Susquehanna, came to Philadelphia and reported that the Five Nations and all the Indians under them were about to leave the English and join the French.

1728—The Conestoga Indians Off on Their Hunt.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 297, at a Council held the 18th of April, 1728, the habit of the Conestoga Indians in going away to hunt is stated. It is set forth by the Governor that he would be ready to undertake a journey to Conestoga whenever he can be informed by John Wright that the Indians have retured from hunting; and that he understood that there were scarcely any Indians at present about Conestoga, and as soon as it was practicable nothing would be wanting to establish a good understanding with them.

1728—A Message Sent to the Conestogas To Get Ready for a Treaty.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 305, James Logan reports to the Council on May 15, that pursuant to their order a message was sent to Conestoga to convene the Indians to the ensuing treaty and that the Messenger was now returned and brought word that the Indians were meeting at Conestoga and expected the Governor in nine or ten days

1728—The Goods For the Presents at the Conestoga Treaty are Ordered.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 308, the Council entered upon consideration of the proper presents to be made to the Indians and ordered that the provincial Treasurer should provide and send up to Conestoga at the first opportunity 25 Strowd Matchcoats, twenty blankets, twenty duffels, twenty-five shirts, one hundred wt. gunpowder, two hundred wt. of lead, five hundred flints and fifty knives, with rum, bread, pipes, and tobacco, together with such provisions as may be necessary for the Governor and His Company.

1728—Governor Gordon Goes to the Great Treaty at Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 309, it is stated in a memorandum that, "Pursuant to an appointment with the Indians at Conestogoe, the Governour attended with some members of Council, and divers other gentlemen, to the number of about thirty, who voluntarily offered their comapny thither, sett out from Philadelphia on the 22nd of May, and on the 23rd in the evening came to the House of Mr. Andrew Cornish, about a mile distant from the Indian Town. The 24th ad 25th days were spent in waiting for some other persons expected at the treaty and in mutual civilities, and on the 26th the Treaty began as follows:

At a Council held at the Indian Town on Conestogoe, May 26th, 1728,

PRESENT:

The Honorable PATRICK GORDON, Esqr., Lieut. Govr.

Some members of Council and divers other Gentlemen.

PRESENT ALSO:

Ganytataronga, Tawenna, Tamiatchiaro, Taquatarensaly, alias Capt. Civility—Chiefs of the Conestogoe Indians.

Oholykon, Peyeashickon, Wikimikyona—Chiefs of some of the Delaware Indians on Brandywine.

Howickyoma, Skayanannego, Onneygheat, Nanamakamen, Peyhiohinas, —Chiefs of the Shawanese Indians. Weysow-walow, Keyseykakalow, Nichtamskakow — Chiefs of the Shawanese.

Shakawtawlin or Sam, Interpreter from the English into the Delaware.

Captain Civility, Interpreter from the Delaware into the Shawanese and Mingoe (alias Conestogoe).

Pomapechtoa, Interpreter from the Delaware into the Ganawese Language.

Mr. Nicholas Scull, Mr. John Scull, and Peter Bizallion, Assistant Interpreters.

The Governour spoke as follows:

My Friends and Brethren: You are sensible that the Great William Penn the Father of this Countrey, when he first brought his people with him over the broad Sea, took all the Indians and the old Inhabitants by the hand, and because he found them to be a sincere, honest people, he took them to his heart and loved them as his own. He then made a strong League and chain of Friendship with them, by which it was agreed that the Indians and the English, with all the Christians, should be as one people

Your friend and Father William Penn still retained a warm affection for all the Indians, and strictly commaded those whom he sent to govern this people to treat the Indians as his children, and continued in this kind love for them until his death.

His sons have now sent me over in their stead, and they gave me strict charge to love all the Indians as their Brethren, and as their father William Penn loved you. I would have seen you before this time, but I fell sick soon after I came over, and continued so till next Spring. I then waited to receive some of the Five Nations who came to see me at Philadelphia, and last fall I heard you were all gone out a hunting.

I am now come to see you, and to renew the ancient Friendship which has been between William Penn's people ad you. I was in hopes that Sassoonan and Opekasset, with their people, would have been likewise here, they have sent me kind messages and have a warm love for the Christians. I believe they will come to me at Philadelphia, for since they could not get thither I have desired them to meet me there.

I am now to discourse with my Brethren, the Conestogoes, Delawares Ganawese and Shawanese Indians upon Susquehannah, and to speak in love to them.

My Brethren:

You have been faithful to your Leagues with us, your Hearts have been clean, and you have preserved the Chain from Spotts or Rust, or if there were any you have been careful to wipe them away; your Leagues with your Father William Penn and with his Governours are in writing on Record, that our children and our children's children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you by telling them to your children, and they again in the next generation, so that they remained stamped on your minds never to be forgott.

The Chief Heads or Strongest Links of this Chain I find are these nine, viz:

1st. That all William Penn's people or Christians, and all the Indians should be Brethren, as the children of one Father, joined together as with one Heart, one Head and one Body.

2nd. That all Paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

3d. That the Doors of the Christian House should be open to the Indians and the Houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and they should make each other welcome as their friends.

4th. That the Christians should not believe any false rumors or Reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such Rumors or Reports of the Christians, but should first come as brethren to enquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they hear any such false reports of their Brethren, they should bury them as in a bottomless Pitt.

5th. That if the Christians hear any ill news that may be to the Hurt of the Indians, or the Indians hear any such ill news that may be an injury to the Christians, they shall acquaint each other with it speedily as true friends and Brethren.

6th. That the Indians should do no manner of Harm to the Christians nor their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to any Indians, but each treat the other as their Brethren.

7th. But as there are wicket People in all Nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, Complaint should be made of it by the Persons suffering that Right may be done, and when Satisfaction is made, the Injury or Wrong should be forgott and be buried as in a bottomless Pitt.

8th.That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indian against all wicked People that would disturb them.

9th. And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their Children with this League and firm Chain of Friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger and be kept bright and clean, without Rust or Spott between our Children and Children's children, while the Creeks and Rivers run, and while the Sun, Moon and Stars endure.

And for a confirmation on our Parts of all these Several Articles,we bind them with these several parcels of goods, viz:

20 Strowd Matchcoats, 20 Duffells, 20 Blanketts, 20 Shirts, 1 Cwt. of Gunpowder, 2 Cwt. of Lead, 500 Flints, 50 Knives.

After which the Governour proceeded and said,

My Brethren:

I have now spoke to you on the League and Chain, of Friendship, first made by your Father William Penn with your Fathers, which is confirmed. I am now to acquaint you with an unhappy accident that has afflicted me and all good people amongst us, and we lament and mourn with you on the heavy misfortne.

About forty days agoe we heard that the Twechtweys were coming as Enemies against this Countrey. I believe it is false, for we never hurt the Twechtweys; and about eighteen days since I received an Express from the Ironworks at Mahanatawny, acquainting me that eleven foreign

Indians, painted for War, and armed with Guns, Pistoles and Swords,were come amongst our Inhabitants, plundering them and taking away their provisions by force, whereupon some of our People, to the number of twenty men, with arms, went to speak to them Civilly but the Indians fired upon them and wounded some of them; our men likewise fired on the Indians and wounded some of them also, but the Indians fired first. It was very ill done to fire.

As soon as I had this Account I took horse and went to Mahatawny with several gentlemen of Philadelphia, but the Indians were gone off. I found our people believed there were more coming, and therefore some hundred mett together with their Arms to defend themselves in case the Indians should attack them.

As I was returning home I heard news that grieved me exceedingly. I was told that two or three furious men amongst us had killed three or four Indians, who were friends and hurt two girls. I went back mourning and sent out men to take the Murderers, who were accordingly taken, and they are now in Irons and Dungeon to be tried by the laws of the Great King of the English, as if they had killed so many of his own Subjects. I have likewise caused search to be made for the dead bodies, and two women were found murdered, who by my order were laid in a grave and covered with Shirts and Strowds. I hear likewise that the dead body of an Indian man has been found and is buried.

You know there are wicked people among all Nations; there are ill People amongst you a,nd you are sometimes forced to put them to death. The English are a Great People, and there are likewise wicked men amongst them. I mourn for this misfortune, and will do all I can to comfort the relations of the Dead when I see them, which I hope willl be at Philadelphia with Sassoonan and Opekasset.

About eight months agoe I received an account that an Englishman was killed by some Indians, at the House of John Burt, in Snaketown, I heard John Burt was very abusive to the Indians, and I sent to apprehend him, but he fled; if he can be taken he will be punished. But since there was a Man killed, we expect the Indians will doe us Justice by apprehending the Murtherers that they may be punished, for we must be just and faithful to each other, that this spot may be wiped away and the Chain be kept bright and clean.

You know, my Brethren, that one Link of the Chain is, that when the Indians are uneasy they should tell it to us, ad when we are uneasy we will tell it to them. I therefore desire your hearts, may be open, that I may know if you have any cause of Grief which I will endeavour to remove, for I am your Brother.

I have issued a proclamation requiring all our People to use you well which shall be read unto you before I goe away, I will prevent any Hurt being done to our Friends the Indians, because those who do not behave themeslves agreeable to what is therein commanded, will be severely punished.

At a Council held at the Indian Town at Conestogoe, May 27th, 1728

PRESENT:

The Honorable PATRICK GORDO, Esqr., Lieut. Governor.

And the same as before.

TAWENNA in the name and on the behalf of all the Indians present spoek to the Governour, which was

rendered into English by John Scull, Interpreter, and is as follows:

Give ear my Brethren of Philadelphia, the Conestogoe Indians, the Shawanese, the Ganawese and Delaware have somewhat to say, which they will speak presently.

They say they look upon the Governour as if William Penn himself were present. They are four Nations and among them there are several follish people, as if they were just sprung from the earth; but that since their first Friendship with William Penn, they never have received any wrong or injury from him or any of his People.

That several foolish people among them committed follies and indiscretions, but they hope these will never interrupt the Friendship which is between their People and us, for that they and William Penn's people are as one People, that cat, as it were, with one mouth and are one body and one Heart.

Then presenting a belt of Wampum of eight rows, they say: That would not have the Governour grieve too much the rash inconsiderate actions of late have been committed; they must be buried and forgott, for that what has happened was done by their Friends, if it had been done by their enemies they would have resented it, but that we and they are one; that they have always mett with Justice and kindness from William Penn, and from the Governours whom he has sent here, and thus do all the Indians of Conestogoe, Delaware, the Shawanese and Ganawese say.

That they are extremely glad and satisfied with what the Governour said to them yesterday, it greatly rejoiced their Hearts, that they have had no such speech made to them since the time that the Great William Penn was amongst them, that all was good and that nothing was amiss.

Then presenting four Strings of Wampum, they say: they will visit the Governour at Philadelphia after the harvest is over and then they will speak fully to him as their Brother and Friend, for the Conestogoes Delawares, Shawanese and Ganawese will then come to him, and he may look up the Conestogoe road and expect them; that what happened at John Burt's house was not done by them, it was done by one of the Menysincks, who are of another Nation, and therefore they can say nothing to it.

After the Answer of the Indians some of the Gentlemen present moved the Governour, that seeing now there was a numerous Company of our inhabitants mett together, he would be pleased to press the Indians to declare to him if they suffered any Grievance or Hardship from this Government, because several reports had been industriously spread abroad as if they had some just cause of Complaint. And the Governour having ordered the Interpreters to acquaint them herewith; they all answered; that they had no cause of complaint, that William Penn and his people had still treated them well, and they had no uneasiness.

The Governour then told them that he was well pleased with what they had said unto him, and that since the Indian, who killed the Englishman at Burt's house is not of their nation, he would demand Justice from the Nation to which he belonged.

The Proclamation was then interpreted unto them, which pleased them very much.

Then the Governour having ordered some Rum, Bread, Tobacco and Pipes to be delivered to them, and likewise one Strowd Matchcoat and one Shirt to Civility one Strowd Matchcoat and Shirt to Shawatawlin, or Sam, and one Shirt to Pompapechtya, the three Interpreters; he took all the Indian Chiefs by the hand, and desired them that when they returned home they should acquaint all their People with what had now passed between them and us, and that the Remembrance thereof might endure forever."

1728 — Philadelphia's Reception to Governor Gordon on His Return from the Great Conestoga Treaty

It is evident that the Province of Pennsylvania was in a considerably excited condition at this time, because of the troubles whch the Shawanese were making and other Indian dissatisfactions arising about Conestogoe and in the neighborhood of Tulpyhocken. The Treaty was therefore a great event and upon the Governor's return to Philaedlphia, the people gave him a hearty welcome.

The American Weekly Mercury in its issue of May 30, 1728, gives this account of the Governor's return and reception, as follows:

"Yesterday the Hon. Patrick Gordon, Esqr., our Governor returned from Conestoga, having finished the treaty wtih the Indians in those parts to the entire satisfaction of all that were present. This timely and prudent management of the Governor's has made everything quiet and easy and the Indians were so pleased that they said they never had such a satisfactory speech made to them since the great William Penn spoke to them himself. His honor was met some miles from this City by Richard Hill and divers gentlemen and welcomed back with a handsome collation in the woods: at the City bounds his Honor was received in a very genteel manner by Thomas Lawrence, Esq., our Mayor and a very great number of gentlemen, as well as strangers as city inhabitants, who with several ladies with coaches accompanied his Honor to his house: it is reckoned the cavalcade consisted of near 200 people, which is a far greater number than has ever been known to meet together on such an an occasion at any time before in this Province.

We are told that the Country people in and about Conestoga were so highly satisfied with the Governor in every part of his conduct that notwithstanding the scarcity occasioned by the late hard winter they brought in of their own good will, large quantities of provisions of all sorts and would take no pay for them. About 250 men on horseback accompanied his Honor to the Indian town when the treaty was held and great numbers flocked in from all parts to pay their compliments to him, sa it was said there was never seen amongst the inhabitants a greater harmony and a more cheerful readiness to assist with what was in their power, than appeared on this occasion, which is cheerfully owing to the affable, courteous behavior of the Governor."

This is a glowing tribute to the Governor and we can imagine the strange scene the old Indian town of Conestoga, with its few scores of white man's primitive buildings appearing here and there in the woods. From this article several hundred people must have been present and

considering the primitive state of Pennsylvania at that time, it was as big an event as when several thousand gather together in these days. A little contemplation of the primitive scene between the Conestoga and Susquehanna, in what is now Manor township, not far from the town of Rock Hill, ought to give one a great deal of quiet pleasure.

1728—The Dsturbed Condition of the Indians of the Susquehanna River.

There was such uproar through the Indain sections of Pennsylvania at this time and a feeling that danger and slaughter were about to happen, that on the 3rd of June just a week after the Governor's return, at a Court of Quarter Sessions held that day, a charge was delivered from the Bench to the Grand Jury, of which the following is the close: "Gentlemen:

You with all other inhabitants have observed the emotion and unreasonable panic which lately possessed great numbers of the People, It is true something has happened which raised the notice and concern not only of the Government but of every good man; but it is really surprising to hear of the many, idle groundless and lying stories which have been bruited and thrown out to alarm and isturb the people, some of which may have risen from ignorance and fear; but we wish it were less obvious that much more have proceeded from a wicked design against the Peace and safety of the Country; we need not be more particular but hope every true man will in his mind, mark such incendiaries.

You will see published the Governor's treaty with the Indians on Susquehanna and some of the Delawares about Brandywine. The Chiefs with others of the Delawares are now here at the Governor's request. You will find by the treaty that there never was a more amicable, open and hearty freedom between us than at this time, which appeared as well in their countenances and behavior as in words.

This is noted to you. That as you are dispersed in several parts of the country, you may as occasion offers in all conversations endeavor to quiet the minds of the people and persuade them, for the future not to hearken to, much less assist in spreading lies and ridiculous tales—and we heartily wish it may not hereafter be observed, that the Indians are more calm and prudent than some of our people.

They in their Councils have a discreet and just way of thinking, and although they can not but be touched with grief, as is every honest man among us, at such as the late unhappy accidents yet they wisely make all give way to the strict League and friendship which hath from our first settlement subsisted between the Christians and them, and impute crimes to madness, folly and wickedness of the actors.

We shall close with the reasonable hope or assurance that if we do not provoke the Almighty God by our forgetfulness of him and by our innumerable animosities and follies to scourge us that way, there appears no danger from the Indians.

We entreat you therefore to excite all the people to use them well and to give no offence as the Governor by his late proclamation has admonished and commanded; and let not that be done indiscreetly—either by tippling with them, foolish talking or asking childish and impertinent

questions, expressing a ridiculous bravery on one hand or foolish fears on the other; but let it be with all manliness, gravity and sobriety as well as strict justice; this will honor our profession as Christians, and draw their regard and love to us as Englishmen."

This may be seen in the American Weekly Mercury in the issue of June 6, 1728.

1728—Two Chiefs Who Were at Conestoga Treaty Come to Philadelphia.

In the issue of June 6, 1728 of the American Weekly Mercury it is stated that two chiefs, who were at the Conestoga treaty came to Philadelphia and a treaty was made with them, which pleased them very much.

1728—The Five Nation Chiefs at Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 330, it is stated that the Chiefs of the Five Nations are now at Conestoga and have great power over all the Indians; that the Five Nations have absolute authority over all the Indians and have them do whatever they choose.

1728—A Great Number of the Five Nations and Some other Indians Will Come to Philadelphia in the Spring.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 333, it is set forth that a great number of representatives of the Five Nations and some other Indians are coming to Philadelphia in the Spring to treat with the Governor and the Council.

1728—Samuel Blunston Sends a Letter to the Governor About Indian Disorders.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 216, a letter of Samuel Blunston is set forth as follows:

"May ye 12th, 1728.

Friend James Logan:

This Morning the Messenger brought the Letter to Neighbor Wright, who being very ill with a Rheumatic pain in his thigh, desired me to call on the Indians (in my way to Pequea, where I was going), and deliver thy message, which I have accordingly done, and 'they say they will send a Messenger to Peshtank tomorrow, but Shamaken is too far, and they have not provision in their Town to entertain em. But the Shawanas and Canawas, with all of them who are at home, will expect the Governour in their Town, in nine or ten days: here is an old Indian returned from the Five Nations, says some of their Chiefs are coming to Philadelphia in about three weeks to renew the alience, that they are of Opinion the Indians who were at Manahalany have been put on by the French to Stir up mischief. Last week eight of this town, the King one of them, went out to War, the rest are home. Provision is very scarce this way; there are so many wagons going down this week that it is needless to engage any, for you may have your choice. I do hope this skirmish will not come to an open rupture for we borderers are in the most danger. I am with respect to self and wife, Thy Friend,

SA. BLUNSTON."

1729—The County of Lancaster Organized.

In order that we may keep our bearings on the time of the happening of the events we are speaking about, I make note here that in the Spring of 1729 Lancaster County was Organized and created out of a Part of Chester County.

1729—Conestoga Indians Again in Philadelphia at a Treaty.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 361, it is set forth that at a Council held May 26, 1729 at Philadelphia.

"PRESENT:

The Honorable PATRICK GORDON, Esqr., Lieut. Governour; James Logan, Richard Hill, Ralph Asheton, Samuel Hazel, Esqrs.

PRESENT ALSO:

Tawenna, Ganyatorouga, Tacquatarensaly, alias Civility, Chiefs of the Conestoga Indians.

Amawoolit, Peyhiohinas, Yaoehkonguess, Chiefs of the Ganawese.

Peyashickon, Whawyaygamen, Saykalin, Chiefs of the Delawares. (With several other Indians).

Mr. Peter Bizallion and Mr. John Scull, Interpreters.

The Governour told the Indians that he was very glad to see them, and that accordingly to their Desire he had called his Council together to hear what they had to say.

Civility then said that none of the Shawanese are now come because unhappily, having spent all their provisions on rum, they are obliged to stay at home to provide subsistence for their families by hunting, but that they have contributed equally in the presents now to be made, and desired these now present to speak in their name.

Then directing his discourse to the Governour he said:

That the Governour did not come to see them at Conestoga the first year after his arrival, being hindered by sickness and business, but that last year he came to see them, for which they were very glad, and then spoke to them particularly about the Death of those Indian People that were then killed. That the Governour then expressed his and all the English people's sorrow for their death, and they were afflicted with them, though those that were killed were not of their people, but that they are now come to desire the Governour may grieve no more, but that the memory of the whole may be entirely buried in the Ground and never be remembered.

That the Governour, the English and the Indians, are all as one People and one body, that if they had received anything on their stomach that was harsh and unpleasant, they must bring it all up, purge it out and cleanse their Hearts, that they all may be pure and clean and remain all the same People and body as before.

That if there has been any uneasiness between us, or any cause of Grief, it must be all done away; they are now come for that purpose; they will sweep the house clean and make the floors all white so that there shall not the least Spott of Blackness remain.

That what the Governour said to them at Conestoga pleased them much; it was all right and good; they had never any speech made to them since William Penn was here and as the Governour then spoke they desire it may so continue that they may be ever the same; and that the Candle of Love should always burn, and that there should never any Uneasiness subsist between us.

The Conestogoe, Delaware, Shawanese and Ganawese Indians all agree in what he has said, and resolve forever to continue in the Same Love and Friendship with the English as one people, and as they all joined together in what was said last Spring at Conestogoe, they are now come hither to repeat the same.

As they are all one People with the Christians, so their Children must be the same as the Children of the same parents, for they are all come from the same father and mother.

That as the Governour desired last year at Conestogoe, that the roads between Philadelphia, Conestoga and the Five Nations should be clear and open and free from all Grubs and Thorns and everything that can give any Offense, they find it is truly so, and are resolved that it shall so remain while they live.

That last year the Governour told them that the English and the Indians must help each other as Brethren whenever they meet, that their desire it may be always so; that the English may help them in their Wants and the Indians shall always assist the English when they meet them in the woods; they will treat them with clean food, and in pure vessels, they will eat together out of one clean, and white dish without any Spot, as a MARK of the Cleanness of their Hearts.

That not only the Indians that were at Conestogoe last year, but likewise those of the whole Country, were pleased with what then passed and that the presents then delivered to them were divided into the smallest parts, that it might reach all the Indians everywhere and be read as a letter.

Then TAWENNA stood up and said:

He never spoke since William Penn was here till last Spring, and now speaks the same again to the Governor. That William Penn in his house in his Town, told them they must be one body and he now says the same; they are not to be as one people bound together to each other, though the bonds were ever so strong, though they were of iron, for even in that case the one may suffer and the other escape, but they and we as William Penn said must be as the same body, half the one and half the other, that cannot be divided, that each may have, both Joy and Pain alike, as the same body and division.

William Penn said as both Nations were to be the same Body, so that if by any stroke that body were to be divided down the middle into two parts so that they fell assunder, this should be looked upon as the Act of Providence, which neither could help or be blamed for.

William Penn further said that if all the people around us should differ one with another, yet we must not differ but continue the same in love and Peace; that the Indians ought not hastily to go out to war but rather should study peace, and that if they were attacked he and his people would be ready to defend them, for that we art all as one people. William Penn told the Indians that he loved them all; their Men, Women and Children, and that he held Councils with them to perpetuate the remembrance and affection towards them, that the Friendship he had established with them was to last for many generations; that their old men die and others come in their room, who likewise die, but that the Love and Friendship between the Indians and English ought to remain forever

Tawenna said, he hopes the Governour will continue in the same strong Friendship and Love with all the Indians, for their hearts are sincere and true, and they all desire that no unhappy accident may ever interrupt that Peace which subsists between the English and them, and that all these things which Governour Penn spoke to them may ever be remembered and imprinted on our and their hearts, so as to be observed inviolably.

That he is well pleased with all that has passed between us and them, but is apprehensive some mischief

may happen through the great quantities of rum which are daily carried amongst the Indians, who being greedy of that liquor are soon debauched by it, and may then easily be stirred up to some unhappy or ill action.

That William Penn told them he would not suffer any larger quantities of liquor to be brought among them, and that they might stave the casks and spill it if they found any in the woods, but that now several hogsheads of rum are brought to Conestogoes and to several other places in their road and near to them by which the Indians are tempted not only to sell their peltry but likewise their clothing for that Liquor, and are much impoverished thereby.

That William Penn often told them if any Christian committ any foolish or ill action amongst them, they should seize him without doing him any violence, and bring such person to him, that the matter might be enquired into, for that he had made a Boal for the bad and wicked amongst his own people.

That William Penn is dead, but he now repeats all these things to the Governour whom he looks upon as in his stead, and if as William Penn himself was alive; that he remembers all these things which were then said and he has now spoke in the name of the Conestogoe, Ganawese, Delaware and Shawanese Indians.

CIVILITY added that he was very uneasy lest any mischief should happen through the great plenty of rum daily brought amongst them. This concern he said was not so much for fear of any accident among the Indians themselves, for if one Indian should kill another they have many ways of making up such an affair, but this uneasiness proceeded from an apprehension least a Christian should be ill used by any Indian intoxicated with that Liquor.

In confirmation of all this, and of their love and friendship for this Government, they now present a large parcel of skins.

The Governour thanked them for their present and having expressed his satisfatcion with what they had said, told them he would speak to them tomorrow.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, May 27, 1729.

PRESENT:

The Honourable PATRICK GORDON, Esqr., Lieut. Governour, James Logan, Richard Hill, William Fishbourn, Clement Plumsted, Esqrs.

And the same Indians as before, with Mr. Bizallion Interpreter.

The Governour spoke to the Indians in these words:

My Friends and Brethren:

Seeing your affairs would not suffer you as you proposed last year, to make a return to my visit to you at Conestogoe, I am pleased to see you now here, and wish that some of the Shawanese had also accompanied you; but since you speak for them by their direction, and they join in your Present, I take what you say as if it were truly spoke by all the four Nations and as an answer to what I then spoke.

I am glad to find by your discourse that you not only remember what I said to you last Spring, but also there are some yet living who can remember what your father William Penn said to your people when he was in this countrey, from thence you see that his words and mine are the same. He agreed with all the Indians whom he treated with in the several points that I laid before you at Conestogoe; they were his words,

though spoken by me, and as I observe the old men will remember them, so now I desire you again to repeat them over to your children and require them to remember them and repeat them again to their children, that the same may be continued not only to your children but, through all generations and all ages.

By this means we shall truly continue not only as Friends and Brothers, but one people, of one Body, one Mind and one Heart. We shall rejoice together and be sorrowful together, and we shall be the same.

I need not say anything further to you on these heads, for it would be only to repeat the same things, therefore I only say: let us remember all the good words that have been spoken. Your words have been good and your present is good. I take it kindly, and I return you some goods proper to cloath you, with some Powder and lead and Provisions for your journey, that you may go from hence cheerfully and make all the Indians over the whole cheerful with the words that have been spoken; that you and they and all of us may keep the chain bright and clear and without spott forever.

I must add that you complained much of your suffering by rum; many laws you know have been made against it; but your people make all these laws of no effect; they will have it; they send their women for it to all places where it can be had; and we can make no laws against your drinking it; you must make these yourselves. If your women would carry none of it it would be more easy; I shall endeavor however, to prevent it being carried in such Quantities.

Then the following goods which were prepared by order of the Board were delivered to them, viz: 20 Stroud Matchcoats, 8 Blanketts, 8 Duffels, 20 Shirts, Half a barrel of Powder, One hundred weight of lead, 2 Dozen Knives & 1 Dozen Looking Glasses; with Rum, Bread, Cheese, Bacon, Tobacco and pipes. A gun was likewise ordered to be given to Civility. The Governour then took all the Indians by the hand and wished them a safe journey home. The Bundles of Skins delivered by the Indians being examined and weighed, were found to contain, 72 fall Derr Skins, weighing 287 pounds, 79 Summer Deer Skins, weighing 142 pounds; 108 Drest Deer Skins, weighing 119 pounds; 3 Beavers, weighing 3 pounds, 17 Racoons, 3 Foxes and 6 Catts.

Which were ordered to be sold by the Treasurer, and the produce thereof applied towards the charge of the Present Treaty."

1729—The Ganawese, Delawares and Several Other Tribes of Indians Present at the Above Treaty Also.

I here merely make note of the fact that these various other tribes of Indians were also present at the treaty, to show their prominence. What part they took all appears in the treaty itself.

1729—The Damage Done by the Indians Near the Chester County Line Paid for.

We remember that in an earlier item we spoke of the complaint of a Lancaster County citizen against the Indians who killed his cow. Provision was made for the loss of the cow and the destruction of the property as appears in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 366, as follows:

"To Richard Thomas, Four Pounds as the price of a cow killed and eat up by the Indians of the Five Nations, in their return home from Philadelphia, after the treaty with them in July, 1727, certified by a Justice of Chester County, and the value of the Cow ascertained by the affirmations of two lawful men of that County."

1729—The Southern Indians Kill Some Conestogas.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 238 a letter written by Captain Civility to Governour Gordon, as follows:

"CONESTOGOE, June 10th, 1729.

Sir: Knowing the good correspondence settled betwixt us, am willing to acquaint the Governour, having no other in the world to tell my troubles to of this nature, which is of the Barbarous Usage of the Shorrey Indians beolnging to South Carolina which was about 4 days ago, they robbed three houses upon Pertomack belonging to us, forty of our men is gone after them, in order to pursue them, they likewise killed fifty-nine men belonging to us at the Five Nations town, and has taken two women and a boy prisoners, first they came upon them and killed eight men, then they came to a parley to make peace, but could not prevail, the Captain that went out was taken, and then they surrendered the town, this is a true relation of our unfortunate brothers, of their sufferings by those barbarous Indians. So concluding with my humble service to your Lady and pleace to accept the same to your Honour from your most humble, obedient servant.

His
CAPTN. CIVILITY.
mark.

Direction:

To Patrick Gordon, Esq'r.,
Governour of Pennsilvania."

1729 — Further Light on the Killing.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 240, Civility writes another letter to Gordon in which he says:

"GOVERNOUR:

I received your answer to my letter and thank you for your love and care over us.

Wee have no manner of hopes or expectation of having Currundawawnah redeemed if hee should be still alive, which wee do not expect; if any of us should go there on that intent, provided he was stil living we should be liable to fall into the same misfortune.

I impute that to ye Five Nations own fault for they was the cause of their own ruin, had they stayed at home they might still been all living.

Wee the Conestogoes are fearful leastt such provocations should be ye action to draw ye Southern Indians near, if not as far as this place, we have heard that they have of late been about Potomack; and we have sent all our young brisk men accompanied with some Delawares and Conoys in all near thirty men in order to Look outt and see if they can find any of the Southern Indians there; the reason of our so doing is because our time of hunting Draws nigh, and our people being fearful, and if they find the Coastt clear they may yet better hunt with Courage.

About two months ago the Southern Indians killed and took nine of the Shawanese living on a branch of Potomack near the Greatt Mountains; the white impute to their own faults for settling so near their enemies.

I would myself go to warr had I

butt forty men at my command, but our number is so small we are nott Capable of making such attack; if I should call our young men together on such an ocation they have several excuses, one wanting shoes, another Powder and Lead; and tell them to provide for the same as fast as they get anything away itt goes for Rum, such is the Folly of our People.

So much for ye present. In time perhaps I may have more to say.

CIVILITY."

Edward Cartlidge also adds a note to this letter and says that a certain Indian with two others met him and said they knew nothing of the Southern Indians being about.

1730—Mingo Indians Commit Depredations.

In Vol. 3 of the Coloniel Rec., p. 382, testimony was taken about some depredations of the Indians against the whites in Lancaster county as follows:

"The examination of Samuel Hornyhook and John Wilson, taken before one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Lancaster, touching the loss sustained by them by Depredations of the Mingoe Indians and the reference of the house thereon being likewise read, the Board in Compassion of the low circumstances of the said Sufferers, are of Opinion that they be allowed the amount of their loss, as set forth upon oath in their rexive Examinations, vizt: to the said Hornyhook Five Pounds and to the said Wilson Three Pounds ten shillings."

1730—James Mitchell of Lancaster County Wants Pay for the Services to the Indians.

In the same book and at the same page last mentioned, the following appears:

"An account was then exhibited by James Mitchell, of the County of Lancaster, for charges by him expended on a message to and from the Indians, in the year 1722, and for his trouble of explaining to them the Treaty of Albany, by order of the Government, (he being then the only acting Magistrate in those parts of the Country), and it appearing that the said services were performed, and that no allowance had hitherto been made to the said James Mitchell for the same, it is the opinion of the Board that the sum of six pounds and ten shillings and six pence be paid to him, in full for his trouble and expense aforesaid."

1730—The Indians Complain Against Isaac Miranda, An Indian Trader on Susquehanna River.

The Indians of Lancaster county in a petition found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 266 make the following complaint:

"To the Justices of the County of Lancaster.

Gentlemen:

I have recived a petition of Cochuscunt and Memocollen, two Indians, seting forth a great abuse and imposition they have suffered from Isaac Miranda, which being committed within your jurisdiction properly comes under your Cognizance and therefore I have herewith transmitted to you the said petition, that you make a full and particular enquiry into the Truth of the facts sett forth thereof, and if you find allegations therein contained to be true, I desire you will order Mr. Miranda to make retribution of the goods which he has taken away and likewise to enter into recognizance for his good behavior and appearance at your ensuing Court, I am

August 21, 1720."

P. GORDON.

1730—Inquest Into the Death of Indians in Lancaster County.

In Vol. 1 of the Pena. Archives, p. 267, the following inquisition is sett forth about Indian slaughter:

"August 28, 1730.

Lancaster County, ss.:

THIS INQUISITION, Indented and taken in the Township of Dorsey, in ye County aforesaid and ye province of Pennsylvania, before Joshua Lowe, Coroner for our Sovereign Lord ye King, and for ye said County in ye view of the bodies of three Indians, two men and one woman, there at a certain run lying dead, by ye oaths of John Postlethwait, Jonas Davenport, Patrick Campble, John Williams,Rice Price, John McCurry, John Galbreth, David Campbell, John Taylor, William Hays, Patrick Hays, Christopher Vanlaer, John Carr, Thomas Hill, William White and Alexander E. Hutchinson, good and lawful men of the said County, who being charged on their said qualification to enquire how the said Indians came to their end, to say that according to several circumstances there being no evidence the said Indians were felloniously killed and murdered, there appearing in every one of their heads, One mortal wound (to Viz:) in the woman one mortall wound in the left side of her head like a cut with a small ax or Tom Hock, and one of ye men a cut or great bruise in ye left side of ye head on his temple, and the other man a briuse in the skul in ye fore part of his head, and a large cut in ye left side of his head near ye eye; and they wrapped up in their shrouds or blankets, and buried in the said run and covered with some logs earth and stones, and by ye bodies being so putrified and decayed ye suppose they may have been murdered as aforesaid for the space of three months, but who they were or what Nation they were this inquisition finds not, nor can we find any reason or grounds to charge any Christians or white people with the said murder, nor can we find any to affix the said murder on. In testimony whereof the said Coroner as well as ye said jury have hereunto set their hands and seals this Twenty Eighth day of August in ye fourth year of ye Reign of our Souvereign Lord George ye Second King Over Great Britain, etc., and ye year of our Lord Christ One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty.

Joshua Lowe, Cor'er. (L. S.)
Jno. Taylor, (L. S.)
Jno. Postlethwait, (L. S.)
Wm. Hays, (L. S.)
Jonah Daveuport, (L. S.)
Patric'k Hays, (L. S.)
Patrick Campbell, (L. S.)
Christ. Vanlear, (L. S.)
John Williams, (L. S.)
Jno. Carr, (L. S.)
Rice Price, (L. S.)
Thomas Hill, (L. S.)
Jno. MakCurry, (L. S.)
Wm. White, (L. S.)
Jno. Galbreth, (L. S.)
Alexander Hutchinson, (L. S.)
David Campbell, (L. S.)

We Ye Chiefs of ye Conestouges and Conoys Indians,, having been along with the Christians or White People, Do say we are of ye same mind as above said and well are satisfied with what is Done By ye Christians, on this Account As Witness our hands ye 29th of August, Annoq'e Dominy, 1730.

CAPT'N CIVILITY,
his X mark.
TAYSHAH.
his X mark.
ALLOWAY,
his X mark.
POWAY BAYTO,
his X mark.

JOSHUA LOWE, Coroner."

1730—The Coroner's Report to the Governor.

In the book last mentioned, at p. 268, the following report appears to be made by Coroner Lowe to the Governor:

"5th of September, 1730.

Sir: The Day after the Date of my last To the Governor, I heard a freash Reportt of the Indians being found dead, on which I went up towards the head of Swartarro, where I had a full account of the afare, though they wear 5 or 6 miles from whear ye Indians Tould us, I therefore Came Down & gott sevarell Indians & Christians along and went to the Place and Thear found the bodeys of three Indians, one young woman as apeared by her hand, one of which was whole, & 2 men as planely apeared were found a saddle, a pistell, a knife, some beads and shells, with some small things, by all which the Indians said they wear Delawares, wee also had acc'tt that Thear wos none wanting of ye Five Nations, however I and some others was very Desirous To Discover who they wear & from whence they came, And who had Done murder, I heard thear was 3 Tuskarorows wanting, so I went up to Pechston To Enquire whear I had the opartunety To hear by Patrick Boyd who was Coming Doune from Opessa Town. That an ould Delawar man Caled Oppenella, belonging to Augaluta a toune near Opessa, & his Squaws & his sone a young man and his Daughter, a girl about 14 years ould, Came doune with a Larg bundell of fine furr, and some time after ye Squaw came home and Tould a man that she had a mind for that he might marey her, for she had Dispatched her ould husband, & to prove it shewed him her husband's arme bellts & a large neck Belt of wampum, Pettar Basalion & Pettar Sherfe being present when Boyd gave me the above account, Sherfe said that about ye midle of May Last thear Came to his house the above named Indian his Squaw & Children, with said furr & a sadle, but no horse, they went ovar the Rivar toward the 2rd Day affter the Squaw came back with The same bundell of furr, & Pettar asked whear her husband was, she answered he was gone, but he charged her that she had killed him, which she very fantly denied, so he bought the furr from her, and she Returned towards home, so that we are now all satisfyed that the ould man, his sone and Daughter was murdered by his squaw, that you may see by the Copy of the Inquisition what Care was taken, the Indians generally Expressed very great satisfaction with what was Done, and wear willing and forward to joyne in signeing with us a plan. It was carefully Intrepreted to them, I would have sent to ouar Governor but have had an account that he is gone to New York, & will not return in Less than 3 weeks, so I Thought it my duty to Acquaint Thee how far I have acted, which I hope will be content. I am they Reall well wishar & Ready to Serve my Countarey in aney Thing in my power.

JOSHUA LOWE.

Lon'd, 5, 7 mo., 1730.

P. S. If I hear aney more shall acquaint thee of it, but P. Basalion hath promised to Come and give thee a full acc'tt he hath been very servisable in This Affare. Their just now came an Indian to see the pistell yet that wee found, & Immediately sd it was Oppanella's pistell, all which Confermeth me in may said opinion.

J. L."

1730 — The Conestogas Much Disturbed by the Settling of the Germans Among Them.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 271, appears the following communication from Captain Cicility to Governor Gordon:

"May it please ye Honorable Governer,

Some time since I was out at our County town of Lancaster, where I heard much talk that both Dutch and English was agoing to settle on ye other side of Susquehannah, likewise Mr. Wright, and Mr. Blunston, hath surveyed a great deal of land and designs to dispose of it to others which giveth me and my brethren a great deal of trouble, itt being in our road in our hunting, least our young men should break the chain of friendship which hath long been between us.

Wee are grieved that Mr. Wright should not mind his word, for when he first came to our parts he often said that no person should settle on that side of ye river without our Consent, but now wee find he to be the first and to encourage others.

When your honor was with us at Conestogoe your desire was that wee should not hurt any of your people, which we carefully have observed, and likewise that Ed. Parnell who was settled there should go off which he did, which now grieves our hearts to see how little our Counsels is minded. We hear that one of William Penn's family is coming in this country but the truth of it wee know not, we long to hear the truth of it for wee should be glad to see any of William Penn's family.

Wee are now agoing out to hunt, so desire you to suppress your people from settling there until wee return from our hunting, and then some of our Chiefs will come down to you and have some Further treaty about ye matter.

From y'r Loving Brother, in the behalf of ye rest of my Brethren,

DECATTELEES,
alias CAPT. CIVILITY.

Conestogoe, September 28th, 1730.

Directed—To the Hon'ble Patrick Gordon, in Philadelphia, these.

Indorsed—Cap't Civility's Letter. September 28th, 1730."

1731—Indians Remind the Governor That Penn Promised They Would Never Be Disturbed at Susquehanna.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 295, Samuel Blunston writes a letter to Robert Charles, who was the Secretary to the Governor and finally became his son-in-law. The letter is as follows:

October ye 3d, 1731.

Friend Robert Charles:

About a week agoe, when Severall of the Majestrates Met at Lancaster to Assist at Raising ye Court House, Capt. Civility Came there, and by an Interpreter which he brought with him, (In behalf of ye Rest of ye Indians,) Laying down the Enclosed String of Wampum, Desired the following Message might be therewith Communicated to ye Governour, viz: That the Conestogoe Indians have always lived in Good Friendship with the Christian Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, And have behaved themselves agreeable to their Treatys with them. That William Penn had promised them they should not be Disturbed by any Settlers on the west side of Sasquehannah, but now, Contrary thereto, Several Marylanders are settled by the river, on that side, at Conejohela; And one Cressop, particularly, is very abusive to

them when they pass that way, And has beat and wounded one of their women who went to Get Apples from their own Trees and took Away her apples. And further Says, that, as they shall Always take Care their people Do us no hurt, So they also expect we shall protect them.

We then Told him that the Governor had wrote to the Governour of Maryland on that Subject, and that it was Contrary to his will they should be Disturbed by ye Marylanders, & would gladly do all that Lay in his power to prevent it.

I have further to add on the Indian Subject, That being informed the Governour Expected Some of ye Chiefs of ye Five Nations Down in a little time, it might be of service to acquaint him, that a few days agoe, about twenty of ye Five Nation warriors Returning this way from the S. ward, brought with them three Negros and a Mulatto. One of the Negroes, being lame with travelling they sold to a Cannoi Indian for about 20 Pounds; the Rest they took off. This being Contrary to the Last Treaty at Albany, & and if not Discouraged, Like to be of Dangerous Consequence, I thought fit to Communicate, and am, with my best Service to ye Governour, they Assured friend."

An interesting thing appears here and that is that Blunston says a week before writing the letter, he, with several other Magistrates of the County were in Lancaster helping to raise the Court House. This speaking of "raising" the Court House almost leads us to infer that our first Court House was frame and not brick, as was supposed.

1731—The Conoys Have a Mulatto Captive.

The item last above mentioned sets ofrth that the Conoys bought a mulatto from the Five Nations, which they had captured on a Southern trip. I merely mention this to give it prominence.

1731—An Accident to the Delawares Because of Rum.

In Vol. 3 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 156, a sad accident, through rum, befell the Chief of the Delawares and it is stated there that it may likely bring on war.

1731—Investigation on the Death of an Indian.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 299, is given the deposition of Jonah Davenport, in which he speaks of the killing of a couple of Indians near Allegheny; and says that the Indian settlement there consisted of 300 Delawares, 260 Shawanese and many others. He says also on p. 301 in the same book that the number of Indians in that part of Pennsylvania were 60 Delawares, mostly men, 50 on Kythenning river and that the whole lot consists of 250 men and that there are also three Shawanese towns with over 200 inhabitants and that about 60 miles from Susquehanna there are 60 more, and various others.

1731—Edmund Cartiledge's Letter to Governor Gordon, and His Indian Trade.

In this letter Cartlidge says that he can not now come to Philadelphia to look after the affairs of the Government on account of his Indian trade. As this letter gives us a good light on the extent of his Indian trade, and the treaty covered by it, I will set it forth. It is as follows: "Lancaster, ye 5th of December 1731. Sir: May 1tt Please Honour,

I Rec'd yours, dated ye 23rd of ye last month, my man, Butt being Indisposed both in Body and in mind

could not answer your exepctation, and Justt have received a letter from Mr. Charles and Justice Galbreth which puts mee to such a stand I know not whatt to do, for my Affairs so pressingly call me Back into ye woods, and my People and goods are already over Sasquehannah, thatt my coming all this distance to Philadelphia will prove of fatall Consequence to mee. I have a large Intriestt in ye woods and if I should lose my winter's Trade, which may be done for not being up in time, would entirely ruin the whole and quite disable me from making returns to my Creditors to whom I am deeply engaged, in Consideration of which I humbly beg that your Honor will not take it amiss if I do not come. I can not tell what may just happen Butt itt does not appear to me at ye present that there is such an apparent danger as some makes it to bee. Itt is not long since I came from Alleegeening and all was quiet and well then, and if there be not any likelyhood of a Rupture at Home between England and France, I hope we are safe for the present, however, as to whatt Davenport and Le Tortt has declared in relation to a French gentt comeing for three years as a spy, I can not tell whatt to say as to thatt, I always looked upon itt that as ye French kept a Store att the head of ye River to Deal, he came down to trade for fur and Bears, Being Comodity Very Scarce to ye Northward, hee and all along with him always behaved themselves very Civily, however, I shall not say much least I should be mistaken. I would willingly serve your honor and ye Publick as far as lyes in my power, butt pray excuse at this time.

Your mostt Humble Servant,

Indorsed—Ed. Cartlidge, December 1, 1731."

For the above see Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 304.

1731—Cartlidge's Testimony Taken at Pequea, Lancaster County, about the Migration of Our Indians.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 305 the following testimony of Edmond Cartlidge is given.

"The Examination of Edmund Cartlidge, Indian Trader, taken on his Affirmation, at Pequea, in ye County of Lancaster, ye 7th day of December, 1731, before Jno. Wright, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for ye said County.

This Examinant says, that about two months since he left Allegeny, where there are settlements of Delawares, Shawanah, Asseekales & Mingoe Indians to the number of about five hundred. That for these five years past except that of 1729 a French Gentleman who calls himself Cavalier has made it his practice to come every Spring amongst the Indians settled there, and brings with him a small quantity of goods with which he deals for furs, that he keeps a store as this Examinant is well informed at the head of the Ohio River, and every year goes to Montreal, that he appears to be a man of sense and good understanding and that it is generally believed by all the traders at Allegheny as well as this Examinant that this cavalier is the Bearer of the Governor of Montreal's Messages to the Indians in these parts and is entrusted with negotiating several affairs between the Governor and them. That after the treaty held at Conestogoe in the year 1728 between the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Indians,

several Shawanese who are settled near Allegheny went to the Governor of Montreal as this Examinant believes, to seek protection from the French against the Five Nations,who they suspected would hinder their settling at Allegheny, that ever since that time there has been a great appearance of Friendship and goodwill between the French and them. That Mr. Cavalier frequently holds consultations with the Shawanese, and this Spring when he was among them he delivered a message to them as this examinant is well informed from the Governor of Montreal with a present of some powder, That the Shawannah king or chief Paguasse with seven or eight more of the Shawanese went to Montreal to answer the Governor's message and carried with them some bundles of skins for a present, but were not returned when this Examinant left Allegheney. That this Examinant has since heard from a Servant of an Indian Trader lately come from thence that they are returned and have set up a white Flag which is is said the French Governor has given them, denoting thereby as this Examinent verily believes that they united with the French and are come under that protection.

EDMD. CARTLIDGE.

Coram Jno. Wright.

Indorsed — Examinant Edmd. Cartlidge, Dec. 7th, 1731."

1731—The Governor Wants the Shawanese to Come Back.

It will be remembered that the Shawanese used to live on Pequea Creek but suddenly they move in 1729 out near Allegheny. This disturbed the Governor very much and he wrote them a pressing letter in 1731 to come back. The letter is found in Vol. I of the Penna. Archives and is as follows:

On p. 302 Ollepoonoe, Achquaillemoe, etc., Chiefs of the Shawanese and Assekelaes, at or near Alleghening, To the Chiefs of the Shawanese Indians at Allegheny.

My friends and Brethren:

I find by our records that about Thirty-four years since, some numbers of your Nation came to Susquehannah and desired leave first of our Brethren the Conestogoe Indians, and then of Coll. Markham, who at that time was Governour under William Penn, at Philadelphia, that they might have leave to settle on Pequea Creek, which was granted. About three years after, William Penn, the father of this Countrey, who was as father also to the Indians, for he loved them as his own Children, came from England to Philadelphia with his wife and family, which when our Brethren of Conestogoe heard, Connedechtoe, their King, Oretyah, Andaggyjunquah, and others of our good friends, came with Opessa, and many more of the Shawanese desiring leave for the Shawanese to live in this Countrey, to enter into a League with our Indians and with us, and to be accounted as our people, which, as they requested, our father William Penn readily granted, he then took the Shawanese by the hand, and admitted them as friends; they promised to be his children, and from that time to this, in all the treatys held with our Indians, the Shawanese were always included as our friends and brethren, and so we hope that still continue mindful with their engagements and of the friendship, Civility and brotherly that has always been shown them. Yet we now hear that others have taken you by the hand, in which if you mean to be friends with them who, they say, were formerly your enemies, we do not blame you,

for you should live in peace with all; but if through a lightness of temper you would throw off old friends, forget all the former treaties made with us by your people, all their promises and the Friendship that has been between us, You are then unkind and I must blame you, but I shall not believe this. I will still believe you true men, and in order to Confirm amongst your old friends at Conestogoe. I have sent messages to the Five Nations or Mingoes, who I heard this, I desire to speak with some of your old wise men at Philadelphia or were angry with you, to make them your friends, and it is our desire that we may all be friends, and all live in Peace as brethren. In the meantime, I exepct of you that you will in all respects shew yourselves true and good men to all our people who come on account of Trade, but next Spring William Penn's son is to be here from England, and then he will renew his father's Leagues and Covenants with your Ancients, and will expect your visit to him as the son of a true friend and father, who was a true father to all the Indians. In confirmation hereof, I send you a token and some Liquor that you may remember us with Cheerfulness and particularly me,

Who am your friend and brother,
P. G.

Indorsed—Copy of the Message to the Shawanese Chiefs at Allegheny.—December, 1731."

1731—The Governor Writes a Similar Letter to the Delawares.

We remember that the Delawares moved from the Schuylkill to the Susquehanna early in the Eighteenth Century. They also went West and became enemies of the English. Governor Gordon desires them to come back and he writes a letter pressing them to do so, which may be found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 303. The letter is general in character and therefore I will not quote it.

1731—Letort's Cabin Burned

In Vol. 15 of Haz. Reg., p. 82 it is stated that James Letort seems to have penetrated to Cumberland Valley as early as 1731. His first Cabin was burned by the Indians and it stood at the head of the Spring. He received for his services twelve pounds annually.

1732—The Shawanese Hold a Treaty at Philadelphia.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 349 appears a treaty under the date of 1732 between the Shawanese and the Government but as it dos not relate to Lancaster County and is entirely devoted to an effort of the Government to get them back to Lancaster County, we will say nothing more about it. In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 325 the speech of the French to the Shawanese is given.

1732—The Location of the Indian Town.

In Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 331, it is stated that the Northern boundary of Maryland is now fixed as being 16 miles below the Indian town on Susquehanna River.

1732—The Conestogas Complain that They are Wrongly Blamed for Killing the Whites.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 500, a treaty was held at Philadelphia by Shekellamy on the part of several Indian tribes. He said one reason why they came at this time was that "two days before he left home, which is now seven days since, a Messenger came to him from the Ganawese Indians, who live between Pextan and

Conestogoe, with an account that they Understood the Governor of Virginia was about to send a party of armed men amongst them to cut them off, for a Murder committed in Virginia; and therefore, requesting the assistance of all the other Indians to defend them against the enemies. But as he can not believe that the Governor of Virginia would make war on these Indians without acquainting this Government with it, he is now come here to inform his Brethren of this matter and to know of them what they have heard of it."

On page 504 of the same book the Ganawese Chief makes a speech at the said treaty.

1733—The Ganawese Above Conestogoe and Their Complaints.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 504, it is set forth that the Ganawese live between Pextan and Conestoga at this date, therefore, they are still in the County of Lancaster. Their Chief and four of the Warriors were present at the treaty held on the 6th of August, 1733. In the treaty these Ganawese complained as follows:

"Ullaloes, a Chief of the Ganawese Indians, with four others of that Nation viz.: Menahachtay, Peyohinas, Waapen & Naiemot.

Ullaloes produced a letter wrote at the desire of all of their Nations, by James Mitchell of Donnegal, signifying the concern they are under that any of their Nations should be charged with killing any white people and declaring their ignorance of the matter.

And then by the Interpreter said:

That a few months since a report was spread among them, that the white people had charged some of theirs with the killing of two English men; that they are sorry and ashamed that such a report should be spread, for none of their people have done any such thing; that whenever their young men go to war they are very careful to give them the strictest caution not to hurt the English.

That last winter when their young men returned from War they brought with them the scalps of two Indians they had killed, and gave an account that they had killed a third, but this body was taken away by his friends so they could not get his scalp.

That the white people who live in their Neighborhood have told them that the Governour of Virginia intends to come against them, with a hundred men to revenge the Death of those who are killed and supposed to be white people, and that two young men of their Nation must be delivered up.

They were asked where their young men had killed those Indians, and of what Nation they were?

They answered that it was on the forks of a River lying to the Southward of James River, in Virginia, and that the Indians were of the Tootelaes; that they have seen the scalps and know them to be of Indians and are now to be seen in their Indian town.

The delivering some strings of wampum.

They add that they are extremely concerned that any Suspicion should be entertained of them as if they had done any injury to the white people whom they look upon as themselves; that they and the English are as one Heart, one Body, and one Person, therefore to do hurt to the white People would be doing hurt to themselves.

They were told that it could not but give us a great concern to hear such reports; that they were extreme-

ly careful to do them Justice and to preserve a good understanding with them, and we hope they will be equally careful on their parts, that we are well pleased with their coming here to satisfy us, and if they are innocent as by what they have said we hope they are, they have no need to feel any resentment or to be under the least Apprehension, but if it should prove otherwise, Justice must be done upon the guilty persons.

That these People who live near and give them so much Uneasiness by the reports they have spread of the Governor of Virginia coming against them have no foundation of what they say; they know nothing of the matter, and are not to be credited. If the Indians have not done anything amiss they have nothing to fear.

They said that what they told was spoken sincerely—their tongues and Hearts go together; That they have nothing further to add, but having been at some expense at their Journey here they hope their Brethren will consider it. They were told care should be taken of them, and somewhat given them before their departure.

It was ordered that Thirty shillings be given them to defray their charges on the road, and that their entertainment in Town be paid for."

1733—The Governor's Private Secretary Visits Conestoga.

In Vol. 3 of the Colonial Rec., p. 506 the expenses connected with the Indian treaty are set out and among them may be found the following.

"Decr.—To Robert Charles for the Expenses by him disbursed in a Journey to Conestogoe, by order of the Governor and Council, to forward to the Indians of Allegheny several Messages of importance, touching the reports spread of their going over to the French, and inviting them to come to Philadelphia to treat with this Government, and for an Express sent to Sasquehannah for Edmund Cartlidge, who was the bearer of Messages, 4£ 17s.—And we are of opinion that 5 Pounds be allowed to the said Robert Charles for his trouble in the said Journey, for

9 Pounds & 17 Shillings.

1733.—The Government Bears the Expenses of Shawanese Indian Funerals.

In the Book last mentioned, p. 507 is set forth the following charge:

"March—To the Charges of Attendance, nursing and funerals of two Shawanese Indians, p. Account, 28 Pounds 14s. 5, & to Dr. Thomas Gaerme, their Physician, for his medicines Advice and care, P. his Bill 15 Pounds.

43 Pounds. 14s. 5."

1733—Peter Chartier Brings Much Rum to Conestoga.

We remember that Peter Chartier was a son of Martin Chartier and that his mother was a Shawanese Indian. In an item found in Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 501, it is complained that Chartier, whose name is here spelled Cheavier, brings rum to the Indians and does not obey the laws at all. The Indians ask that this bringing of rum be stopped.

1733—The Walking Purchase Is Again Mentioned

In Vol. 6 of Haz. Reg., p. 212, mention is again made to the walking purchase of 1686 and it seems that there is still some dissatisfaction connected with it.

1734—Captain Civility Sent for By the Government.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 570, it is set forth that several Oneida In-

dians came to Philadelphia but before they could talk they desired to see their friend and brother Captain Civility and desired that he might be sent for to come from Conestoga, which was done. Civility and some other Indians came down from Conestoga and the treaty was held. There was also present the Chief of the Ganawese Indians and John and Thomas Penn. Most of the business of this Council or treaty concerned sections of Pennsylvania outside of Lancaster County and therefore we will not set forth the proceedings.

1734—The Indians at Conestoga Complain of the Traders.

In Vol. I of the Penna. Archives, p. 425, the following complaint is made by the Indians against the Traders: "May 1st, 1734.

My Brethren:

Some time ago Edmund (Probably Edmund Cartlidge) brought a Letter amongst us, and withall advised me to mind to be careful of my people, not in ye least to hurt them, and if we wanted any Assistance we might expect it from You, which we are very glad to hear. As for ye belt of Wampum you sent by ye Five Nations, we have not yet had, though so often mentioned. Edward Kenny, Jacob Ryatt, Tim'y Fitzpatrick, Wm. Dewlap & Jno. Kelly, of Donegall, come trading with us without a License, which is a hindrance to the Lincensed Trades. Charles Poke and Thomas Hill are very pernicious for they have abused us, and we gave them a fathom of white wampum, desiring them by that token to acquaint you how they had served us, and att a Drinking Boutt, Henry Baley, Olliver Wallis and Jno. Young, took one of our old men, and after having tied him abused him very much, James Denning was among them and abused us likewise, such pople we think are not proper to deal with us. Jno. Kelly, of Pextan has made a great disturbance by raising false reports among us, and Tim'y Fitzpatrick, Thomas Moren and Jno. Palmer quarrel often with us, therefore, we desire those four may be kept particularly from us. Jonas Davenport, Laz. Lowry, Jmes Letort, Fran's Stevens, James Patterson, Ed. Cartlidge, we desire may have license to come and trade with us, as also Peter Cheartier, who we reckon one of us, and he is welcome to come as long as he pleases likewise we begg att our Councill that no trader abovementioned may be allowed to bring more than 30 Galons of Rum, twice in a year and no more, for by that means we shall be capable of paying our debts and making our creditors easy, which we can not do otherwise, and that every trader may be obliged to bring his rum in ye Cabin where he lives directly, and not to hide in ye woods, but for P. Cheatier to bring what quantities he pleases, for he trades further than the rest, and that every trader bring his license with him, and for our parts if we see any other traders than those we desire amongst us, we will staves their Cags and seize their goods likewise, we also beg every trader may be obliged to bring good Powder, and if we are indebted to any of those we desire may not be admitted to trade with us, if they will come without goods or Rum, if we have it by us we will pay them their Due, we also hope no hired man will have liberty to bring any rum with him.

We are Your Friends and Brethren,

NECHIKONNER, (L. S.)
OPOCKRETOR, (L. S.)
CAWKECAWLEN? (L. S.)

OLANAWKANOR, L. S.)
MEELATAINEN, (L. S.)

Testes:

JONAH DAVENPORT,
JAMES LETORT,
LAREY LOWREY,
PETER P. CHEARTIER,

Indorsed 1st May, 1734. A letter from the Indians ab't Licenc'd Traders."

1735—The Conestoga Indians Show the Written Penn Treaty.

In Vol. 3 of the Col. Rec., p. 597, there are set forth the proceedings of a treaty of the 29th of July, 1735, as follows:—

"Several Indians of Conestogoe and Sasquehannah to the number of thirty in all, Men, Women and Children coming to town on a friendly visit, and their Chiefs applying to the Proprietaries and Governour to be heard in Council.

A Council was held at Philadelphia, August 1st, 1735.

PRESENT:

The Honourable THOMAS PENN, Esqr., Proprietary.
The Lieutenant Governor,
Samuel Preston,
Clement Plumsted,
Ralph Assheton,
Thomas Griffitts,
Charles Read,
Esquires.

PRESENT ALSO:

Tioquataraghse or Civility, Onichsulyiena, Canasquagenerat, Tatiernughti, with several other Conestogoe Indians of less Note.

Ullaloes, Chief of the Ganawese, with Peyhiohinas, Joaasha, and some other of that Nations.

Gannauwantagerah, Waiabiessanagh and others of the Shawanese.

Conrad Weyser, Interpreter.

The Proprietor told the Indians that as soon as heard of their Arrival he sent a Message to his brother, at Pennsbury, acquainting him therewith, but he is so much indisposed as not to be able to come down, and that the Council are now met to hear what they have to offer.

Civility, by the Interpreter said:

That there are now present three different Nations of the Indians, to witt: the Conestogoes, Ganawese and Shawanese, who are come down to visit the Proprietors, and to renew with them the League and Chain of Friendship.

That when William Penn first came into this Country, he called many of the Indians together and told them that the Great King of England had given unto him a large tract of land, on which several nations of Indians were settled; that it was his desire to live in Peace and good friendship with all those Indians, and therefore he would make purchases from them of those lands, before they should be possessed by the white people.

That the Indians told William Penn he and they should live on those lands like Brethren, in Love and and Friendship; whereupon William Penn and the Indians entered upon a League of Friendship together, whereby they became all as one people and one Nation, joined together so strongly that nothing should ever disunite them, but that they should continue one people forever.

That if one Chief article then agreed on between William Penn and the Indians was that if any mischief or hurt should befall either, they should assist one another, and constantly have their eyes open to watch for each other's safety, and their ears open if any news were brought from any Country that might give uneasiness to either, they should carefully inform each other of what they heard.

That it was further agreed between William Penn and the Indians, that each should bear a share in the others misfortunes. That this Country, though it might be filled with people of different Nations, yet care should be taken that Justice should be done to every person, and no mischief happen without satisfaction being given when it was necessary.

That William Penn and the Indians agreed on other articles, of all which two papers were written; one of them their brother William Penn had and the other they have brought with them, to show that they preserve all these things carefully.

That their Brother William Penn told the Indians this agreement was to continue for three Generations.

Then laying down three Bundles of skins,

He said:

That they were now come hither to see William Penn's sons, to take them by the hand and renew with them the League of Friendship made with their father. And to bind their words, they now presented, in the name of all the Conestooge, Ganawese and Shawanese Indians, three bundles of skins.

Civility laying down another bundle of skins added:

That the Shawanese Indians who live upon ———— River, lately sent him a present of skins, which he now gives to the Proprietaries, to engage them to assist in composing any differences that may arise between the Irish People, woh are come into these parts and these Indians who intend to live and dye where they are now settled.

That he had now finished all he had to say.

The proprietor told the Indians he would speak to them on the heads they had mentioned very soon; and orders being given for their good accommodation and entertainment, they were at present dismissed.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, August 2d, 1735.

PRESENT:

The Honourable Thomas Penn, Esquire,
The Lieutenant Governour,
Samuel Preston,
Ralph Assheton,
Thomas Griffitts,
Charles Read,
Esquires.

And the Indians mentioned in the preceeding Minute.

The Proprietor spoke to the Indians by the Interpreter, as follows:—

Friends and Brethren:—

I told you yesterday, that on the first Notice I had of your coming to Town I had sent to my brother, whom I had left at Pennsbury, to desire his Company here, and I am now truly sorry that the indisposition he labours on or under, which till is over will not suffer him to travel, must deprive him of the pleasure he would have taken at your visit. You are sensible he is your Country man, being born in the same land with you, and for this reason he would have desired to see you; but he has sent me a letter by which I know his mind, and now since he can not be present himself I shall give you both his and my own sentiments, which I assure you are exactly the same.

We need not tell you, who formerly saw our father William Penn here, that he loved all the Indians as his own People and Children, he shewed it in all his actions and conduct towards them; he made a firm League of Friendship with all the Indians, and he not only observed them strictly himself but he gave it in charge to us his children to do the same. And as we are the same with

our father, so we are very well pleased to find by this visit, and what you have said, that you are the very same you were when he was here, and that you not only remember the Substance of what then past, but also have kept one of the instruments of writings that he gave your fathers under his hand."

After this done the Governor showed the Indians the deed which they had made September 13, 1700, for the Susquehanna lands and also the treaty by which they confirmed the deed made the 3rd. of April, 1701, which we have before set out. This seemed to satisfy them. On the fourth of August they met again and after they had some rum, pipes, tobacco and bread they were given presents and the Governor made them a speech, which pleased them very much. After all this they departed.

1736—Lands From the Mouth of the Susquehanna River to be Bought.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 87, at a Council, it was stated that it was advised the Indians and whites ought to confer and treat about the purchase of lands and that as the Indians signed releases to Penn for all the lands lying between the Mouth of the Susquehanna and Kekachtanium Hills, and that it now remained to conclude on the amount of goods to be delivered. Here we are further informed that the Land purchasing has not ceased to cause some trouble.

1736—A Reference to the Conquering of the Susquehannocks by the Five Nations.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec.. p. 93, at a treaty held at Philadelphia, at which some of the Five Nations were present the question of these Susquehanna land again came up and the Speaker of the Five Nations said that if Captain Civility at Conestoga should attempt to make a sale of any lands to us or any of our neighbors they must let him know and that he had no power to do so; and if he does anything of the kind the Indians will utterly disown him.

The subject again came up and on p. 94 of the same book, the Indian Speaker of the Five Nations said, "We have indeed heard of a letter sent up to Susquehanna from the Governor of Maryland. If he mentions anything in it of orders from the King of England we are to hear of it. The land on Susquehanna belongs to the six nations by the conquest of the Indians of that river but we do not know how they lay claim to the Southern lands."

Here we again see that subjugation of the Susquehannocks is proved.

1736—An Indian Deed for Lands on Susquehanna.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn. Archives, p. 494 there is set forth under the date of 1736 a deed from the Sachems of the Onondagos, Chiefs of the Senecas, Chiefs of the Cayoogoes, Chiefs of the Oneidas and chiefs of the Tuscaroras, which sets forth as follows:

"Whereas, the late Proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania, Wm. Penn, Esq., soon after arriving in his province, took measures to have the River Susquehannah, with all the land lying on both sides of the same, purchased for him and his heirs of those Indians of the Five Nations Inhabiting in the Province of New York, who claimed the p'p'y thereof and according did purchase them from Coll. Thomas Dungan formerly Governor of New York, and pay for the same, Notwithstanding

which the Indians of the Five Nations aforesaid, have continued to claim a right in and to the said River and Lands; nor have those claims been hitherto adjusted, whereupon, the said Sachems or Chiefs having with all the others of the said Nations Met the last summer at their great Council, held in the Countrey of the said Onandagoes, did resolve and conclude that a final period and Conclusion should be put to all Disputes that might possibly arise on that occasion; and have appointed the aforenamed Sachems or Chiefs as Plenepotentiaries of all those nations to repair to Philadelphia in order to confirm the Several treaties of Peace which have hitherto been concluded between them and the said Province; and also, to Settle and Adjust all Demands and Claims that have been heretofore made, or hereafter may be made, touching or concerning the aforesaid river Susquehannah, and the lands lying on both sides thereof; and ye said Sachems or Chiefs of the Five Nations aforesaid, having for themselves and on behalf of the said Nations, renewed and ratified the said treaties of Friendship and Peace substituting between them and the said Province, did afterwards proced to treat and agree with the Honorable the Proprietors thereof, about the said river and lands. Now know ye, that in consideration of, the premises aforesaid and of the several quantities of goods herein mentioned, viz: 500 pounds of powder, 600 pounds of lead, 45 Guns, 60 Strowd water match Coats, 100 Blankets, 100 duffle match coats, 200 yards of half-thick, 100 shirts, 40 hatts, 40 pairs of Shoes and Byckles, 40 pair of stockings, 100 hatchets, 500 knives, 100 houghs, 60 kettles, 100 tobacco tongs, 100 Scissors, 500 awl blades, 120 Combs, 2000 needles, 1000 flints, 24 looking glasses, 2 pounds of vermillion, and 100 Tin pots besides 25 Gallons of Rum, 200 pounds of Tobacco, 1000 pipes, and 24 dozen of Gartering, by the said Proprietairies, John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, well and truly paid and delivered unto the said" chiefs aforesaid before the delivery of these presents, they acknowledge themselves to be satisfied and they, for themselves, and all the Five Nations, the Tyannuntasacta Hills, or confirm unto the said John, Thomas and Richard Penn the following lands, to wit:— "All the said River Susquehannah, with the lands lying on both sides thereof, to extend Eastward as far as the heads of the Branches or Springs which run into the said Susquehannah and all the lands lying on the West side of the Susquehanna river to the Setting of the Sun and to extend from the mouth of the said River Northward, up the same to the hills or mountains called in the language of the said Nations, the Kekkachtananin Hills, or Endless Hills, and by the Delaware Indians, the Kekkachtananin Hills, together, also, the Islands in the said River, Ways, Waters, Watercourses, Woods, Underwoods, Timeber and Trees, Mountains, Hills, Mines, Valleys, Minerals, Quarries, Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Advantages, Hereditaments and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining;" and then they further say if the Indians any time hereafter demand any property, "to the said River Sasquehannah, lands on both sides of the same, Islands contained therein, Hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released, nor any part or parcel thereof, but of and from the same shall be barred and

forever Excluded by these Presents; and that the said Proprietaries, John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, their heirs, successors and assigns, shall, and rightfully may, from time to time, and at all times and seasons, forever hereafter, quietly and peaceably, have, hold, occupy, possess and Enjoy, all and singular, the Said River Susquehannah, and the lands lying on both sides of the same, and all the Islands therein, with the Hereditaments granted and released, with their and every of their appurtenances, Without the Let, Trouble, Hinderance or Molestation of the said Kakiskerowane, Tayunhunty, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawceyatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of ye Nation of the Onondagoes; Kanichhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoayatondackquas, Ashcoalaax, Hetquantagechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Saguehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseegherochogoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Cayoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalamy, Tahashwangaroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems or Chiefs of the Tuscaroras, or any of them, or any others of the Indians of the Five Nations aforesaid, or any other person or persons claiming or to claim the same, or any part thereof, by, from or under them, or any of them, according to the true intent and meaning of these Presents.

In Witness whereof the before named Sachems or Chiefs, for themselves and on behalf of all the People of the Five Nations aforesaid, have hereunto set their Hands and Seals, the Eleventh day of October, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Six, and in the Tenth year of the Reign of King George the Second, over Great Britain, etc." The deed is then signed by twenty-six Chiefs and witnessed by seventeen witnesses. This deed is recorded in the Office of Recording Deeds in Book G., Vol. 5, p. 277.

1736—A Release for the Same Lands.

On the 12th day of October, 1736, the various Indians above mentioned made or executed a release in addition to the former deed, which deed was made on the 11th of October and in their release also embodied a treaty. This release and treaty are as follows:

"We, the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians, the Onadagoes, Isanundowans or Sinnekas, Cayoogoes, Oneydas, Tuscaroras, (in behalf also of ye Cayingoes or Mohacks), who have lately at Philadelphia by our Deed in writing dated the eleventh day of this instant, October, released to John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Proprietors of Pennsylvania, and to their Heirs and Successors, ALL our Right, Claim and Pretentions whatsoever, to all and every the lands on both sides of the River Sasquehannah, from ye mouth thereof as far Northward or up the said River as that Ridge of Hills called the Tyoninhackta or Endless Mountains, Westward to the Setting of the Sun, and Eastward to the furtherest Springs of the Waters running into the said River, Do hereby further declare, that our True intent and meaning by the said writing was and is to Release and we do hereby more expressly release, to the said Proprietaries, their Heirs and Successors forever, All our Rights, Claim and Pretensions whatsoever, to all and every the lands lying within the bounds and limits of the Government of Pennsylvania, Beginning Eastward of the River Delaware, as far North-

ward as the said Ridge or Chain of Endless Mountains as they cross the Country of Pennsylvania, from Eastward and to the West.

And further as we have made the firmest League of Friendship with our Brethren of Pennsylvania and are become as one People with them, We do hereby promise and engage for ourselves and our Children and their Children, That neither we nor they nor any in Authority in our Nations, will at any time bargain, sell, grant or by any means make over, to any person or persons whatsoever, whether White men or Indians, other than by the said Proprietors, the Children of William Penn, or to Persons by them authorized and appointed to agree for and receive the same, any lands within the limits of the Government of Pennsylvania, and it is bounded Northward with the Goverment of New York and Albany, but when we are willing to dispose of any further rights to land within the said limits of Pennsylvania, we will dispose of them to the said William Penn's Children and to no other persons whatsoever.

In Witness whereof we have in Behalf of all our Nation, signed this further writing, being distinctly read and interpreted to us by our Friend Conrad Wyser, the Twenty Fifth day of October, 1736.

Witness (an interlineation of seventeen words being first made between the 8th and 9th lines.)

ANYNSSQUASHUH, his mark
ANYHARUNGQUAS,
CANDACH,
HAWYIENTA,
JOSUNSUDAN,
JOSUNLONSENET,
HANUKHUNGO,
HATQUANTAGUHTY,
GAHISKEROWANO,
GECHTACKHERY,
TAHASHWANGAI,
TACANNUNTY,
CAXHAAYN,
TOCANORUNGO,
OSCOTAX,
SAWUNTGA,
CANAWATO,
SAGUSKSONYUNT,
TYIICHRYGERECHGO,
SARISTORQUOH,
SHYKELIMY,
CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter."

The above release and treaty may be found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 498; and it may also be found in Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 219.

1737—Indian Religion.

Mombert in his History of Lancaster County, p. 19, gives us a good deal of interesting information about the Indians and their religion. He tells of the queer customs and ways which they have to worship their God.

137—Indian Depredations at Conestoga.

In Vol. 1 of the Penn. Archives, p. 547, Samuel Blunston made the following statement as to Indian outrages:

"To the Honorable the Proprietor, the President and Council is humbly Represented,

That

On Sunday night last an accident happened which has given us some trouble. About eleven o'clock at night two Indians came into Samuel Bethel's house and asked for drink, one of them having a naked knife in his hand, and with some difficulty Samuel's wife (he being in bed) perswaded them out of the house and fastened the Door, when immediately one of them with great violence darted a Board through a Glass window into the House, which as it happened did no other damage than breaking the window. Samuel Bethel was asleep, but there being two other

men in the House, viz: Daniel Southerland and John Judson, they went out to prevent their doing further mischief, whereupon one of the Indians with the knife wounded Southerland in the Belly and cut the Caul so that his Bowels came out, and immediately turned to the other man and stabbed him in the Breast, which wound, though deep, slanting downward kept on the outside of the Bone, so that wee hope that neither of the wounds are mortal, though both of them, especially Southerland, are yet very ill. On Monday morning several people of the Town went after the Indians and brought one of them back and some of their people went after the other but could not find him. The Indian that was taken they secured in our Prison, till we could know whether the wounded men would recover, and yesterday we sent some people to the Indian Town where they found several of the Indians in great surprise, our people let them know they were come in a friendly manner to invite them to a conference about the matter, and they agreed to meet me here today, which they have accordingly done. What I said to them was of this effect, viz: That I was come to meet and speak with them about an abuse committed by two of their Young men on some of ours without any provocation given on our part, that when first our men were wounded wee thought they would have died, and therefore secured the Indian we had taken untill we could speak to them and acquaint them with it, but that now we were in hopes our People would recover we released the Prisoner and delivered him to them, for that we did not intend to punish him for the offence but expected they would make such reparation as the nature of the crime would require. That the Friendship between our people and theirs might remain most firm. I also informed that this man was seen to carry a naked sharp pointed knife in his hand before he did the Mischief, and that I had often seen their people go among ours with sharp pointed naked knives, which practice I thought they would do well to discourage. I further let them know that I would write an account of the affair to the Proprietor, the President, and Council, and desired they should let me know what I should say from them, to which after a short consultation Sukaw on behalf of himself and Weyewas, their King, (who was here) made answer, that all the Indians who were here (except themselves) were young foolish men, with whom they could hold no Council, therefore desired I would write an account of the affair to you, and when they received your letter they would call their Old People together and take Counsel of what was proper to be done, and having before delivered them the Prisoner, when wee had done they asked whether he might go along with them, to which we agreed, and they departed. It seems unnecessary for me to observe anything hereon, except that the charge which will arise on the occasion, for nursing the man, and to the Surgery and other expenses necessary, ought in due time to be defrayed, but we know not without your advice where properly to apply.

I am with Due Respects,

Your assured Friend,

SA. BLUNSTON.

Lancast., March ye 8th, 1737-8."

1737—Shawanese Excited Because the Senecas Sell Us Land.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 234, at a Council held in Philadelphia,

"The President then laid before the Board a Message to our Proprietor from the Chiefs of the Shawanese at Allegheny, accompanied with a String of Wampum, which being read is in substance, that they are strongly solicited by the French, whom they call their Fathers, to return to them; that every year they send those Indians some Powder, Lead and Tobacco, to enable them to withstand their enemies, the Southern Indians, by whom they have often suffered, and were last year attacked in one of their Towns; that they are gott so far back that they can go no further without falling into their enemies' hands or going over to the French, which they (the Shawanese) say they would willingly avoid; that if they should return to Susquehanna, as this Government has often pressed, they must starve, little or no game being to be mett with in those parts; and therefore as our Brethren and Allies, with whom a friendship has ben established by the Treaty held between their King Opetha alias Opessa, and our first Proprietor, they request that we will furnish them with some arms and ammunition for their defence against their enemies, and to secure their continuance at Allegheny.

Upon conisdering what the Sachims of the Mohocks had represented to Mr. Clark, it was observed that the claim of the Shawanese on the Susquehanna to those lands lately released to our Proprietors is entirely new and without any manner of foundation, those Indians having never before made the least pretensions of the kind; that they were at first admitted into this Province about forty years since at the Desire of the Conestogers, they were suffered to settle amongst them, and had so contiued until of late years; that for the benefit of hunting they had removed to a greater distance and some of the Nation are now settled above Shamokin on Sasquehannah and the Greater Number at Allegheny who are those from whom the Proprietor received the aforesaid Letter, on the subject of whom it was also remarked, that for these several years the French have been endeavouring to gain those Indians for preventing which they are invited, by Messages dispatched to them in the winter of 1731, to return to Sasquehannah where a large and convenient tract was laid out for their accommodation. Some of their Chiefs came the year after, with whom the Government renewed their treaty of Friendship and they returned in all appearance highly satisfied which their Messages since have also confirmed; that it might be very improper, on this last message from them to send powder and Lead because they have thought fitt to ask them, yet as the practices of the French on those Indians, if successful, may prove extremely prejudicial in a case of a rupture with France, all possible means ought to be used to prevent their defection and to keep them attached to the British Interests; and as they appear to be in some dread at present of their Enemies, the Southeran Indians, between whom and all those to the Northward a Peace is now meditating by the intercession of the Governour of Virginia, the present juncture may be a very proper one for inviting the Chief Men of those Shawanese to visit us and renew their Treaties with us, and likewise for concerting such other measures as may be most expedient. The Board are therefore of Opinion that a proper Message accompanied

with a Small present within Ten pounds Value, should for this end be dispatched by the first convenient ipportunity to those Chiefs, and it is Recommended to the President to order the same accordingly."

Here we see that not only were efforts made to get the Shawanese back to Susquehanna but that a large tract of land was also prepared here for them to settle upon again, but they would not do so.

1738—The Indians Protest Against Rum.

Our Indians, formerly of Lancaster County, but now of Allegheny, this year sent a protest against the use of Rum, found in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, p. 549, as follows:

"This day we held a Council, and itt is agreed by the Sheynees in General, that whatever Rum is in our Towns shall be broak and spilt, and nott Drunk, and whoever shall bring any rum or any sort of strong Liquor into our Towns, Indian or white man, let it be more or less, itt shall be all broak and spilt in the presence of the whole towns, wheresoever it is brought, and four men is appointed for every town to see that there is no rum or strong Liquor brought into our Towns, and to have it four years, a term from date."

This is signed by one hundred Indians and among Peter Chartier, a half Indian, and several others whose names we have met from time to time.

1738—A Message Sent to Conestoga About the Murder By Indians There.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 280, the letter from Samuel Blunston, which we have cited above was taken note of by Council. It is also set forth that the Indians being under great surprise about to leave the County because of their men was put to prison on account of this killing and it was therefore decided to send a letter to Blunston to be laid before the Indians and their Chiefs at Conestoga. The letter is found p. 281 of the same book and is as follows:

"Philadelphia, March 14th, 1737-8. Our Friends and Brethren:

On receiving an account of the late barbarous action committed by two of your young Men in Lancaster town upon the persons of two of our People we are very much concerned for the folly and wickedness of it, and say thus to you upon that Subject:

You are fully sensible that by the many past treaties between you and us it is in the firmest manner established and agreed that we should be all as one people; that wrongs done by any of either side should be redressed and the offenders punished without any distinction, and you well know that when any of our people have taken the life of an Indian, the guilty persons have been put to death for it as if the injury had been done to one of ourselves without any difference; therefore, when any of yours are guilty of any such crime, we do expect they shall in like manner be punished for it; and in all cases of this nature we consider the guilty person only, if he be a Christian; no other Christian or white man is put to any trouble; and in the same manner if he be an Indian, we do not account any other Indian answerable for it but the guilty one only, and he alone is to be punished; only this is to be remembered, that if any of our People commit a crime and fly for it, our Officers and people search after them and must find them, and cause them to be kept in prison until they can be prosecuted

and punished; but if the offence is not Murther or some such grievous crime,, we sometimes let them have their liberty out of prison, when one or more good men will become bound for their appearance, and wil produce or bring them forth when called by the Government, to be punished either in their bodies or to be fined in a sum of money to make satisfaction for their offence, and this method we perceive our Officers and good friends, Samuel Blunston and the the young Man whom they seized for committing that cruel act on persons who had done him and his companion, who had fled, no manner of Harm but were endeavoring only to restrain their violence and make them quiet after they had broken the window of a house to pieces, without any provocation.

This proceeding of Samuel Blunston and the other Magistrates you must, without doubt believe. was an act of great Mildness towards you, and such as would scarce have been shewn to any white men in the like case. You can not however, but well know in yourselves, that if either of our wounded men should die of their wounds those who gave the wound should suffer for it in the same manner as if a white man had done the Act; and if this should happen, we shall expect that not only the Young man whom our Officers seized and have since trusted to your keeping, but the other also who has fled, shall be apprehended, and be both delivered up to be punished; but if the wounded persons recover, as we hope they will, those two offenders besides making satisfaction to the sufferers, should pay all the charge of their cure and of nursing and keeping; and if the two Indian Young men are not able to do this of themselves their friends should help them to do it. for them, till by their own diligence in hunting, they can make Satisfaction; they must likewise faithfully promise to behave themselves well and peacefully towards all our people for the future, that no just cause of further complaint may be given against them. And on this occasion we would desire you to caution all your young men not to come amongst us and our people with any dangerous weapons, that all further mischief may be avoided, for we must live friendly and peaceably together; we are to take care that none of our People shall hurt yours and you must take the like care that none of yours be disorderly or hurt you, either white men or Indians. And as we can not doubt but in this and all other cases you will shew yourselves true and good men, by faithfully performing what you have repeatedly engaged by your treaties with us, we desire that you who are innocent may not be under any fear or apprehension, for we should not think you accountable more than our own people, the white men that inhabit there, and in this we desire you to rest satisfied, and are

Your true friends and Brethren,
In behalf of the Proprietor and the Council,

JAMES LOGAN."

1739—Shawanese Chiefs at Conestoga.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 336 it is stated that six chiefs of the Shawanese Indians with twenty-one others came to town and the minutes of their Council and the treaty of 1732 was read and also a treaty made between William Penn and some of the Shawanese Chiefs in 1701; and Logan was desired to prepare a speech for them. In this speech he said among

other things that since your nation first left and settled near Paxtang on the West side of Susquehanna and went so far away to Ohio we desired a conference with you. Logan then went on to speak about their history and about their coming into this Province and several other things, but as we have stated it all heretofore we will not repeat it. A new treaty however was made, in which the treaty of the 23rd of April, 1701 was again rehearsed to them and it is set out in full in this book but as we have it in a former item we will not repeat it either. The following note however, was added to the treaty by Logan. He told them that he could see here what engagements their ancestors had made and that we had always kept ours or part of it but that they had not kept theirs. They made a reply the next day and said they would have come to Philadelphia before but that they were grieving about some of their people that had been killed and then they gave the reasons why they left us and went out West. They say that they remembered that they were invited to come back two years ago and they were very thankful for the invitation but that they will not come back again. They were given large presents, however, and a new treaty was made with them. The treaty is found p. 346 and is as follows:

"Be it at all time to come remembered that on the First day of August in the Year of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred and thirty nine, and the Thirteenth year of the reign of King George the Second over Great Britain, etc., at the City of Philadelphia, and the Province of Pennsylvania, it was concluded, stipulated and fully agreed upon by and between the Honorable John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esqrs., true and absolute Proprietaries of the said Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, sons of the Honorable William Penn, Esq., first grantee and Proprietor of the said Province, in behalf of all the English and other Christian of the said Province, on the one part, and Kaycowwocker, Newcheconer, Tomenebuck, Meshemethequater, Chiefs of the Nations of Shawanese Indians, in behalf of themselves and the whole body of people of the said Nation dwelling on the great river Sasquehannah, as also on or near the great river called Ohio, otherwise Allegheny river, or in other part of America within the claims of the king of Great Britain, on the other part in manner following; that is to say, that the Union and Friendship now so happily subsisting, shall be maintained, cultivated and improved by and between the subjects of the said King of Great Britain inhabiting America and all the people of the said Shawanese Nation, in all times to come, and that the same shall be inviolably preserved without any Let, obstruction or interruption while the Sun, Moon and stars endure. That all the several articles agreed upon in Philadelphia the twenty-third of April, In the Year One thousand Seven Hundred and one, by the said William Penn, and the said Nations then dwelling on or near the said River Susquehannah, of whom the said Nation of the Shawanese, under their King Wopaththaw, alias Opessah, was one, now read and interpreted to the said Shawanese shall be inviolably observed in all and singular the parts thereof by all and every the Parties to these Presents.

And whereas, the Shawonese hav-

ing left their former habitations, are now for the benefit of their hunting removed to much greater distances from the Christian Inhabitants of the said Province than formerly they were at the time of entering into the said agreement, they, the said Shawanese, do hereby, for themselves and the rest of their Nations, solemnly promise and engage, that always bearing in mind the said Articles and Covenants entered into by their Ancestors they, wherever they may be settled, shall behave on their parts as true friends and Brothers to the Christian Inhabitants of the said Province, and will not by any motives or persuasives be induced to join with any Nation whatsoever who shall be in enmity with the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain in any Acts of Hostility against them.

In witness whereof, the said Thomas Penn and the Honorable George Thomas, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the said Province, and Kaycowockecor, Neweheoner, Tomenebuck, Meshemethequater, the Chiefs of the Indians above mentioned, have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of,

JAMES LOGAN,
SAMUEL PRESTON,
CLEMENT PLUMSTEAD,
SAMUEL HASELL,
Counsellours.
KAASHAWAGHQUILLAS,
PALAKACOUTHATER,
MARCOTTAWCOLLO,
Indians.
THOMAS PENN,
GEORGE THOMAS,
THOMAS FREAME, Jr.,
KAYCOWOCKEWR,
NEWCHEIONER,
TOMENEBUCK,
THOMAS LAWRIE, Sect.
GEORGE MIRANDA,
Interpreter.

Then being told that having now finished what we had to say, they are at liberty to return home when they should have sufficiently refreshed themselves, and that a wagon should be ready to carry some of the Old men and Baggage a part of the way, some liquor being likewise called for; they are wished a good Journey, and having drank, withdrew."

1739—Strange Shawanese Customs.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec. p. 342, the Shawanese say that it is their custom to put deer hair on the graves of their dead. They made the folowing statement:

"Being come where our Brothers died we have taken a little Deer's hair to put on their graves, and missing a brother (meaning the Governor) we take a little more Deer's Hair to cover his grave. They then present three bundles of Deerskins."

1742—Another Treaty Held With the Five Nations: Conestoga Indians Present.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., pp. 569 to 586 a long treaty with the Five Nations was held. It included many items but on p. 570 the following proceedings concerning the Susquehanna Lands came up:

"We have further to observe with respect to the lands lying on the West side of the Susquehanna, that though Brother Onas (meaning the Proprietor) has paid us for what his people possess, yet some part of that Country have been taken up by persons whose place of residence is to the South of this Province, from whom we have never received any consideration. This affair was recommended to you by our Chiefs at our last Treaty and you then, at our earnest desire, promised to write a letter to that person who has the

authority over those people, and to procure us his answer. As we have never heard from you on this head, we want to know what you have done in it. If you have not done anything we now renew our Request, and desire you will inform the person whose people are seated on our Lands, that the Country belongs to us in right of conquest—We have bought it with our blood; and taken it from our enemies in fair war; and we expect as owners of that land to receive such a consideration for it as the land is worth. We desire you will press him to send us a positive answer; Let him say yes or No; if he says Yes, we will treat with him; if No, we are able to do ourselves Justice, and we will do it by going to take payment on ourselves."

This treaty was held in July, 1742 and Conrad Weiser was present as the Interpreter. The Indians present consisted of thirteen Onondagoes nineteen Cayoogoes, fourteen Anayits, three Senecas, twenty-two Tuscaroras, five Shawanese, four ancient Conestogas and four modern Conestogoes, also set forth as being Nantikokes or Conoys and ten Delawares.

1742—Names of the Conestoga Indians at the Philadelphia Treaty of 1742.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 585, among the list of Indians present at the great treaty there are given the following four Conestogas as those that speak the ancient Language. Perhaps they are the old Susquehannocks or their Heirs and descendants. They are Dior-haasery, Chif, Thanighwageran, Car-ha-cawy-int, and Caienquily-quoh. And the modern Conestogas, which are set down as also being both Nantikokes and Conoys are named, Des-Scheg, Igh-qua-queheck, Quesamaag, and Ayiok-his.

1742—The Five Nation Speaker at the Above Treaty Threatens the Delawares.

At the above treaty a speech was given by Canassatego, the leader of the six Nations, which may be found in Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 578, in which he says that he has heard that the Delaware Indians claim some land along the Susquehanna which the Five Nations sold to the whites and he says to the Delawares who are present, that they know their ancestors sold that land fifty years ago and that some years ago the Delawares themselves ratified the sale and their own letters have been laid on the table before us now and we know that it is true. They have examined the papers and the drafts with their own eyes, and then he says as follows: "We see with our own eyes that they have been very unruly people and are altogether in the wrong with their dealings with you. You have concluded to remove them and oblige them to go over the River Delaware, and to quit all claim to any lands on this side for the future, since they have received pay for them and it is gone through their guts long ago. To confirm to you that we will see your request executed, we lay down this string of wampum in return for yours.

Then turning to the Delawares, holding a belt of Wampum in his hand, he spoke to them as followeth:

Let this belt of Wampum serve to chastize you; you ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till you recover your senses and become sober. You do not know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our brother Onas's case is very just and plain, and his pretensions to preserve friendship:

on the other hand your case is bad, your heart far from being upright and you are maliciously bent to break the chain of Friendship with our Brother Onas. We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors about fifty years ago for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and Chiefs now living to the number of 15 or upwards. But how came you to take upon you to sell Land at all? We conquered you, we made women of you, you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women. Nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands since you would abuse it. This land that you claim is gone through your guts You have been furnished with Cloath Meat and drink by the Goods paid you for it. and now you want it again like children as you are. But what makes you sell land in the Dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even the vaule of a pipe Shank from you? You have told us a blind story that you have sent a messenger to us to inform us of the sale but he never came amongst us, nor we never heard anything about it. This is acting in the dark; and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in their sales of land. On such Occasions they give publick notice and invite all the Indians of their united Nations, and give them a share of the present they receive for the Lands. This is the behavior of the Wise United Nations, but we find you are none of our blood. You act a dishonest part not only in this but in other matters. Your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about our Brethren. You receive them with as much greediness as Lewd women receive the embraces of bad men. And for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We do not give you the liberty to think about it. You are women; take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. You may return to the other side of Delaware where you came from, but we do not know whether, considering how you have demean'd yourselves, you will be permitted to live there or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats as well as the land on this side. We, therefore, Assign you two places to go—either to Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you more under our eye, and shall see how you behave. Do not deliberate, but remove away and take this belt of Wampum." We may notice here that the Delawares were forbid to come to the treaty at Lancaster in 1744, See Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives p. 657.

1743—The Shawanese Break One of Their Agreements

In Vol. 3 of the Votes of the Assembly, p. 517, Governor Thomas says the Shawanese in spite of their many treaties with them are not to be trusted, they are beginning to show their strong liking for the French. And in Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec. p. 630, their depredations are set forth in an affidavit of Thomas McKee of Lancaster County, in which he says that the Indians of the Shawanese from an island in the river called "Big Island" came to his store on the South branch of the Susquehanna and robbed it and that part of them, about thirty came down to Susquehanna on canoes to John Harris's and from there travelled on foot down towards Mary-

land. He says they stopped and asked John Hogg, one of the Lancaster County Magistrates and asked him for a pass and used him very badly.

1743—Indian Excietment About Lancaster Town.

In the American Weekly Mercury of June 9, 1743, the following item occurs:

"The beginning of this week a report came to town that the Indians had cut off most of our traders and yesterday we had an account from Lancaster that they came to Skohoonioty or Jeniaty (a place within the limits of this province but without the Purchase) and destroyed several white families that were settled there; but as the former proves to be false, it is hoped the latter will be found to be so likewise."

1744—The Great Indian Treaty at Lancaster.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., pp. 698 to 737, the minutes of the great Lancaster Treaty are set out. This treaty was with the six Nations and the main subjects discussed were disputes concerning lands in the back parts of the Province and some disputes with Maryland and Virginia. The Governor of Pennsylvania attended the treaty, all the Commissioners of Maryland and the Commissioners of Virginia; and Conrad Weiser was the Interpreter. While this treaty was held in Lancaster town, none of which proceedings concerned Lancaster County, therefore, we shall not give it much space in these annals; but p. 704 the history of the land purchases of Lancaster County from the Indians and also the land on the lower part of the Susquehanna came up and the Governor told the Indians that,

"Our Great King of England and his subjects have alwise possessed the Province of Maryland free and undisturbed from any claims of the Six Nations for about One Hundred Years past, and your not saying anything to us before convinces us you thought you had not any pretence to any lands in Maryland, nor can we yet find out to what lands or under what title you make your claim. For the Susquehanna Indians by a treaty about Ninety years hence (which is on the table and will be interpreted to you) give and yield to the English Nation, their heirs and assigns forever, the greatest part (if not all) of the Lands we possess from Patuxent River on the Western, as well as from Choptank River on the Eastern side of the great Bay Chesapeake, and near sixty years ago you acknowledged to the Governor of New York at Albany, that you had given your lands and submitted yourselves to the King of England.

We are that Great King's subjects, and we possess and enjoy the Province of Maryland, by virtue of his right and sovereignty thereto.

Why, then, will you stir up and quarrel between you and ourselves, who are as one man under the Protection of that King?

By these Treaties we become Brethren; we have alwise lived as such, and hope alwise to continue so.

We need not put you in mind of the Treaty (which we suppose you have had from your fathers) made with the Province of Maryland nearly Seventy years ago, and renewed and confirmed twice since that time.

We have this further to say, that although ye are not satisfied of the Justice of your Claim to any lands in Maryland, yet we are desirous in shewing our Brothers kindness and affection, and to prevent (by any reasonable way) every misunder-

standing between the Province of Maryland and you our Brethren of the Six Nations.

For this purpose we have brought hither a quantity of goods for our Brethren of the Six Nations, and which will be delivered you as soon as we shall have received your answer and made so bright and large a fire as may burn pure and clear whilst the Sun and Moon shall shine. We have now freely and openly bid and laid our bosoms bare to you, and that you may be the better confirmed of the truth of our Hearts, We give you this belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Johah."

The next day Cannassatego made a reply, which is found in the same book, p. 706, and in the reply he says:

"Brother, the Governor of Maryland:

When you mentioned the affair of the Land Yesterday, you went back to old times, and told us you had been in possession of the Province of Maryland about One Hundred Years; but what is one hundred years in comparison to the length of time our Claim began?—Since we came out of this Ground? For we must tell you that long before One hundred years Our ancestors came out of this very ground, and their children have remained there ever since. You came out of the ground in the Country that lyes beyond seas, there you have a just claim, but here you must allow us to be your elder Brothren, and the lands to belong to us long before you know anything of them. It is true that above one hundred years agoe the Dutch came here in a ship and brought with them several goods, such as awls, knives, hatchets, guns, and many other particulars, which they gave us, and when they had taught us to use these things, and we saw what sort of people, we were so well pleased with them that we tied their ships to the Bushes of the Shoar and afterwards liking them still better the longer they stayed with us, and thinking the bushes too slender; we removed the rope and tied it to the trees, and as the trees were liable to be blown by hoigh winds, or to decay of themselves, we, from the affection we bore them, again removed the rope and tied it to a strong and big rock (Here the Interpreter said that they mean the Oneida Country), and not content with this, for its further security we removed the rope to the Big Mountain, (Here the Interpreter said they mean the Onondago Country), and there we tyed it fast and rolled wampum around it, and to make it still more secure we stood upon the wampum and sat down upon it to defend it, and did our best endeavors that it might remain uninjured forever during all the time; the Newcomers, the Dutch, acknowledged our rights to the lands, and solicited us from time to time to grant them parts of our Country, and to enter into League and Covenant with us, and to become one people with us?

After this the English came into the Country and as we were told, became one people with the Dutch; about two years after the arrival of the English, and English Governor came to Albany and finding what great friendship subsisted between us and the Dutch, he approved it mightily, and desired to make as strong a league and to be upon as good terms with us as the Dutch were, with whom he was united, and to become one people with us, and by this further care in looking what had passed between us he found the rope which tyed the ship to the Great Mountain

was only fastened with Wampum, which was liable to break and rot and to perish in a course of years, he therefore told us that he would give us a silver chain which would be much stronger and would last forever. This we accepted and fastened the ship with it, and it has lasted ever since. Indeed, we have some small differences with the English and during these misunderstandings these young men would, by way of reproach, be every now and then telling us that we should have perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with strowds and Hatchets and Guns and other things necessary for the support of life. But we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well or better, if we may believe what our forefathers have told us. We had then room enough and plenty of Deer, which was easily caught, and though we had not Knives, Hatchets or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had knives of stone and hatchets of stone and bows and arrows and these served our uses as well then as the English ones do now. We are now straitened and sometimes in want of deer, and liable to many other inconveniences since the English came amongst us, and particularly from that Pen and Ink work that is going on at the table (pointing to the Secretarys), and we will give you an instance of this. Our Brother Onas, a great while ago, came to Albany to buy the Susquehannah lands of us, but our Brothers, the Governor of New York, who, as we suppose, had not a good understanding with our brother Onas, advised us not to sell him any lands, for he would make an ill use of it, and pretending to be our good friend, he advised us, in order to prevent Onas's or any other persons imposing upon us, and that we might always have our land when we should want it, to put it in his hands and told us, he would keep it for us and for our use, and never open his hands, but keep them close shut, and not part with any of it but at our request. Accordingly we trusted him, and put our Lands into his hands, and charged him to keep it safe for our use; but some time after he went away to England and carried our land away with him, and there sold it to our Brother Onas for a large sum of money; and when, at the instance of our Brother Onas, we were minded to sell him some lands, he told us that we had sold the Susquehannah lands already to the Governor of New York, and that he had bought them from him in England, though when he came to understand how the Governor of New York had deceived us, he very generously paid us for our lands over again."

He then further said as to the lands about Conestoga, "We now come nearer home. We have had your deeds interpreted to us, and we acknowledge them to be good and valid, and that the Conestogoe or Sasquehannah Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you, for they were their's; but since that time we have conquered them, and their Country now belongs to us, and the lands we demanded satisfaction for are no part of the lands comprized in those deeds—they are the Cohongoroutas lands. Those we are sure you have not possessed one hundred years; no, nor above ten years; and we made our demand so soon as we knew your people were settled in those parts. These have never been sold but re-

main still to be disposed; and we are well pleased to hear that you are provided with goods, and do assure you of our willingness to treat with you for those unpurchased lands, in confirmation whereof we present you with this Belt of Wampum."

This treaty lasted from the 22 of June till July 4, 1744. The Sessions were held in the old Court House which stood in Center Square at Lancaster, and during the treaty mention is made that the Indian goods were left in the lower room and the proceedings held in the lower room of the Court House and that Canassatago, the Indian orator stood on the platform when he made his speech; and that Tachanoontie also made certain speeches on the 29th of June. A deal board was brought in and drawings of the land in dispute were made upon it by Canassatego. Several other Indians also spoke and among them Gachadow, who spoke with a loud voice and appropriate jestures, as it is stated in the treaty. The meeting of July 2 was held in the house if George Sanderson in Lancaster and one of the Sessions I think, in the Lutheran Church; and everything passed off well. The Indians, it is stated, were camped out along the Conestoga Creek on both sides of what is now Rocky Springs and adjacent grounds. Some complaint was brought in that they barked the walnut trees and the Council paid for them. They asked the people of Lancaster to repair their pans and kettles, which was done. At the end of the treaty on July 4, they asked for some wine to drink the health of the Great King of England, and they suggest that it should be in big English glasses and not little French ones. After this they gave three loud Huzzas and all joined in. It is then stated that the Commissioners of Virginia gave Canassatego a scarlet camblet coat and took their leave of them in form and at the same time delivered them passes. The Commissioners of Maryland presented Garachadow with a broad gold laced hat and took their leave in the same manner; and this ended the great treaty.

1744—Witham Marshe's Comment on the Treaty and on Lancaster as He Found It in 1744.

Witham Marshe was the Secretary to the Commissioners of Maryland during the treaty of 1744. He kept a journal and jotted down in it the particulars of the treaty and also his impressions of the town and his experiences. The particulars of the treaty we have set forth above from the Colonial Records but the other matters which Marshe speaks of are also highly interesting and we will give them in this article. Ths Journal is found in the Historical Society at Phildelphia. It was reprinted by the New Era Publishing Compnay in 1884 edited and annoted by Dr. Egle. From the diary I find the following minutes:

He says among other things, "We arrived at Lancaster and put our horses at Peter Worral's hotel or tavern (that was later the Cross Keys Tavern on West King street.) We had dinner which was a great comfort; and a room with two beds, one for myself and the chaplain.

Later Calvert, Craddock and myself went into and viewed the Court House of the town. It is a pretty large brick building two stories high. The great room where the Justices of the County hold the Court is very spacious. There is a handsome Bench, which is railed in, wherein the Judges sit and a chair in the midst of it

where the Presiding Judge sits. Below this is a very large table of half oval form. Around this and under their worship's feet the County Clerk and the chief attorneys of the Court sit.

Fronting the Justices' Bench and on both sides of it are several long steps or series of platforms raised each above the other like the steps leading into the North door of St. Pauls. On these steps stand the chief creditors and spectators when a court is held there. It was on these that the Indian chiefs sat when they treated with the several Governments. The Court House is capable to contain about 800 persons without incommoding each other.

We then went up stairs to the room overhead. This is a good room and has a large chimney. In this the Justices sit in the February Court for the convenience of fire. Ajoining this is a similar one where the Jurors are kept to agree.

On top of the Court House is a kind of a cupola. We ascended a ladder and got into it, and from hence we had a complete view of the whole town and the Country several miles around; and likewise part of the Susquehanna River twelve miles away.

This town was not begun to be built until about 16 years ago. It is conveniently laid out into sundry streets and one main street; in the midst of which stands the Court House and the Market. Through this street runs the road into the back Country on to the Susquehanna. There are several cross streets on each side of the main streets which are indifferently well built as to the quantity of houses.

The inhabitants are chiefly High Dutch, Scotch Irish and some few English families and unbelieving Israelites, who dwell very considerably in this place.

The spirit of cleanliness has not as yet in the least troubled the major part of the people; for they are in general very great s——s and slovens. When they clean their houses which is very seldom they are unwilling to remove the filth away from themselves for they place it close to their doors, which in the summer time breeds an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas and vermin.

The religions which prevail are hardly to be numbered. They were Catholics who built a church of square logs and the interspaces filled with clay. In this church is a small organ good for very little and played worse on by the organist.

The sect of Lutherans have a church and this is more spacious, but built by stone and much larger than the other. The minister is a gentleman of good power and he keeps the congregation in good order. The minister of the Dutch church is paid according to the will of the hearers and in the manner in which the sermons please them; but has no certain stipend. The clergyman of the Church of England sometimes officiates in the Court House, there being no church built by them. There are also a great number of Presbyterians and Jews in this Colony.

The houses for the most part are built with and covered with wood, except some few which are built of stone and brick. They are generally low seldom exceeding two stories.

There are hills which inviren Lancaster and likewise some thick woods, which in the summer render it very hot. The soil is thin, dry and sandy; and when a fresh wind blows it almost chokes the inhabitants.

The water here is very bad and there is occasion to buy it. The

Springs and even the wells being stored with limestone.

They have a very good market here well filled with provisions of all kinds and prodigiously cheap. Our commissioners and their Company supped at Warrall's and passed away an hour or two very agreeably; after which I returned to bed and had not slept long when I was attacked with legions of Dutch fleas and bugs which were ready to devour both me and the minister. During the next night Mr. Calvert left the Lodgings and lay in the Court House chamber among the young Gentlemen of Virginia, who there had beds made upon the floor.

On Friday during our dinner the Six Nations with their followers and attendants to the number of 252 arrived. Several of the Squaws with some children rode on horse-back, which is very unusual. They brought fire arms, bows and arrows and tomahawks. A great concourse of people followed them and they marched in very good order with Canassatego at their head, the Chief of the Onondagoes, who when he came near the Court House, where we were dining sang in the Indian language a song inviting us to a renewal of all the treaties.

Conrad Weiser conducted them to some vacant lots in the back part of the town, where boards and poles were placed.

Of these and some boughs of trees the Indians made their wigwams where they resided during the treaty. They will not ever on any occasion dwell or even stay in any house built by white people.

They placed their cabins according to the rank, which each nation holds in Council, the Onondagoes at the head.

Canassatego and Tachanoonta, each about 60 years old, but nimble and lusty, lead in everything.

Tachanoontia is the greatest Chief and the greatest warrior the Five Nations ever had, because either his father or mother was a negro. Most of them understand English but they cannot speak it. We went to see them and after a while they began to paint themselves and look frightful. They rubbed bear grease on their faces and then laid white paint in them. Then we went to the Court House and the Indians came between five and six o'clock accompanied by Conrad Weiser. Governor Thomas seated himself in the chair on the Bench and the Commissioners were seated around about him; and the treaty began.

On Saturday after breakfast the Governor, the Commissioners and some other gentlemen went to the Dunkers' Nunnery about twelve miles hence. They returned about six P. M. (This was the Ephrata Cloisters).

After supper on Saturday I went to the Indian camp and saw a light war dance (The Indian camp is said to have been where the old Conestoga Park was located). At this dance 30 or 40 young men formed themselves into a ring, a fire having been lighted in the middle, an elderly Indian sat near the fire beating a drum to the time of the dances. The Indians hopped around the ring and repeated "Yohah" and "Bugh," and soon after the major part set up a horrid shriek or halloo. They continued several hours and seldom rested. Once they sat down and the three old men sang a tune.

A Conestoga or Susquehannock Indian stood outside the circle and begged the people to give him money for the children of the Indians, which was done. Some high Dutch arrived with guns, which being perceived by this Conestoga, he said it would offend the Indians; and he told us to tell the

Germans to withdraw or leave their guns out of sight and they quickly did it. Up to this time none of the Indian chiefs had got drunk.

On Sunday, June 24, Mr. Craddock, my fellow townsman held dvine services in the Court House. Between one and two o'clock all dined in the Court House and another minister of the Church of England preached in the Court House that afternoon. In the evening we went to the Indian camp again. All were dancing as before.

Monday evening we had a grand supper in the Court House and the Governor of Pennsylvania got very merry and all the company followed his example. During the merriment two Germans happened to pass by the Court House with harp and fiddle and played some time under the window. Then the Governor ordered them to come in and amuse us, which they did; but not with the harmony of their music for that was very uncouth and displeasing; but playing a tune of some sort to a young Indian who danced a jig with Andrew Hamilton (Andrew Hamilton was a son of the Great Andrew the celebrated lawyer and attorney general).

At eight o'clock on Wednesday evening I went with our Honorable Commissiiners to a Ball in the Court House, in the chamber, to which his Honor, the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, and the gentlemen of the several colonies, with sundry inhabitants of the Town were invited. James Hamilton the Proprietor of Lancaster, made (gave) the Ball; and he opened it by dancing two minutes with two of the young ladies here, in which the ladies danced a wilder time than any of the Indians. The females, (I dare not call them ladies for that would be a profanation of tt name) were in general very agreeable. The dancers consisted of Germans and Scotch Irish. But there were some Jewesses who had not long since come from New York that made a tolerable appearance, being well dressed and of an agreeable behavior.

There was a large and elegant supper prepared in the Court House Chamber, of which the Governor, some of the Honorable Commssioners and the female dancers first ate; then the other gentlemen in order; and afterwards the younger gentlemen. The dances were concluded at twelve o'clock but myself and several younger set staid till after one.

Thursday, June 28th, in the evening, about seven o'clock, accompanied by Commissioner Nathaniel Rigby I went to the Indian cabins; and collected a crowd of papooses together and flung handfulls of half pennies among them. They scrambled heartily and this pleased the older ones. A great number of white people witnessed the war dance this night. I went to a cabin where I heard the celebrated Mrs. Montour sing. She was a French lady but now was supposed to be an Indian, having been taken by them in her youth and so long lived with them. She married a war captain of the Indians and had two beautiful daughters. She was received by the best families in Philadelphia. Her husband was dead.

On Friday evening, June 29, I went with Col. Rigby and others to meet Dr. Adams who had got an organ; but it was with the greatest difficulty that we could get him to play a tune. The music was very bad and we suffered in hearing it. Dr. Adams had been a wild young man but was now very pious.

On Saturday, June 30th, the Chiefs dined at the Court House at our invitation. A large number of people were

present; we had five tables and a a great variety of dishes and they were served up in good order. The Sachems sat at two separate tables at the head of one of the famous orator Conassatego. And the others were placed according to their rank. We carved the meat for the Indians and served them with cider and wine mixed with water. The chiefs semed prodigiously pleased wth this feast for they fed lustily, drank heartily and were very greasy before they finished their dinner for by the by they make no use of forks. The health of the Indians and of the Commissioners and the Governor were drunk.

On the evening of July 4th, a fine gold laced hat was presented to Grachadodow, a celebrated warrior then about forty years old. He was a straight limbed and graceful person; but not so fat as Conassatego. His action when he spoke certainly was the most gracious as well as bold that any person ever saw, without the buffoonery of the French or over solemn deportment of the Spaniards. When he made the complimentary speech on the occasion of giving Lord Baltimore the name of Tocarryhogan he was complimented by the Governor who said he would have made a good figure in the forum of old Rome. And Commissioner Jennings declared that he had never seen so graceful an action in any of the most celebrated orators he had ever heard speak.

At twelve o'clock on July 5, the accounts were settled and we dined at Worral's and immediately afterwards mounted our horses and went from this filthy town to our kind facetious landlord Mr. Hughs at Nottingham township by the Gap road, so called from space or gap being opened in the ridge of the Blue Mountains which extends a great way to the Southwest of Virginia and Northeast of Pennsylvania.

WITHAM MARSHE."

1744—The Conoy Indians Still Claim Land in Ohio.

Among the proceedings of the Great Treaty the following is found, p. 724, spoken by Conassatego:

"The Conoy Indians have informed us that they sent you a Message sometime ago to advise you that they were ill used by the White People in the place where they had lived, and that they had come to a resolution of removing to Shamokin, and requested some small satisafction for their land, and as they never have received any answer from you, they have desired us to speak for them. We heartily recommend their case to your Generoslty, and to weight to our Recommendation we present you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual ceremony."

1744—The Conestogas at the Great Lancaster Treaty.

The Colonial Record Account does not mention the names of the Chiefs and Indians at the Lancaster Treaty, but in Vol. 1 of the Penna. Archives, pp. 656 and 7 the names appear and among them we find twelve of the Conestogas that are said to be the Conestoga Indians that speak the ancient language and therefore were likely twelve principal men of the old stock of Conestogas there. This begins to show the pathetic figure of the Conestogas and how they are dwindling. The other Indians present were 20 Onondagoes, 26 Cayoogoes, 12 Oneidas, 4 Senecas, 16 Tuscaroras, 10 Conoys and a few other minor tribes.

1744—The Delawares Come to Philadelphia to Treat.. The Conoys

At a treaty held in Philadelphia, 1744, found in Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., pp. 746 and 747 among other things it is stated that the Conoys have moved higher up too but nearer us (the Delawares) and we now take this opportunity to inform you of it.

1744 — The Shawanese Not On Good Terms With the Five Nations. Have Moved.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec. p. 739, the Governor making a report to Council of the business done at the great treaty at Lancaster, says, that they have renewed solemn treaties of friendship and that they are going to send down the murderer that murdered Armstrong, the trader, near Lancaster. The Governor further says that he observed that there was only one Shawanese present at the treaty and that he was from the principal town in Ohio. And that he inquired into these and he found that the Shawanese and the Five Nations were far from being on friendly terms with each other.

1744—The Delaware Indians Kill John Armstrong, a Lancaster Indian Trader.

In Vol. 3 of the Votes of Assembly, p. 546, it is stated that John Armstrong, an Indian Trader, was killed near Lancaster and his wagon robbed of his Indian goods. And it seems from the newspaper report which may be found in the American Weekly Mercury for 1743 and 1744 that this killing grew out of a horse trade in which Armstrong had gotten the better of the Delaware Indians and the Delaware Indians wanted him to trade back, but he would not. An account of this may be found in the American Weekly Mercury in the issue of April 26, 1744. This gives us an incite into the Indian difficulties at this time.

1745.—Peter Chartier Has Gone Over to the French.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec. p. 757, it was stated that an affidavit was made by Peter Chartier's servant that Peter had accepted a military commission under the French King. The Governor was informed of this and he said if he had been punished as he deserved for the report he spread two years ago among our Indians and tried to stir them up to go to the French, he would not have been at liberty at this time; and that the perfidious blood of the Shawanese runs in Peter's veins.

1745 — The Five Nations Say We Should Have Made War on the Shawanese.

In Vol. 4 of the Col. Rec., p. 782, at another treaty held this year some of the Six Nations were present and among other things they said that we should have made war against the Shawanese when we found they were going to leave; but the Governor answered this by saying that he would not have done this without first consulting the Five Nations, and this pleased them very much. Conrad Weiser had been sent on an expedition to the Five Nations and he reported that after a Council with them was ended the Black Prince invited all present including himself to a dinner and at the dinner they had plenty of hominy, dried venison and fish. And that after dinner they were served with a drink all around; and while at dinner they had several discourses about the Shawanese and that the statement was made by

some of them that we should have made war on the Shawanese and others differed from that opinion. This is the first mention of after dinner speeches among the savages, of which we have any knowledge.

1745—Lancaster County to Be Protected.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., pp. 1 and 2 it is stated that the Indians were preparing themselves, under the leadership of Peter Chartier to come down on Lancaster County and it was decided that notice should be sent to the inhabitants of Lancaster Co. to be on their guard; and that the Captain appointed over the militia of that County should drill his troops.

1746—The Whites and Indians of Lancaster County to Arm Themselves.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., pp. 26 and 27 it is set forth in a message from the Governor to the Assembly that a petition from a considerable number of the inhabitants of Lancaster County has reached Philadelphia, setting forth that they need arms and ammunition and are not able to purchase them and that they must protect themselves from the Indians. The Governor decided that he would help the people of Lancaster County to provide for themselves.

1747—Governor Thomas Sick.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 84, it is set forth that Governor Thomas has been sick ever since he attended the Lancaster Treaty three years before.

1747—An Old Indian Friend Shickalamy Sick and Needs Medicine.

Shickalamy, one of the mnior Chiefs of the Five Nations has been a great friend to the whites since the Delawares turned against the English to the French. Conrad Weiser in November of this year went to see him on business and found him in a most miserable condition and hardly able to stretch forth his hand because of the fever. Several of his relations were buried recently and he was nearly at the point of death but Weiser gave him some medicine and he got up afterwards. He was afterwards a great help to Lancaster County people.

1747—Indians in Lancaster from Shamokin.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 140 it is seth forth in a letter from Conrad Weiser that at Lancaster he saw ten Indians from Ohio on their way to Philadelphia. They came from Shamokin which was now the seat of Indian disturbances and which neighborhood was the frontier. They reached Philadelphia on or about the 13th of November (Set p. 145) and they made a speech which may be found p. 146. The whole subject concerns happenings not in Lancaster County. They were loyal however, to the English and on p. 147 they said among other things that they desire to be furnished with weapons, such as will knock down the French.

1748—A New Proclamation Against Selling Rum to the Indians.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec, p. 194, it is set forth that rum selling has become a great evil again among the Indians and the Governor issued a proclamation against the practice, which may be found in that book and same page. Presents were now ordered to the Indians amounting to 850 Pounds, (See p. 197).

1748—The Five Nations Give Another Deed for Susquehanna Lands.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 219 may be found a deed and release

made by the Five Nations for land on the Susquehanna River, chiefly on the West side in the latitude of what is now York County.

1748—The Nantikokes Have Now Moved.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 22, a statement is made showing that the Nantikokes Indians who formerly lived in the neighborhood of the Conoys, have now moved up the Susquehanna River to the Mouth of the Juniata.

1748—The Six Nations Command the Susquehanna Indians To Take Up the Hatchet.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 284, the following report was made by a paper presented by Mr. Weiser:

"MEMORANDUM taken the 13th of June, 1748.

Last night arrived at my house Ganataraykon, Sogogockiather, Achnoara, Kattake, and Sanagarnet, sent by Shikalamy to inform me that a Message from the Six Nations (in the Cajucka———) to the following purport.

"Brethren and Cousins, You that live on Susquehannah River and elsewhere.

"We let you know that our Brethren, the English have sent a message to us to inform us that the French had come to live on this side the lake and threaten destruction to the Six Nations as well as to the English, and that therefore, it was requisite our Nation in concert with the others should take up the English Hatchet and exert themselves against the French. To encourage us, therefore, they gave a large Belt of Wampum made in the shape of a hatchet and told us further that the English cried out for help, having suffered much by the French. So far the English Message."

Then certain other proceedings intervened it at the end of which the following message was given:

"Brethren and Cousins that live on Susquehanna River: We send you this string of wampum; and desire you to have your ears open and be on your guard; we also desire you will with all speed carry this our Message from town to town until it arrives at Schohonyady. This was accordingly done—the said Message came to Shamokin on the 9th instant, and the Indians met in Shikalamy's House. It was delivered by a Delaware Indian that lives on Wayamuck or Seahantowany. The Indians on Shamokin dispatched it immediately to Schohonihady aforesaid, though the Sun was just down."

1748—Log Town the First Town From Lancaster.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 289, we find this statement is made, "A letter from the Shawanese and some of the Six Nations dated at Log Town on the road from Lancaster to Allegheny was read."

I cite this item to show that the first Indian town out of Lancaster was Log Town at this date and it seems to me to be very far west, at any rate it helps to show that the Indian frontier was now moved to the central part of Pennsylvania.

1748—Council Fire to Be Held at Lancaster.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec, p. 290, we find it set forth that it is the intention of various Indian tribes to hold a large Council fire at Lancaster.

1748—Another great Treaty Held at Lancaster.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., pp. 298 and 299, it is set forth that the Twigttwees Nations are now visiting Lancaster with the divers chiefs of the Six Nations in order to enter into a treaty.

This treaty was held beginning the 19th of July, 1748 and lasted until the 23rd and is found in Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., pp. 307 to 319. It is stated to have been attended by several members of Council, Magistrates and inhabitants of Lancaster County, 55 Indians of the Six Nations and also Indians of the Delaware, Shawnese, Nantikoke and Twightwee Tribes. It is observed here that the Conestogas were not present. They seem to have dwindled to so small proportion as to not be taken account of any longer. The treaty was held in the Lancaster Court House according to the accounts in the Col. Records and the subjects under discussion did not concern Lancaster County locally but had to do with the question of admitting the Twightwees into the League of Friendship and it looked also toward securing the friendliness of the Shawanese and Delawares again. The particulars of the treaty are found p. 316, in a certain instrument and they state that the said Twightwees are accepted by the Commissioners on the part of Pennsylvania as good friends and allies and the Twightwees agree that they will act soberly and be faithful to the English. This seems to have been the whole business of the treaty.

1748—Shawanese Pardoned and Taken Back Into the Fold.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 323, it is set forth that the pardon so earnestly sought for by the Shawanese and their submission and apdarkness.

1748—Expense of Lancaster Treaty.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 327, the following is set forth as the expense of the Lancaster Treaty:

"The accounts of the expenses of the late Treaty at Lancaster were laid before the Board by the Secretary (after deducting the value of the presents from the Indians) amounting to the sum of 169 Pounds, 18 shillings and 0 pence, and as all the sums, excepting such as were disbursed by the Secretary himself by order of the Commissioners, were certified by Mr. Webster, they were approved and it was resolved that they should be laid before the Assembly with a proper message to recommend the immediate payment of them."

The credits against the above debt were 39 Pounds, 2 shillings and 8 pence, leaving a balance of 140 Pounds, and 18 shillings.

1749—The Conoys, Though Removed, Still Claim Their Old Lands at Conoy.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 390, one of the Chiefs who came to the Philadelphia treaty from the Six Nations said:

"Brethren:

As we were coming here the Conoy Indians gave us this String of Wampum, thereby putting their case into or hands which we understood to Speak to. It seems when the proprietaries bought the land between the Delaware and the Susquehanna from us, the tract, as they told us, on which the Conoy town stood was reserved out of the grant on account of those Indians then living there, and when they should quit it they were to have a consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the land and live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never have received anything for the land, we recommend it to you to see them paid Here he gave the Conoy's String."

We notice in this item the Conoys still insist that they own the land on the Susquehanna at the old Conoy town.

The Governor however, told the Six Nations' representatives that the Conoys do not own that land any longer. This may be found in Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 393, as follows: "Brethren, I now read an answer to Assuehqua, who gave this String in behalf of the Conoy Indians. I am sorry to say that these Indians have misrepresented the fact, for on the information I have received from the Proprietor's office, this land, which is but a small piece where their town stood, was not reserved out of their grants of the land sold by the Six Nations; but at time the Conoy Indians being desirous to continue there, prevailed with the six nations to ask this as a favor from the Proprietaries, while they (the Conoys) remained on it, and at their instance the Proprietaries granted them this favor, and they might have lived there till now; but as they choose voluntarily to go away, and signified this by a string of wampum to the Government, they had leave accordingly to go to Juniata or elsewhere. You can not but know the Six Nations have frequently desired the Proprietaries not to give money to any tributary nations for Land, and these Conoys are such they would have reason to find fault with the Proprietaries should they pay them anything, especially as they have already given to the Six Nations a valuable consideration for it; I confirm this by a String of Wampum."

1749—A New Grant of the Land Between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers by the Indians to the English.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., pp. 406 and 407, we find the following:

"Brethren:

We have taken into consideration your offer of the sale of some land lying on the East side of Sasquehanna and though we have no directions from the Proprietaries (who are now in England, to treat with you, yet as we judged it for their benefit and for the publick good not to reject the offer you have thought proper to make, we send you word by the Interpreter that we would not treat with you about a new purchase, but at the same time we gave you to understand that we could by no means accede to your proposal in the manner you had limited it, viz: to take land lying on the East Side of the Sasquehanna, as far as Thomas McKee's, because you must be sensible that as the head of the river Schuylkill lies not far from the Sasquehanna, and not far from the head of Schuylkill there runs one of the main branches of the River Delaware, and that the Delaware Indians, in the last treaty, had granted the lands from this branch to very near the Leachawanchsein on Delaware. I say, considering all these things, which were explained to you on a Draught, by which it appears that all you offer is mountainous, broken and poor land, you must know that this is not worth our acceptance, but we added if you would extend your offer to go more Northerly on Sasquehanna as far as Shamokin, and that the tract might carry its breadth to Delaware river, so that we could in any manner justify ourselves to the Proprietors, we would close and give you a just consideration for the lands. On this you held a council and made us a second offer that you would sign a deed to the Proprietors for all that Tract of Land that lies within the following bounds, viz: Beginning at the Kittochhinny Hills, where your last purchase ends on Sasquehanna, from thence by the courses of the River Sasquehanna to the first Mountain North of the creek,

called in the Onondago Language Cantawhy, and in the Delaware Language Makooniahy, on the said River Sasquehanna, this is the Western Boundary; then for the North Boundary by a straight line to be run from that Mountain to the main Branch of Delaware River, at the North side of the Mountain of Lechawachsein, so as to take in the waters of Lecshawachsein; the East Boundary to be the River Delaware from the North of the Viskil to the Kittochtiny; the South boundary to be that range of the Kittochtinny Hills to the place of beginning, together with the islands in the River Sasquehanna and Delaware in that Compass. Having received this second offer, though neither in this is there any considerable quantity of good land, yet in regard to your Poverty more than to the real value of the Tract we sent you word that on your Signing a deed we would pay you the sum of Five Hundred Pounds."

1749—The Indians Wound Adam Furney at Lancaster.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 409, it is stated that, "An Indian this last Summer came in a rude manner to a substantial Housekeeper of Lancaster County, one Adam Furney, and demanded rum of him; he gave him some but because he refused to give him more, he withdrew a small space and having his gun in his hand ready loaded he shot him in the Breast, and he lay a considerable time ill of his wounds, being expected to dye every day. On this the Indian was apprehended and committed to Jail, but the man recovered, contrary to all expectation, and the Indian was the other day released."

1750—A Conference With the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 431, it is stated that proceednigs from Mr. Weiser about conference held by him with Mr. Montour, some of the Shamokin Indians and also the Conestoga Indians, were read as follows:

"At a conference held with the Indians at Mr. Croghan's in Pennsboro Township, Cumberland County, on Thursday, the 17th day of May, 1750.

PRESENT:

Richard Peters, Esq., Secretary; Conrad Weiser, James Galbreath, George Croghan, Andrew Montour, Tach - nech - doarus, Saiuchtowano, Catara dirha, Tohomady Huntho, a Mohock from Ohio.

George Stevenson, William Wilson, Hermanus Alricks, Esquires.

Sai-uch-to-wano spoke as follows:

Brethren:

We were in hopes of giving the Secretary a Cheerful Welcome into this part of the Country; but we have just heard a piece of bad news which has interrupted our Joy, that one of the principal men of the Province is taken away by a sudden death, a wise Counsellor and a good friend of ours. He pleased, therefore, to convey to the Governor our Expressions of Sorrow on this Melancholy Occasion and let this String of Wampum serve to comfort his heart and wipe away the tears from his eyes till this great loss shall be supplied by some fitt person to succeed him.

Then Catara-dirha, on behalf of the Conestogoe Indians, spoke:

Brethren:

When the Six Nations sold their Land on Sasquehannah to the Proprietaries, the Conestogoe Indians were then living in their town near Lancaster, for which reason the Place where they lived was excepted out of the sale. It will appear by your records that they were to live there as long as they pleased, and when they should incline to depart

they were to signify it to the Proprietaries and receive a Consideration; they are now inclinable to move nearest to the Other Indians and according to the agreement already made to the Proprietaries they request you to inform the Governor of their intention. They want to sell their improvements and now make the Proprietaries the first offer of them.

A String of Wampum.

"Brother, the Governor:

Many of our old people are dead, so that we are now left as it were Orphans in a destitute condition, which inclines us to leave our old Habitations. When we are gone ill-minded people may tell you stories to our Prejudice; but we assure you that Distance will not alter our affections for you. Therefore, give no ear to such stories, as we on our part will not think you can lose your regard for us, though there are some whom would perswade us that we are now not so much regarded by you as we have been."

From this item we see that the Conestogas now are very much ground down and they now fear for their safety and ask permission to move. According to what happened later it would have been a wise thing for the Government to allow them to move.

1751—A Nantikoke In Lancaster Jail.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 543, it is stated that at the beginning of this year one of the Nantikokes was committed to the prison at Lancaster for abusing a white girl. It seems that such pressure was brought to bear that he was soon released.

1753—An Indian Deed Executed at Lancaster.

In Vol. 5 of the Col. Rec., p. 700, it is stated that the following letter was written to Governor Dinwiddie:

"Philadelphia, Nov. 15, 1753.

Sir:

I am favored with two of your letters, one by the Post of the Third of September last, enclosing a copy of the Indian Deed executed at Lancaster which I shall send to Mr. Weiser, at whose Instance I desired the Copy, the other of the twenty-third of October, by express enclosing a letter of the twenty-eighth of August last from the Earl of Holdernesse, one of his Majesties' Principal Secreataries of State, to whom I shall do myself the Honor to write by a ship from this port, chusing, as my letter from hence may arrive as soon as by the return of the Man-of-War and the contents of his Lordship's letter are of great moment, to take some time in the consideration of my answer."

1754—Another Purchase of Land Across the Susquehanna River.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec., p. 111, a conference was held with some of the Indians, in which the following report was made.:

"May it Please the Governor:

The first Indians that made their appearance were from the Heads of Sasquehannah as low down as Onecquago, and by those who came immediately to visit the Commissioners from Pennsylvania, as indeed all the other Indians did."

The report then goes on to state that two Connecticut gentlemen were in town trying to negotiate "a purchase from the Indians for the Sasquehannah Lands lying within the latitude of the Connecticut charter in favor of some private persons of that Government, and had with them a thousand pieces of Eight and were busy conferring with the Indians on this subject at the House and thro' the means of Mr. Lydius."

1754—The Above Purchase Included the Governor Dungan Tract.

At the Great Albany Treaty of 1754 the question of the Susquehanna lands again came up and to settle the question the Six Ntaions made a new deed and released all claim to land on both sides of the Susquehanna River from the mouth up to the endless mountains (See 6 Col. Rec., p. 124), in which it is stated that "Tahashwangoas was desired to tell the Indians the manner of a former deed being executed, and he declared that it was done pluckily and of their own voluntary motion as a testimony of their great regard for the Proprietaries who had at that very treaty given them a generous proof of their upright dealings with the Indians by paying a third time for the Sasquehanna lands, having bought them of Col. Dungan first and then of the Sasquehanna Indians and that he saw all the persons execute it with great willingness. Then Hendrick and the other Indians present were desired to look at the Names of the Signers, and having done so they acknowldged they were all principal men among the several tribes and being asked to confirm and ratify that deed and renew their engagements to the Proprietaries not to sell to ther persons any of their lands, they one and all declared it to be right, and desired that a short deed might be drawn, which was accordingly done, interpreted and executed both which followeth in these words:

DEED FROM THE SIX NATIONS TO THE PROPRIETORS.

"We the Chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians, Onondagoes, Tsanundowans or Sinickes, Cayoogas, Oneydas, Tuscaroroes (in behalf also of the Canyingoes or Mohocks), who have lately at Philadelphia by our deed in writing dated the Eleventh day of this Instant, October, released to John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, Proprietors of Pennsylvania, and to their Heirs and Successors all their right claim, and Pretensions whatsoever to all the lands on both sides of the River Sasquehannah from the Mouth thereof, as far Northward or up the said river as that ridge of Hills called the Tyoninhasachta or endless mountains Westward to the Sitting of the sun and Eastward to the fartherest Springs of the water running into the said river, do hereby further declare that our true intent and meaning by the said writing was and is to release and we do hereby more expressly release to the said Proprietors their heirs and Successors forever, all our right, claim and pretensions whatsoever to all and every all the land lying within the Bounds and limits of the Government of Pennsylvania, beginning Eastward on the River Delaware, as far Northward as the said Ridge or chain of endless mountains as they cross the Country of Pennsylvania from the Eastward to the West.

And further, as we have made the firmest League of Friendship with our Brethren of Pennsylvania, and are become as one people with them, we do hereby promise and engage for our children and their children that neither we nor they nor any in Authority in our Nation will at any time bargain, sell, grant, or by any means make over to any person or persons whatsoever (whether white men or Indians), other than to the said Proprietors the children of William Penn or to persons by them authorized and appointed to agree for and receive the same, any lands

within the limit of the Government of Pennsylvania as is bounded Northward with the Government of New York and Albany. But when we are willing to dispose of any further rights of land within the said limits of Pennsylvania we will dispose of them to the said Wiliiam Penn's children and to no other persons whatsoever. In witness whereof we have in behalf of all our Nations signed this further writing, being distinctly read and Interpreted to us by our Friend Conrad Weiser the twenty-fifth day of October, 1736.

Witness (an interlineation of seventeen words, benig first made between the 8th and 9th Lines)."

This deed then is signed by twenty-two chiefs and on the back of it there is an endorsement that it was interpreted to them and they understand all that it means and they do confirm the deed good and promise Richard and Thomas Penn that neither they nor anyone under their authority will ever grant any land to anybody but the heirs and assigns of the Proprietaries. This was done on the Ninth day of July, 1754.

1754—Petition of Lancaster Countians for Protection.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec., p. 131, the following petition is set forth from the inhabitants of Donegal, Lancaster County:

"Petition of the Inhabitants of Donegal, in Lancaster County, to the Governor:

To the Honourable James Hamilton, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware,

The humble Petition of Us, the Inhabitants of Donegal, humbly sheweth:

That your Petition being duly sensible of the great Danger that our Province now is in by reason of such cruel and merciless Enemy as We are now engaged with, we therefore desire to join with our friends and neighbors in requesting your Honour to take our distressed condition into your consideration, and to put us in a condition that we may be able to defend ourselves, and we on our part will join in all that we can do for the Safety of the Province; and your Petitioners as in duty bound will pray.

We empower our Trusty Friends James Galbraith, Esqr., and Thomas Foster, Esqr., to present to your Honour in our Behalf.

WILLIAM SMITH,
WILLIAM ALLISON,
JOHN ALLISON,
BARNEY HUGHES.

July 26th, 1754.

Signed by several others, being in all Ninety-Eight Signers."

On p. 132 of the same book there is a similar petition of Paxtang, Derry and Hanover Townships' people who then belonged to Lancaster County. I will not set that petition forth in full as it is similar to the first one and is sgned by fifty-seven signers.

1755—Dungan's Purchase Again Referred To.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec., p. 255, in a letter from Governor Morris to Governor Fitch, the following statement is made:

"Sir:

Mr. Hamilton, my Predecessor, having wrote fully to you and Mr. Woolcott the late Governor of Connecticut, relating to a scheme formed in your Province for purchasing the English and settling some lands upon the River Susquehanna without the leave of this Government though within its bounds, I beg leave to re-

fer you to that letter and to lay before you some other matters from whence you may judge of the Nature and consequence of that attempt. You will, therefore, please to be informed that about the year 1690 the Indians then of the Five United Nations, by deed regularly executed, conveyed to Colonel Thomas Dungan, Governor of New York, a large Parcel of land, a great part of which lay upon the River Susquehanna and within the limits of this Province and that Col. Dungan afterwards by deed conveyed the late Proprietor William Penn, all those lands lying upon the waters of Sasquehannah within the Province aforesaid. I would give you the particular dates of those deds, but am now a distance from Philadelphia where they are. These instruments have been frequently produced to the New Six United Nations of Indians and their allies the Sasquehannas, are recited in many of their subsequent deeds, and have been pluckily acknowledged, ratified and confirmed at several treaties between them and this Government; and though the force and effect of those deeds has always been understood as well by the Indians as by the English to vest in the Proprietors of Pennsylvania all the lands upon the several branches of Sasquehannah, yet they the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania have upon many occasions by treaty solemnly engaged not to take possession of those Lands or suffer them to be settled without making the Indians a particular satisfaction for such parts of that Country as they should from time to time agree to give up; and for that reason all subsequent deeds have been considered only as confirmations, so far as they related to the Lands upon the waters of Sasquehannah; but as those lands are only a part of the Province of Pennsylvania, the six United Nations at a treaty held in October, 1736, did solemnly covenant and engage by Instrument, under the hands and seals of the Chiefs of the respective Nations to sell all the lands within the limits of Pennsylvania to the Proprietaries of this Province and to no other persons whatsoever. This instrument was produced to the six Nations at the late General treaty at Albany by the Commissioners from this Government, and proved by one of the Chiefs who was then present and a party thereto; whereupon the Six Nations in public Council declared that the Signers of that instrument were well known to them to have been the principal men and chiefs of their several Nations, and they did then solemnly ratify that agreement and by a new deed not only confirmed the several sales they had theretofore made to the Proprietaries, but voluntarily bound themselves to sell no land within the limits of Pennsylvania to any person whatsoever but to the Proprietaries only."

1755—Great Danger and Confusion in Lancaster Town About Indians.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec., p. 670 it is stated that, "Mr. Hamilton finding by the Letters received from Lancaster County, that matters were in the utmost danger and confusion, proposed to go instantly to the Town of Lancaster in order to do all the service in their power, and a Dedimus with Blank military Commissions by the advice of Council was given to the Governor by him, empowering him to fill up the blanks with such persons names as hould offer, and were men of known good characters. A Dedi-

mus was likewise given Mr. Hamilton to qualify such officers as should be appointed in that part of the country. Sundry petitions from the most respectable persons in the Several Counties of Cumberland, York, Lancaster and Chester, setting forth the dismal condition of the inhabitants were read and sundry companies formed and commissions granted to such as were recommended for Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns."

This shows us that stirring times were now in existence about little old Lancaster Town.

1755—The Delawares and Shawanese Again Desert the English.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec., pp. 724 and 725, the citizens presented a petition to the Governor of Pennsylvania stating that the Delawares and Shawanese are now so alienated against us as to take up the hatchet in favor of the French. The petitioners inquired whether the Shawanese were not satisfied at the last treaty. The Governor then goes on to give the whole Shawanese history from the time that the first sixty families came to us from the South and shows that their actions have always been treacherous while they have done everything in their power to keep them friendly.

1755—A Meeting of Our Friendly Indians at Harris's Ferry, Now Harrisburg.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec. pp. 745 and 746, it is stated that the Governor sent a request that all of our friendly Indians on Susquehanna River ought to come together at Harris's Ferry to discuss measures with their Government for general protection.

Such a meeting of Indians it seems was held because the Governor sent the following message to be given to them which may be found in the book last mentioned, p. 754, as follows:

"Gentlemen:

I give you the charge of a message to the Sasquehannah Indians, the purport of which is to invite them to meet at John Harris's in the first of January next, where I intend to hold a Council with all the Friendly Indians I can collect together, and as it ought to be delivered as soon as possible, and you have kindly offered your service, I must desire you will not give it the least delay, but taking with you such prudent persons as you shall judge necessary for your safety, proceed directly to Wyomink.

If they receive the Invitation in good part, and you find them well disposed to us and willing to come, you are then to take care that Indian Messengers be dispatched with the Invitation and String of Wampum to such other Indians as can attend that meeting."

1755—Lancaster County Furnishes Teams for the Indian Wars.

In the issue of May 15, 1755 of the Pennsylvania, Gazette, it is stated "We hear from the Councils of Lancaster, York and Cumberland that notice being given there that teams, carriages and horses were wanting for the use of the army, great numbers were immediately offered and 150 wagons laden with oats, Indian corn and other forage were dispatched to the Camp in a few days and as many more might have been had, if wanted, the people offering with great readiness and pleasure from a zeal for his Majesty's service." In this item we can see that Lancaster County took part in the Braddock campaign near Pittsburg.

In the issue of June 5 of the same paper it is stated, "We hear from Willis Creek that the wagons and horses lately contracted, for in the Counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland were safely arrived at the camp and gave great satisfaction to the General and the other officers, being for the most part far the best of any that had been engaged in the service of the army since their arrival. We likewise hear that there are fine bottoms for several miles around the camp in which there is a great deal of good grass and other food for horses."

In the issue of June 12 it is stated that another number of Wagons laden with forage are gone from the Counties of Lancaster and Berks.

And in the issue of August 21, after the Braddock slaughter, it is stated that, "What seems most remarkable is that all the wagoners from Lancaster and York Counties in the Province, who engaged in the service of the army have returned safe except two; one of whom died by sickness."

1755—Great Excitement in Lancaster Town.

In the issue of the Pennsylvania Gazette for October 30, 1755, as follows:

"As I imagine you have been alarmed before this time with a great deal of bad news from these parts I think it my duty to give you as much light into the affair as I can. About the 20th instant news was brought that the French and Indians had actually massacred and scalped a number of our inhabitants not more than forty miles from Harris's Ferry. It is reasonable to think the receipt of such news must put the inhabitants in the utmost confusion. About 45 of the stoutest of them got themselves mounted and in readiness the next day to go and bury the dead—they reached the place accordingly and found no less than fourteen bodies shockingly mangled. Whilst they were in this place some friendly Indians who were flying to the inhabitants for protection told them there were a large body of French and Indians actually on their march to the inhabited parts of this Province and were already on this side of the Allegheny Mountains. Upon this they concluded to go as far as Shamokin to know whether the Indians assembled there were friends or enemies (for our people suspected those Indians to have knowledge of the murder) and to get if possible further intelligence, about those they had heard were advancing against them. The Indians at Shamokin treated them civilly but had several councils and much whispering among themselves, which made our men suspicious of them, especially as some of them were missing soon after. However, in the Morning Andrew Montour and Delaware George, advised them to going to a particular road in which they said there was danger, but our men suspecting their sincerity—went their own way which was the very one they were cautioned to avoid and were fired on by a party of Indians about 40 in number some of whom they believed were with them the night before. Our men returned in the best manner they could but one of them came off when the enemy first began. And was feared was the only one that could escape alive out of the whole. This was soon spread over our country and we were in the utmost confusion till yesterday, we were told there were 15 more of our men returned. They all agree that it was the Delaware Indians that did the mischief. Our Court House Bell has been ringing

almost ever since to call the inhabitants to some consultation for their safety. We hear there are about one hundred men already gone up to Harris's Ferry out of Donegal and placed adjacent."

This shows there was great excitement in Lancaster at this time. At another place in he same paper it is stated that "the women and children in the back parts of Cumberland, Lancaster and Berks Counties are all come or coming to the Townships that are thickly settled and some have come into the town of Lancaster. In short the distress and confusion of our people in general on the frontier is inexpressible."

1755—A Report That the Indians Have Burned Lancaster.

In the issue of November 20, 1755 of the Pennsylvania Gazette, there is set forth a letter from Cecil County, Maryland, dated November 10, stating that the rumors of Indian ravages about the Susquehanna. The writer says, "At day break of the third instant, messengers arrived, from New Castle County, confirming the Express sent in the night before giving dismal accounts of how 1500 French and Indians had burnt Lancaster town to the ground and were proceeding downwards, driving all before them so that the inhabitants were in great distress. Under the intelligence our Officers immediately warned the militia, who meeting in the afternoon, the chiefest men of the three companies and a body of horses bravely resolved to march against the enemy; and accordingly on Tuesday they set out commanded by proper officers and attended with wagons carrying provisions, blankets and other necessaries, being better provided with arms and ammunition than could have been expected on such short notice. On Wednesday they assembled at the head of Elk River impatiently waiting for the arrival of our other forces from the Susquehanna side, and orders to proceed.

The like spirit raised the forces in Kent and in Chesapeake, who began their march towards the head of Elk river, on Thursday; but in the afternoon they were remanded on certain intelligence that the reports concerning Lancaster were all false, However, they continued all in the readiness on account of frequent expresses sent them from Baltimore, imparting that the enemy had directed their route down the western side of Susquehanna; but messengers being sent over the Bay and returning with assured accounts that there was no enemy in those parts the men were all discharged on Saturday evening.

The number going from these two Counties were about 100 and many more were resolved to follow them; and 500 more were intending to join them from Queen Ann's County, and undoubtedly the Counties of Talbot, Dorset, Somerset and Worcester would have exerted themselves in the same manner had the reports been true. These forces from Maryland with those marching from the three lower Counties on Delaware, joined to those of Lancaster, Chester and Philadelphia, etc., by this time might have formed an army of several thousand gallant men in high spirits sufficient to repel any force that the French and Indians could raise against us. Hence it is evidence that British courage is no more degenerated in the Southern than in the Northern Colonies."

According to all these statements we can see that it must have been very exciting in old Lancaster Town about this time.

1756—An Indian Council at Lancaster.

In Vol. 6 of the Col. Rec., p. 776, there is a letter set forth from the Governor from Lancaster and it is set forth as follows:

"Gentlemen:

I am at last got to this town, having in conjunction with the Commissioners done everything we thought would contribute towards the Defence of the Western Frontier, and I am well assured that if the orders we have given are carried into execution, and the men employed in that quarter do their duty, the inhabitants will be for the future secured against any small scalping parties. The Force on the West side of Sasquehanna consists of three hundred men, who are divided into four Companies, and are to take post in four forts that are to form a line from the Sugar cabin to Matchitongo, within about twelve miles of Sasquehanna; three of these forts are already in hand, and I hope soon be finished, the fourth I have ordered to be laid out as soon as possible, and expect it will be complete in about ten days. What makes me think the higher of the Western force than I do of those employed to the Northward, is, that they are regularly enlisted in the King's service for a certain time, and the Officers were chosen by the Government, and not by themselves.

They strongly and repeatedly suggested and requested that we would build a fort at Shamokin, which I have given them reason to expect, and hope that measure will be resolved on and steps taken to carry it into execution before we return, but this matter for reasons that I shall communicate when I have the pleasure to see you, must be kept secret. I promise to go from hence to Reading, when I have seen some Indians that live on the Manor of Conestogoe, and give them assurance of the Protection of the Government while they behave in such a manner to deserve it. But what stay I shall make there, or where I shall go from thence, I can not at present say, as it depends upon the circumstances in which I find the Northern Frontier.

I am, Gentlemen, Your most faithful and obedient humble Servant,

ROB'T H. MORRIS.

Lancaster, January 21, 1756."

1756 — Council Held in Lancaster With the Conestoga Indians; Conestogas Encouraged.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec. p. 7, it is stated that a Council was held in Lancaster with the Conestoga Indians, on Friday, the 23rd of January, 1756, as follows:

"PRESENT:

The Honourable ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS, Esqr., Lieutenant Governor.

James Hamilton, Richard Peters, Esquires.

Joseph Fox, Esq., Commissioner.

The Conestoga Indians.

The Conestogoe Indians having remained peaceable in their Town on the Manor of Conestogoe and received a support from the Publick since the first attacks on the Indians of this Province, it was thought advisable to send for them and give them assurance of a future support and a small present as a testimony of the regards of the Government for them. They were therefore sent for, and when seated the Governor made the following speech to them:

Brethren:

I sent for you that I might have the Satisfaction to see you and take you by the hand, which I have had

no opportunity to do since I came to the Government.

I have the Pleasure to observe by the several Papers you have produced to me that firm peace and kind Intercourse have always subsisted between the Indians of Conestogoe and the good People of this Province.

Until lately this Province has enjoyed a perfect Peace and Tranquility with all the Indians, nor did we in the least imagine it would ever be otherwise, having on all occasions behaved towards them with the sincerest affection, and assisted them whenever they wanted our good Offices.

Some of them, however, through the institution of their and our common Enemy, the French, have in Breach of their Treaties against the Ties of Gratitude, and without the least cause of Offense given on our side, fallen upon our peaceable inhabitants, and as soon as this happened the Government, ever careful to preserve inviolable their engagements, gave you notice of it, and at the same time sent their orders to your good Friend and Neighbor, Mr. James Wright, to supply you with Cloathing and Provisions, that you might not be exposed to danger by going to hunt at a distance from your Habitations.

In further token of our sincere regards for you, I do, on behalf of the inhabitants of this Province, ratify and confirm the several Treaties of Peace, Amity, and Friendship subsisting between us, and expect you will do the same on your part.

A Belt.

I expect you will not leave your place of Residence without first acquainting me with your intentions and the place where you propose to remove to.

A String.

I expect, further, that in virtue of your leagues with us, you will not harbor any strange Indians. You may be assured all such have had bad designs, and therefore I must insist upon it if any strange Indians shall presume to come amongst you that you instantly give notice thereof to Mr. James Wright, or some of the Magistrates of this County, that they may apprehend and examine. And if any way whatever anything comes to your knowledge that can do hurt to us, that you would make us acquainted with it with all possible dispatch.

A String.

It will be agreeable to me to render you perfectly easy and well satisfied; if there be, therefore anything on your minds that you want to complain of I beseech you not to suppress it, but open all your Hearts to us and I promise to give you entire satisfaction.

A String.

The Indians took some time to the Governor's speech to them, and then made the following reply:

Brother the Governor and the Gentlemen with him:

We most heartily thank you for your kindness in coming to Lancaster and sending for and speaking to us in so obliging a manner.

We have heard a great noise all about us and expected we should have been killed, but now that we see you here, we are revived and will lay aside our fears.

I am lame and infirm or I would have waited upon the Governor at Philadelphia as soon as I heard of his arrival. I thank you, Brother, for giving yourself the trouble to come here.

You see, Brother, that the Conestogoe Indians, formerly a large tribe are reduced to these few, and that there is never an old man among them but myself and I must die soon. I put them under your protection;

they are all young and some mere children and will want your advice and Countenance.

You may be assured if any strange Indians come amongst us, we shall give you the earliest notice and that we shall not hearken to anything that shall be to your Prejudice. You see by our Papers that we have always been your fast Friends, and so shall continue whilst we have a being; and by this Belt I on the behalf of myself and all the Conestogoe do ratify, confirm, and renew the Treaties of Friendship subsisting between us, and again repeat my thanks to you for giving me this Opportunity by coming to Lancaster, as I am not able to come to you at Philadelphia.

A Belt.

The Governor then said he would order them some goods as a Token of his Affection for them, and accordingly they were delivered to the Indians."

1756—Delawares Defy the Greatest Chiefs Living to Keep Them from the French Now.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 12 we now see the final tie broken between the Government of Pennsylvania and the Delawares, and the Delawares declare as follows:

"Brethren, Onas and Oneratael:

The Delawares on Sasquehannah declare on plain Terms that they will pay no regard to what shall be said to dissuade them from hostilities against the English. They will not hear the greatest Sachem in the Country of the Confederates. That they are determined to fight the English as long as there is a man left; and that when they have conquered th English, they will turn their Arms against those Indians who will not join with them now. I am arrived here and now feel safe and easy, but it is with much difficulty that I have come through the settlement of the Delawares. I have just escaped with life. When I return I shall go by the way of Albany, for there is no going back by the way I came. You may expect to hear from us again by the next opportunity. We design to go forward into the Country of the Five Nations, and perhaps as there is soon to be a meeting of the Confederates, we shall go on as far as Onondagoe. We shall not return until we can bring you the best intelligence of the Situation of affairs in those parts."

1756—Shickalamy Has a Sister Among the Conestogas.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., pp. 46 and 47 it is stated that two of the Six Nation Indians were sent by the Governor up the Susquehanna River to get News. The Indians returned and with them Captain McKee and John Shieckalamy and his wife. "Shickalamy declared positively they would fall upon them and either kill them or do them a mischief, but that they would go through Lancaster to Philadelphia, and deliver what they had to say to the Governor in Person, and insisted that Captain McKee should go along with them to protect them. When they came to Harris's they found there the Belt, Jagrea, and New Castle who joined them, and when they came to Lancaster John Shickalamy having a sister among the Conestogoe Indians, sent for her, and at Lancaster she and the Conestogoe Indians joined him. On Saturday they came to Town making in all ——Men, Women and Children."

1756—Some Friendly Chiefs Requested to Come and Live with the Conestogas.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 56, we are told that Shickalamy and his friends and some friendly Mowhawk Indians were afraid to live about Shamokin and desired to come to Harris's Ferry and live in the future in a little colony by themselves. This request was made known to the Council and the Council, as is shown on page 57 of the book last mentioned is said, "Brethren:

We think Harris' an inconvenient place for your residence, even until the Fort shall be built at Shamokin, and would rather you would choose to live with the Conestogoe Indians, where you may be in greater security, and better provided with necessities.

A String.

Then the goods were laid before them, and the List read over, and the Present delivered, amounting to 48 Pounds, 19 shillings and 3 pence. The Indian Chiefs conferred together and then returned their answer, viz: That very thankfully accepted the Proposal to live with the Conestogoe Indians; by this proposal they saw that their Brethren had really at Heart their safety, and well considered the danger to which they were exposed at Harris', they took this exceeding kindly. They hoped the Governor would order convenient places to be made to live in, that they might be sheltered from the Weather, and as they had concluded to live there, it would be necessary their families and effects should be removed before this resolution should came to be publickly known, for which purpose they desired a Wagon or two might be immediately provided and dispatched to Harris'.

They further acquainted the Governor that their shoes were worn out and some of them infirm, ancient, and unable to travel at so severe a season, and thereupon prayed that they might be provided with wagons.

A String.

The Governor gave them two Strings in return and promised to grant them the things they requested and assured them they might depend in finding convenient Places made up for them, and recommended it to them to go directly for their Wives and Children, and communicate this Removal to all our Friendly Indians that they might live altogether in one Place."

The Indians asked for time until the next day to answer; and while they were debating about going to Conestoga it happened that there was a plot to kill them on that way. This plot is set forth p. 59 of the same book, as follows:

"The Secretary informed the Council that as he was this morning taking his leave of the Indians, who were about to set out for Conestogoe Manor, under the Care of Justice Thomson and Mr. John Ross, he was told by two of the members of Assembly, who lately came from Lancaster, that two persons would not be sufficient to protect them from being hurt by the people on the road who were extremely exasperated against all Indians in general, and particularly these Indians; that this informaton was confirmed by Mr. Galbreath and others who came yesterday from Lancaster; and as one of the Indians now here who was lately sent in search of another of them that was missing, very narrowly escaped with his life from a number of men who assembled together on the road near George Ashton's, and were with difficulty restrained from

murdering him, it is highly probable they will also attempt to do some mischief to these Indians."

This determined the answer of the Indians, who were seeking for a new home and accordingly they answered as follows.

"The Secretary likewise informed the Council that the Chiefs of the Indans now in Town came to him yesterday, and told him they were apprehensive their young men would be perpetually quarreling if the Six Nations and the Conestogoe Indians should be obliged to live in one Place, and, therefore, requested of the Governor that they might live separately, and some place be prepared on the Manor for the Six Nations at a distance from the Conestogoe Town; and that in their further discourse with him they did not seem to be very willing to live upon the Manor. It, was therefore, thought proper to send for the Chiefs and give them an opportunity of speaking their minds freely, as it would not be for the Publick service that these Indians should remain under any kind of dissatisfaction as to their place of residence."

The Governor gave this answer to their determination and it may be found p. 60, as follows:

"Brethren:

I have considered what you said to Coneghtoghery, with respect to your apprehensions of there being Danger of some Mischief happening, if you shall be placed on Conestoga Manor near the Conestogoe Indians, by quarrels arising between your young men and theirs, and that through their Heat and indiscretion, if placed too near together, some Blood may be Spilt amongst them, which it may not be in your Power to prevent, and therefore, I leave it to your opinion, whether you will reside on the Manor at a Proper distance from the Conestogoe Indians, or will you chuse to go to Pennsbury, another Manor of our Proprietaries, situated on this River, about twenty miles above the City, where you may remain safe and well provided for till Scarroyady returns, when further measures will be taken for disposing of you to your satisfaction.

But if you shall rather chuse to be on the Manor of Conestogoe, I will take care to order a proper Provision to be made for your residence there, and for your journey, and send a sufficient guard along with you to protect you from the insults and abuses that you might meet with from the Rash, dissolute, unthinking people amongst us, who, paying no regard to my advice and orders, and not making a proper distinction between our Friend and enemy Indians, may fall upon and attempt to do you some Injury in your Journey.

And the said Indians, after taking some time to consider and consult together on the Governor's said proposal, acquainted the Governor that they choose rather to be sent to Pennsbury than to the Manor of Conestogoe."

1756—The Conestogas Very Poor and Naked.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 378, is the report of Mr. John Ross as to the condtion of the Conestoga Indians which is set forth as follows:

"The Conestogoe Indians, by Mr. John Ross, of the Manor of Conestogoe, who has the care of them, complained to the Governor that they were naked, and as it was apprehended that some of their young People would go off through dissatisfaction, and might be seduced by the Enemy Indians, the following message was sent to the House on the Twenty-

fourth, and delivered to the Speaker by the Secretary, who came just after the House had adjourned to the Third of January, next:

A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Gentlemen:

The Conestogoe Indians have acquainted me that they want Cloathes and desire they may have further Supply, which you will be pleased to order, may be sent them forthwith, that they may not suffer in this severe Season.

WILLIAM DENNY.

December 24th, 1756."

1757—The Walking Purchase Again Comes Up.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 400, the limits of one of the famous Walikng Purchases are set forth showing the distances walked each year.

1757 — Susquehanna Lands Again in Controversy.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 432, it is stated that the Mingoes had abused the Delawares some years before as if the Delawares were dogs, and that Cannassatego, the Speaker among the Mingoes or Five Nations ordered them away from their lands and said he would give them lands on the Susquehanna and then he went and sold all the Susquehanna Lands to Pennsylvania, but they settled the Susquehanna lands at any rate but three years ago Englishmen came down and took all the good spots of lands and the Delawares therefore claim that they still have rights there at Susquehanna.

1757—The Indians Meet and Have Another Treaty at Lancaster.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 497, a letter from a Speaker was read as follows:

"May 2nd, 1757.

May it please the Governor:

If I had been able to do it, would have waited upon the Governor instead of giving him the trouble of this letter, but as I am not, I hope he will be pleased to excuse the freedom I have ventured to take in regard to the Indians at Lancaster,who I am informed have sent down a Message, to invite the Governor expediate a Treaty with them there, and to show their uneasiness at being detained without being able to issue their business with this Government.

These Indians are now come down to Lancaster at the Governor's request, and have staid there a considerable time (at a great Expense to the Province), and any further Message to create further delays may appear to them trifling or evasive, especially considering the season of the year calls them home to their planting; and as their influence with the other tribes of Indians who have so lately infested our Frontiers and filled them with blood and cruelty, is very considerable and it may be of the utmost consequence that they be made sensible of the manly conduct if the Government with regards to their Complaints, if they have any, and their real inclination to do them Justice, and that the Governor will not hesitate to meet them for this, or may purpose in which the publick wellfare is so nearly concerned. In am confident the Commissioners will heartily concur in defraying the necessary expenses and will likewise cheerfully attend him to this treaty."

A list of 200 pounds of Indian goods are agreed to be bought to distribute among the Indians who are being represented at this treaty, (see p. 498).

As to this Treaty the Governor received the following address, (p. 498):

"We are informed that the Indians at Lancaster are very uneasy and complain of their long detention from their Habitations. Their sowing season advances fast, and if not soon dismissed they must lose their opportunity of providing the necessary subsistance for themselves and families the ensuing year. Sundry of their Warriors are now ill with the Small Pox and many more must take the infection should they remain much longer among the inhabitants; and their coming to the City must very considerably tend to prolong their absence from their places of abode, and be attended by many other unavoidable Inconveniences.We also understand by a message from your Honor that you have recommended it to the Indians at Lancaster to send away their women and children, and as many men as incline should go with them. This measure, we apprehend, will greatly disgust them and should they go off dissatisfied may irritate them against the People of this Province and his Majesty's service in general, if not excite them on their way home to join with our enemies in committing depredations and Murders upon our Inhabitants.

We therefore, think it our duty earnestly to recommend your Honor to gratify them in their resolution of holding a treaty at Lancaster, and that as soon as possible. To those who are acquainted with the dispositions of the Natives it is known that they are a jealous people, easily disgusted and put out of humor, and when they are under this circumstance, little good is to be expected from a conference with them."

1757—More Indian News About Lancaster.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec, p. 503, a letter from Mr. Crogan, dated Lancaster, May 2, was sent to Philadelphia stating that last Friday a party of Onondago Warriors left their camp to go to Cumberland fort and on down to the Southern Indians, which makes it very uneasy, as they pass through or near to Lancaster.

1757—The Great Lancaster Treaty of 1757.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 506 are set forth Mr. Croghan's minutes of the proceedings at Lancaster and at Harris' Ferry. These proceedings and the minutes of the treaty are all on the subject of the French and Indian war, which was now in Progress and it appears from the minutes that the Tuscaroras, Mowhawks, Cayoogoes, Nantikokes, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Delawares and Conestogas were present. The proceedings I will not set out because they do not relate to Lancaster County troubles.

In the same book, p. 518 the conference at the Lancaster Court House is set forth which was held on Thursday, the 12th of May, 1757, in the afternoon, where there were six members of Council presnt and six members of the Assembly, as well as the Speaker and also the Magistrates of the Borough, with a number of gentlemen and the deputies of the Six Nations before mentioned, also some Nantikokes and Delawares. William Denny, the Governor was also present and he gave them a speech on the subject of war which was now going on and asked for their friendship. The next day, on the 13th, the Indians gave their answer, which was general in character and the

Governor then asked them to tell of their differences between their different tribes which caused them to fall out. It appears at p. 523, that the Indians were encamped near Lancaster under the care of Mr. Croghan and they desired presents should be given to them and their expenses looked after, and stated that they came here almost naked. Then a long series of letters were produced to the Indians, showing them how the different Governors were trying to act in harmony.

The Council contined on Saturday, May 14th, and also on Sunday, the 15th of May, when a message from the Cherokee Indians was received Much attention was given this day to the campaigns in the present war. Another session was held on Monday the 16th of May and the question of trying to restore peace was taken up. Similar efforts occupied Tuesday, the 17th of May. And on the afternoon of that day the same subject was discussed. On the 21st it was decided that it would be necessary for the Sheriff to guard the Indians of this treaty, because as they had come to the treaty against the wish of their tribes they were liable to be killed.

The treaty adjourned on the 22nd of May, it having been convened on the 10th thereof. It begins p. 505 and ends p. 555 in the 7th Vol. of the Col. Rec. At the conclusion Teeduscung made a speech in which he said now as they had finished their business for this time and they intend to leave tomorrow and they have a long journey of hilly country, and several of their old men were sick, that the Lancaster people must not send them away without a walking stick, which afterwards they explained meant a keg of rum. Thus here we see that the phrase "Lemonade with a stick in it", is as old as the time of the Indians.

1757—Conestogas Present at Croghan's Conference at Harris's Ferry.

While we have seen above that no mention was made of the Conestogas being present at the conference at Lancaster, in Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 507, it is set forth that at a meeting of the Six Nations at Harris' Ferry that the following Conestogas were present, to wit: "Sahays—Captain John—with 29men, women and children." This I believe was practically the whole tribe at this time

1757—The Great Easton Treaty.

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., pp. 638 to 714 are set forth the proceedings of the great Council or treaty at Easton. Tribes of all descriptions were there; but I can not, however, find any mention of the Conestogas. Teedyuscung, an Ex-King of the Delawares was commissioned to speak for ten tribes on the Susquehanna and quite likely it included the Conestogas.

1757—The Conestogas Must Have Clothes

In Vol. 7 of the Col. Rec., p. 768, it was reported to Council that Joseph Hays in behalf of the Conestoga Indians requested that they might have provisions and clothes as they had done before, and one of them complained that he had not been paid for a horse which he lent to John Shickalamy and his sister, and which they never returned to him. In this item we have set forth that with Joseph Hays of Conestoga a few of the others of the tribe may have been with him at Philadelphia, and found that Shickalamy's sister was recognized as one of the Conestogas and lived with them.

1757—Murdered Indians Exhibited in Lancaster.

In the issue of July 7, of the Pennsylvania Gazette of 1757 it is stated

that several murdered Indians were at this time brought to Lancaster and exposed in the street and were viewed by a great many people.

1758—The Nanticokes at Cocalico.

In Lyle's History of Lancaster County, p14 she states that as late as 1758 there were still several scattered families of the tribes of Nantikokes along the little streams and Springs of this vicinity, (Cocalico Township). The town covered 500 acres which came into possession of John Wistar and Henry Carpenter.

1758—Conestogas Threaten to Leave Lancaster County.

In Vol 8 of the Col. Rec., p. 112, it is stated that, "Information being given to the Governor that an Indian, William Sock, with his Comrade, had for some time been tampering with the Conestogoe Indians, and that they were at the Instance of these two Indians, proposing to remove from the Manor, his Honor had written a Letter to Mr. James Wright, to inquire into the affairs, and to invite Sewaise and these Indians to come and see him.

A Letter from Mr. Shippen, of Lancaster, on this Subject, was read in these words:

Lancaster, the 3rd of May, 1758.
Honoured Sir:

I take the liberty to acquaint your Honour that the Conestogoe Indians are going to leave their Town. I had my information last night from Mr. Ross, of the blue Rock. He tells me, that last Thursday they sent Mr. McKnee to acquaint him they wanted to have a conference with him, and when he came to them they said they had nothing at all against him, for he had always been very kind to them, supplying them with all necessary provisions, but that they had been lately at Philadelphia, on a visit to the Governor, to beg a few Clothes, and particularly Leather for Moccasins, as they were naked and barefooted, but that he had (to use their own phrase) broken his word with them, for after having detained them a good many days in Town, he sent them packing away in the same destitute condition in which they came; and that seeing this was the case and they were not allowed to hunt for deer among the Inhabitants, they were forced to go into the Wilderness to seek clothing for' themselves and families; and they proposed to go a little beyond Augusta, a fort, and there to build Indian Cabins. But as they intended to return in the Spring, they desired that Mr. McKnee might be permitted to remain in their town, and plant corn to be divided between his and their families, when they come back and as a token, of their Friendship with the English, Old Sohaise gave him a String of Wampum, which was White and then Mr. Ross answered, and assured them he would supply their wants immediately from Lancaster. Yet, notwithstanding this declaration, they said they were resolved to keep their resolution. Then he left them know, if they would not be persuaded to accept this offer, he feared it would be unsafe for them to pass through the County without an escort, and he would employ Mr. McKnee to go with them to Hunter's Fort, to which they readily agreed. That on Saturday Mr. McKnee came to Mr. Ross again, and told him that the Indians were divided in their Council, whether to go off a hunting or to stay and plant their corn, but that he understood by Betty Sock, that Billy Sock (her son) and some of the young men were absolutely resolved to go (take her own words) and help the French, maybe the Eng-

lish. Since which time Mr. Ross has heard nothing of them. However, though it be a busy time with me, as I think this affair of very great consequence to the Province, trifling as the number of those Indians may be, I have thought proper to visit them immediately and shall use my utmost endeavors to appease them and keep them back.

I am, with due respect, your Honour's Most Obedient Humble Servant,
EDWD. SHIPPEN."

1758—Billy Sock at the Bottom of this Trouble with the Conestogas.

As we have seen above Billy Sock had a hand in this matter The subject was further discussed in Vol. 8 of the Col. Rec., p. 115 as follows:

"The consideration of the intelligence respecting the Conestogoe Indians was resumed, and a letter read that was wrote to Mr. James Wright resquesting him to sift this matter, and to invite Sewaise, the head man of the Conestogoes, to bring Will Sock and the other Indian to see the Governor; and Mr. Weiser was requested to lay in Town, in order to interpret for the Conestogoe Indians."

1758—Further Proceedings to Satisfy the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 8 of the Col. Rec. p. 116 the Council having heard from James Wright relating to the Conestogas' difficulties, by three Indian Messengers and the letter was taken up by Council. The letter is as follows:

"May it please the Governor:

In pursuance of the direction thou was pleased to send me, I went to the Conestogoe Town and delivered the string of wampum and Message. Bill Sock and the Stranger (who is a Cayuga) agreed to wait upon thee. I gave no encouragement to any other Indian to go; but the day Shagree and Shahaise came to my House, and told me they would take the journey with their Brothers; I believe Shahaise to be an honest man, and a heart Friend to the English. I made no objection.

I have had a good deal of discourse with these Indians, and particularly with Shahaise, who said he would tell me what the Stranger and Sock told him; and as well as I could understand his broken English it was this that the Six Nations with all the tribes in Friendship with them, have had long and general Councils and the result of them was, that they would send some of their Chiefs to the French and some to the English, and demand to have boundaries fixed between each Nation and themselves; that if the French on their part refused to comply with this demand, they would then join their whole force with the English against them; and though he would not say it, yet it is reasonable to conclude they came to the same resolution in regard to the English. He mentioned the Twightwees and some other Nations, and said there were several, of which he knew not the names, who had entered into this Confederacy. What I have wrote he repeatedly told me, so that I can not mistake; as Shahaise has been intimate with me many years perhaps he may have spoken with more freedom than he would do in any other place, or than the others may do.

As to any other Intelligence they may be able to give, I can not learn anything at all from them; neither did I chuse to question them too strictly, for fear of giving them occasion to think themselves suspected, and perhaps preventing them from complying with thy request. As to these Conestogoes selling their Corn, they have usually done it, when they have more than they want for food, to purchase little necessaries. I have

heard some time ago that part of their number designed to leave their town, and a part of them to stay, which is still their intention; but they were proposed to go away quietly and privately, for about a week ago they gave a String of Wampum to Thomas McKee, with a request that he might carry it to the Governor, and acquaint him that a number of them were going towards Shamokin to get some Deer, as they could not hunt with any safety in these parts, were barefoot, and in want of cloathing for themselves and their families, but that they left their Corn-fields and Cabins and should return next Spring; but notwithstanding these assurances, I am of opinion the younger part of those who go will not return to settle among us, as indeed their way of living will scarce admit of it, for however kind the Government may be to them, yet hunting is their Natural Employment and that they have not dared to follow for two years past, except about my brother's House and mine.

Shahaise, I am perswaded will never leave this place; at least he assures me he will not, and that some others will stay with him; and as for them that go, I really think they do not remove from any dissatisfaction to the English, or evil Designs, but only for the reason they assign, as Thomas McKee tells me they are certainly in want of cloathing (which I hope the Government will be so good as to take Notice of). McKnee likewise tells me the Indians had desired him to meet them in Philadelphia, if he could, least they should not be understood; the Cayagu would not wait until he could go with them, but he purposes to be in town for a few days.

The people are so prejudiced against Indians in general that I thought it necessary to procure a substantial man to take care of these in town. I heartily wish their journey may be Satisfactory to thyself and of service to the Publick.

And am thy respectful Friend,

JAMES WRIGHT."

After the letter was read the Indians were sent for and the Governor made them the following speech, which is found p. 117:

"Brethren and Brother Sohays (Shohaise):

I have been informed that some of our Brethren of the Conestogoe Town were moving away with their wives and families and selling their Corn and Improvements. As you had not given me any notice of this. I was much concerned to hear it and therefore sent my Brother Shohaise a String of Wampum to invite him here to see me, that I might hear from him the truth of the story; and if it was so, whether that they were moving from any invitation of your Brethren, the Indians or from Dissatisfaction with us; and I now desire you, by his String of Wampum, open your minds freely to me.

A String of Wampum.

Brother:

I was also nformed that one of your brothers of the Conestogoe Town had been in the Six Nations Country, and was lately returned from thence and he brought with him one of our acquaintances of the Six Nations. I therefore desire you will inform me what news he has brought from thence and what passes among our Brethren there.

A String.

Shohaise consulted with the other Indians, and after a short pause returned an answer as follows.

Brother, the Governor:

You say you have sent for me and my friends to learn from us if we

were leaving your town, and if so, whether any offence had been given us.

Brother:

We are neither leaving your Town, nor have taken offence at anything, all that is in it is, that some of our Indians have a mind to go on Susquehannah, partly to hunt and partly to trade, that they may provide necesaries for their families. If the Indians had a mind to go quite away from their Brethren and leave the place, it would have been my duty and I certainly should have done my duty in giving notice to you myself. Were all to go, I would not go with them; I would stay where I am. You were entirely misinformed, depend on the truth of what I say.

Brother:

Before we set out we held a Consultation at———; Thomas McKee was present; he is expected in town every moment; when he comes I shall speak again, having some things to say to you."

After this the history of Billy Sock was taken up and a great many matters entered into which does not concern the Conestogas.

1758—Another Council Held with the Conestogas.

On the 12th of May, 1758 as is set forth in Vol. 8 of the Col. Rec., p. 122, the Conestoga Indians and some of the Six Nations went to Philadelphia to discuss the trouble about the Conestogas and the report of the treaty is as follows:

"PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esqr., Lieutenant Governor.

William Logan, Richard Peters, Esquires.

The Indians, Six Nations.

Conestogas.
Shahaise.
Will Sock,
Seneca George,
Chargrea.
A Cayuga Indian.
Thomas McKee, Interpreter.

Brother:

When the two Indians, Will Sock and Cayuga came to Conestoga, we sent for Thomas McKee and desired him to carry a Message to the Governor at Philadelphia; it was to this purpose:

We let the Governor know that most of the Indians who now live at Conestogoe, intended to remove thence to a place some distance above Shamokin; that where they were at present the Women could get no clothes nor their Young men go a hunting; it was, therefore, determined that the Women should take some kegs of liquor with them and sell them for skins that would procure their women cloathes, and the Young men with their hunting would supply themselves with shoes and other necessaries. Now as they intended to be absent only one winter, they desired the Governor by Thomas McKee, not to think amiss of them, for that they had no bad designs. They said it only was, that no Cloaths being given them they were become naked, and this measure of going above, thinking, for a while would procure them Cloaths and other necessaries; at the same time let the Governor know, that as a fire was kindled at Conestogoe that had burnt a long while, and he was born there and lived there all his life, he would not go with the other Indians, but stay and lay his Bones at Conestogoe; this, he added, was the purport of one-half of the String. The other half was that the Women left their Homes, Hogs, and Corn fields, and desired they might be put under the care of Thomas McKee, They further desired he might be ordered to plant corn and take care of their Houses and cattle; for which he should be allowed one-half and

Indians were to have the other half.

Thomas McKee said that this is the String which the Conestogoe Indians sent by him and gave the String of Wampum.

Shahaise proceeded:

Brother:

When this speech was delivered to Thomas McKee, we had not received the Governor's Message. After Mr. Wright had delivered us your message, we considered among ourselves and came to a resolution to alter our purpose and stay at home. Our women not being able to provide themselves with Matchcoats and Moccasins and other necessaries, was the only reason that induced them to go to Shamokin; but now all that was over, and on what the Governor had said to them, by Mr. Wright, they were determined to stay.

A String.

The Governor made answer:

Shahaise and the other Conestoga Indians:

I am well pleased with the account you have given of your Intention to remove; and much more so that you altered your Resolution.

The Conestogoe Indians may depend on my protection, and that I will supply their wants, so as not to put them under the necessity of removing Shahaise's determination to stay, even if the others should have gone, shows his love towards his Brethren, and discovers a particular regard.

I have directed Mr. James Wright to supply you with provisions, from time to time, as usual, and shall also earnestly recommend it to the Commissioners to send you some necessary Cloathing; at present you who are come down shall receive a small present.

Shahaise then complained of Abraham, who had planted Indian corn and sowed Hemp in a Piece of their Ground for Several years, for which he promised to give them every year a piece of Linnen, but had not paid them for two years past. He desired he might be made to do them Justice. The Governor charged Thomas McKee to apply to Abraham, and if he did not immediately pay them the arrears to let him know and he would order him to be sued and oblige him to give a compensation for the land agreeable to his engagements.

Chagrea informed the Governor that he was inlisted and had served in the Garrison of Fort Augusta, and that there were six months' pay due him, which he desired might be paid him off.

The Governor directed the Paymaster, Mr. Young, to settle and pay off Chargrea, which was done."

1760—Conestoga Indian Conference at Lancaster.

In Vol. 8 of the Col' Rec. p. 457, a record is found of a conference between the Government of Pennsylvania and the Conestoga Indians, growing out of the fact that the Conestoga Indians are now complaining that they are not well taken care of and that they express great uneasiness at the neglect of them, on the part of the Government. The Council is as follows:

"At a Conference with the Conestogo Indians at Lancaster, the 15th day of February, 1760.

PRESENT:

Richard Peters and Richard Hockley, Esquires.

Sewees, Billy, Sock, John, 5 Young Boys.

Peggy, Interpreter.

Sewees, by a String of Wampum did let us know that he was extremely well pleased with our visit to him; and enquiry after his health, and that we took notice of the women and Children. He returns his thanks to us

for this, and likewise for desiring to know whether he or his people were in want of anything.

He then told that he was old and unable to get his livelihood; that his young men had not so much as a bit of Powder or lead to shoot a bird with.

John Ross, when alive, promised him a supply of necessaries but he has received nothing since his death and desires we will let the Governor know this.

A string.

Canrach Caghrea:

I am very glad of the Opportunity of seeing you here; I have long wished to have seen somebody at Lancaster that I could speak with; old William Penn in particular had regard for the Conestoga Indians; he loved, indeed, all the Indians, but there was a singular love between him and the people who came with him, and the Conestogoe Indians. We are now but a few, and I am grown old. I give you this Belt, and desire you will hold fast your love and continue to be as kind as ever; Deliver it to the Governor, and tell him that we have ever held fast our Friendship with William Penn's people and desire he will do the same; I speak for my young men and all the Women and Children, whom I put under his protection.

You may perhaps think I will go away, but I tell you I will always stay at Conestogoe, and these that are with me will stay too. You must be my mouth to the Governor and acquaint him with our intention and that we hope he will be so kind to us as William Penn and all the Governor to this time.

N. B. This was communicated by the Governor to the Provincial Commissioners, and two persons were appointed to supply them with necessaries.

1760—Conoys Now Live at Chenango.

We have seen in a former item that the Conoys moved up to the Mouth of the Juniata, but now we are told at this date they live farther West at Chenango, (See Vol. 8 of the Col. Rec., p. 492).

1762—Delaware Chiefs to Be at Lancaster.

In Vol. 8 of the Col. Rec., p. 721, there is set forth a statement that an Indian conference was held at Lancaster on August 11, 1762. This conference lasted until the 29th day of August. Some of the meetings were held at the Court House but the meeting of August 27th, was held in Mr. Slough's House and on the last day of the meeting on August 29th, the goods which the Indians were to have as presents were exposed in Mr. Hambright's Malt House, in Lancaster. It will be seen that this treaty lasted over three weeks and a great many Indians were present. The record of this treaty covers 54 pages in the Colonial Records, extending from p. 721 to p. 774. In all there were 557 Indians present, being the largest treaty ever held in Lancaster and one can imagine how the little town was swarming with Indians at that time. I find all the tribes mentioned as being present except the Conestogas. Even the Conoys were there, but if the Conestogoes were present at all they were there not as a tribe but as a few individuals.

It also appears that on the 27th of August a conference was held at the Old Lutheran Church, where the Governor took some of the Indians aside and held a secret conference with them.

1763—An Address from the Conestogas.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 88, appears the following address from the

Conestogas, which is a sad, plaintive wail. It speaks of the encroachment upon their lands and various other subjects. It is as follows:

"To the Honourable JOHN PENN, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Prov ince of Pennsylvania, &ca, &ca.

"Brother:

We, (the Conestoga Indians) take the present opportunity, by Captain Montour, to welcome you into this Country by this String of Wampum and as we are settled at this place by an agreement of Peace and Amity established between your Grandfathers and ours, we now promise ourselves your favour and protection, and as we have always lived in Peace and Quietness with our Brethren and Neighbors round us during the last and present Indian Wars, we hope now, as we are deprived from supporting our Famiies by hunting, as we formerly did, you will consider our distressed situation and grant our women and children some Cloathing to cover them this winter. The Government has always been kind enough to allow us some provisions, and did formerly appoint people to take care of us, but as there is no person to take that upon him, and some of our neighbors have encroached upon the Tract of Land reserved here for our use, we would now beg our Brother, the Governor to appoint our Friend Captain Thos. M'Kee, who lives near us and understands our language, to take care and see Justice done us.

SOHAYS, his Mark,
INDIAN, his Mark.
or CUYANGUERRYCOEA,
SAGUYASOTHA OR JOHN.
his
Mark.

Conestogoe, November 30th, 1763."

1763—The Conestogas Murdered

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 89, appears the first news of the slaughter of the Conestoga Indians and the final act which resulted in the complete obliteration of the Indians from Lancaster County.

It is as follows:

"The Governor having received in Friday last, a letter, dated the 14th Instant, from Edward Shippen, Esq., at Lancaster, acquainting him that a party of armed men had that morning murdered Six of the said Conestogoe Indians at their Town, laid the same before the Board, which was read viz:

A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR FROM EDWARD SHIPPEN, ESQUIRE.

Lancaster, 14th December, 1763, Evening.

Honoured Sir:

One Robert Edgar, a hired man to Captain Thomas M'Kee, living near the Borough acquainted me today that a Company of People from the Frontiers had killed and scalped most of the Indians at the Conestogoe Town early this morning; he said that he had his information from an Indian boy who made his escape. Mr. Slough has been to the place and held a Coroner's inquest on the Corpses, being Six in number; Bill Sawk and some other Indians were gone towards Snith's Iron Works to sell brooms; but where they now are we can not understand; and the Indians, John Smith and Peggy, his Wife, and their child and Young Joe Hays,were abroad last night too, and lodged at one Peter Swar's about two miles from hence; These came here this afternoon, whom we acquainted with what had happened to their Freinds and relations and advised them to put themselves under protection, which they readily agreed to;and they are now in our Work House by themselves, where they are well provided

for with every necessary. Warrants are issued for the apprehending of the Murderers, said to be upwards of Fifty men, well armed and mounted. I beg my kind complements to Mr. Richard Penn, and I am with all due regards,

Sir, Your Honour's Obliged
Friend, and most humbel servant,
EDWARD SHIPPEN.

The Honourable John Penn, Esqr., Governor.

Whereupon the Council being moved by the cruelty and barbarity of the above action, and apprehending that the Indians who were settled at Conestogoe were under the protection of this Government and its laws, and that consequently killing them without cause or provocation, amounted in law to the crime of a murder, advised the Governor to write immediately to the Magistrates of the Counties of York, Lancaster and Cumberland, to exert themselves on this occasion, and issue warrants and do everything in their power for apprehending all the principals concerned in the said Crime, and their accomplices, and securing them, that they may be brought to Justice, and further, that a Proclamation be issued, ordering all Officers of Justice to be aiding and assisting therein."

1763—Governor Penn Sent An Order to Lancaster About the Killing of the Indians.

On the 19th of December, 1763, the Governor sent the following letter to the Magistrates of Lancaster and York Counties, found in Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 92:

"Philadelphia, 19th December, 1763.

Gentlemen:

Having received information that on Wednesday, the 14th Instant, a party of men, armed and mounted, did, without cause or provocation and in defiance of all authority, proceed to the Conestoga Indian town, in Lancaster County, and murder six of our Friendly Indians, settled there under the protection of this Government and its Laws. I do hereby direct and require you immediately to exert yourselves on this account and to issue warrants and take all other Measures in your power for the apprehending all the Principals in the murder of the said Indians and their accomplices securing them in some of the Jails of this Province, that they may be brought to Justice and receive a legal tryal for the Crimes they have committed.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your very humble Servant,
JOHN PENN.

To the Magistrates of the Counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland.

1763—Governor Penn Takes Further Steps on the Killing of the Conestoga Indians.

On Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 93, the following letter was ordered by the Council:

"William Logan, Richard Peters, and Benjamin Chew, Esquires.

The Council taking into consideration the late conferences with Papounan, and other Indians from Wighalousin, as well as the unhappy affair of the Conestoga Indians were of opinion that the few friendly Indians left at Wighalousin by Papounan should be invited down to Philadelphia, and be taken under the protection of the Government, and that those of the Conestoga Indians who escaped the Fury of the Rioters ought to be immediately removed for their better security, and therefore advised the Governor to desire the Concurrence of the Assembly in these measures, and that they would provide for the necessary expense attending them, for which purpose a draught of a Mes-

sage was immediately prepared, read and approved and the Secretary was ordered to transcribe the same and carry it to the House this evening, and at the same time lay before them the minutes of Indian conferences therein referred to for their perusal."

1763—The Governor's Message to the Assembly on the Conestoga Slaughter.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 94, in his Message to the Assembly among other things, Governor Penn said, "I am also to lay before you a piece of Intelligence I received from Lancaster on Friday last, which has given me the utmost concern. On the 14th instant a number of people well armed and mounted, went to the Indian Town in Conestoga Manor, and without the least Reason or Provocation, in cool blood, barbariously killed six of the Indians settled there, and would probably have treated all the rest with the same cruelty, had they not been abroad at that time and after burning all their Houses the Perpetrators of this inhuman and wicked action retired.

As the Indians were seated on the Manor by the Government, and had lived there peaceably and inoffensively during all our late troubles, I conceived they were as much under the protection of the Government and its laws, as any others amongst us, wherefore I thought it my duty to do everything in my power for the immediate apprehending and bringing to Justice the authors of this horrid scene; and accordingly, by the advice of the Council, I have dispatched letters to the Magistrates of Lancaster, Cumberland and York Counties, requiring and charging them to exert themselves and endeavor by all possible means to discover and secure the principals concerned in this outrageous act, and their accomplices. I am also preparing a proclamation, ordering and requiring all officers civil and military, and all his Majesty's subjects in his Government, to be aiding and assisting to the Magistrates in execution of the Laws on this unhappy occasion. Such of the Conestogoe Indians as had the good fortune to escape the fury of the above mentioned lawless party, are now taken under the protection of the Magistracy at Lancaster and are secured in the work house there, but are in great distress for want of necessaries and apparel having lost everything they had except the little they had on their backs, in their Houses which were burnt.

As they do not apprehend themselves to be safe where they are, they have by a verbal Message by one of Your Members requested of me that they may be removed to this city, or its neighborhood; and I am very ready to comply immediately with the desire, provided you will enable me to defray the Expense of it.

JOHN PENN.

1763—Governor Penn Issues a Public Proclamation on the Slaughter of the Conestoga Indians.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec. p. 995, the following proclamation to the People was issued by the Governor:

"A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, I have received information that on Wednesday the fourteenth day of this Month, a number of people armed and mounted on Horseback unlawfully assembled together, and went to the Indian Town in the Conestoga Manor, and without the least reason or provocation in cool blood barbarously killed six of the Indians settled there and burnt and destroyed all their Houses and

effects. AND WHEREAS, so cruel and inhuman an Act was committed in the Heart of this Province, on the said Indians, who iived peaceably and inoffensivey among us during all our late troubles, and for many years before, and were justly considered as under the protection of this Government and its laws; calls loudly for the vigorous exertion of the Civil Authority to detect the Offenders and bring them to condign punishment, I have therefore, by and with the advice of the Council, thought fit to issue this Proclamation, and do strictly charge and enjoin all Judges, Justices Sheriffs, Constables, Officers, Civil and Military, and all other his Majsty's liege subjects within this Province, to make diligent search and inquiry after the Authors and perpetrators of the said crime, their abettors and accomplices, and to use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in the Publick Jails of this Province, that they may be brought to their tryals, and be proceeded against according to law. ,

AND WHEREAS, a number of Indians who lately lived on or near the frontiers of this Province, being willing and desirous to preserve and continue the ancient Friendship which heretofore subsisted between them and the good people of this Porvince, have, at their earnest request been removed from their Habitations and brought into the County of Philadelphia, and seated upon the Province Island and in other places of the Neighborhood of the City of Philadelphia, where provision is made for them at the Publick expense. I do therefore hereby strictly forbid, all persons whatsoever, to injure any of the said Indians as they will answer the Countrary at their Peril.

Given under my hand and seal and the Great seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia, the twenty-second day of December, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, and in the Fourth year of his Majesty's Reign.

JOHN PENN.

By his Honour's Command.

Joseph Shippen, Junior Secty.

GOD SAVE THE KING."

1763—The Paxtang Boys Kill the Remaining Conestoga Indians in Lancaster Jail.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 100, there is set forth the following night express from Lancaster to Philadelphio, giving news of the killing of the last remnant of the Conestogas:

"Lancaster, 27th December, 1763, P. M.

Honoured Sir.:

I am to acquaint your Honour that between two and three of the clock this afternoon, upwards of a hundred armed men, from the Westward, rode very fast into town, turned their horses into Mr. Slough's (an Inn-Keeper) Yard, and proceeded with the greatest precipitation to the work House, stove open the door and killed all the Indians, and then took to their horses and rode off, all their business was done, and they were returning to their horses before I could get half way down to the work house, the Sheriff, and Coroner, however, and several others, got down as soon as the rioters, but could not prevail with them to stop their hands; some people heard them say and declare they would proceed to the Province Island and destroy the Indians there.

I am with great Respect, Sir,

Your Honour's most Obedient humble Servant,

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

The Honourable John Penn, Esp., Governor."

Upon this the following action was advised on the part of the Council also found p. 100:

"The Council further advised the Governor to dispatch the Express back to Lancaster, with a letter to Mr. Edward Shippen, desiring him to gain all the inelligence in his power respecting the further designs and motion of the lawless Rioters, and to endeavor to learn the names of any of the Ringleaders or persons concerned in the Murder of the Indians in the Work House and to acquaint the Governor from time to time by Express, with every piece of intelligence he should receive concerning them.

The Governor was also advised to write to Colonel Armstrong, at Carlisle and the Rev. Mr. Elder at Paxton, to exert themselves on this occasion, by using all means in their power, to discover and detect the rioters and to supress all such insurrections among the People under their influence for the future."

1763-The Sheriff of Lancaster County Sends a List of the Possessions of the Indians Killed at Conestoga to Philadelphia.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 101, the following statement appears before a Council held December 31, 1763:

"A letter from the Sheriff of Lancaster, of the 27th of December, Instant, with the list of Conestogoe Indians were read, and ordered to be put on these minutes:

A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR FROM JOHN HAY, ESQ., SHFF. OF LANCASTER COUNTY

Lancaster, the 27th December, 1763.

Sir:

Agreeable to your orders to me when at Philadelphia, I herein enclose a list of the names of the Indians found killed at the Indian Town in Conestogoe Manor, with the names of the Survivors(fourteen in number) whom I found, had been collected and placed in the work House of this County, by my Son, with the assistance of John Miller and Robert Beatty (who by appointment of Messrs. Hockley and Peters, had the care of the Indians belonging to the Town), where they are properly taken care of, and fed and wait for your Honour's further directions relating to them.

I, likewise, agreeable to your order give herewith, an account of the effects and papers which have been found, belonging to the said Indians, which now remain in the possession of the said Miller and Beatty, in trust for the Indians, to witt:

Three Horses,

A writing on Parchment, purporting an article of Peace and Amity concluded between the Governor of Maryland and the Chiefs of the Conestogoe and other Indians.

A Writing or Parchment, purporting an Article of Agreement between William Penn, Proprietary, of Pennsylvania, and the King of the Indians inhabiting in or about the River Susquehanna, and other Indian Nations, dated the three and twentieth day of the second month, called April, in the Year, one thousand seven hundred and one.

A Letter (which seems to be under the Lesser Seal of the Province) signed W. Keith, dated Philadelphia. May 26, 1819, directed to Civility, and the rest of the Indian Chiefs at Conestogoe.

A Letter (which seems to be under the Lesser Seal of the Province), signed W. Keith, dated 5th May, 1719,

and the Indian Chiefs at and near directed to Civility or Tagotelessa, Conestogoe.

A Writing purporting a Letter, signed James Logan, dated the 22nd of the 4th Month, 1717, directed to Civility and the Other Indian Chiefs at Conestoga.

A Paper (which seems to be under the Lesser Seal of the Province), signed James Logan, purporting an Order of Council at Philadelphia, September 28, 1708, or a request to the Indians to apprehend Nichole Godin, on a suspicion of several treasonable practices against the Government.

And two Belts of Wampum."

One or two points about this letter are quite pathetic because it states that among other things there was found among the effects of the poor Indians the treaties which they had made with the whites and had kept, and various other paper which show that they were always on the best terms with the whites.

1763—The Sheriff Sends Word of the Killing of the Conestoga Indians in the Lancaster Jail.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 103, is the following letter from John Hay, Sheriff of Lancaster County:

"December 27th, 1763, P. M.

Honoured Sir:

Since writing above the poor Indians whom we imagined were placed in safety were destroyed. A number of persons, to the amount(by their appearance) of fifty or sixty, Armed with Rifles, Tomahawks, etc., suddenly, about two o'clock, rushed into the Town and immediately repaired to the Work House where the Indians were confined, and notwithstanding all opposition to myself and the Coroner, and many others, broke open the work house, and have killled all the Indians there, being the fourteen mentioned in the list to have survived the former affair at their Town. After which they in a body left the town without offering any insults to the Inhabitants, and without putting it in the power of any one to take or molest any of them without danger of life to the person attempting it; of which both myself and the Coroner by our opposition were in great danger."

1763—The Names of the Conestoga Indians Killed in Their Town in Manor and in the Lancaster Jail.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec.. p. 103, appears the following:

"List of the Indians killed at the Indian Town in in Conestogoe Manor:

Sheehay, George, Harry, A Son of Sheehays, Sally, an Old Woman, A Woman. Their Indian names, — Sheehays, W-a-shen, Tee-Kau-ley, Ess-canesh, Tea wonsha-i-ong, Kannenquas.

List of the Indians belonging to the Conestogoe Town in the Work House at Lancaster:

Coptain John, Betty his wife, Bill Sack, Milly his wife, John Smith, Peggy his wife, little John, Capt'n John's son, Jacob a Boy, Young Sheehays, a Boy, Chrisly, a boy, little Peter, a boy, Molly, a Little Girl, a little Girl, Peggy, a little Girl. Their Indian names, —Kyunqueagoah, Koweenasse, Tenseedaagua, Kaniinguas, Saquies-hat-tah, Chee na wau, Quaachow, Shaw e kah, Ex undas, Tong-quas, Hy ye naes, Ko quae un quas, Karen do uah, Canukie sung.

The names taken from Peggy,Wife of John Smith, and Betty, Wife of Captain John.

JOHN HAY.

1763—The Governor Writes to General Gage About the Conestoga Indian Slaughter.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec, p. 104, appears the following letter to his Excellency, General Gage, from our Governor:

"Philadelphia, 31st December, 1763.
Sir:

I think it necessary to inform you that on the 14th Instant, a number of Inhabitants on the Western frontiers of this Province, without any authority, assembled in arms and proceeded in a party of between fifty and sixty men to the Indian Town in the Conestogoe Manor, in Lancaster County, and there, without the least cause cruelly put to death six of the Friendly Indians, who had peaceably and inoffensively resided there for many years past, by permission from this Government, and after burning and destroying their houses and effects, precipitately retired. Upon receiving information of this barbarous outrage, I immediately dispatched orders to the Magistrates of the back Counties to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend and confine the offenders, that they might be brought to Justice, and likewise the enclosed Proclamation.

Notwithstanding which, these daring rioters on the 27th Inst., again assembled in arms and came down in a large body to the Town of Lancaster, broke open the Work House, and murdered fourteen of the Conestoga Indians, who had before escaped their fury, and were confined there by the Magistrate for their security."

1763—The Governor Sends a Letter to William Johnson on This Subject.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 105 is found a letter almost exactly the same as the preceding one sent to Sir William Johnson on this dastardly slaughter.

1764—A Reward Offered by the Government for the Capture of the Conestoga Murderers.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec, p. 107, we find the following proclamation:

"By the Honourable JOH NPENN, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware.

A PROCLAMATION:

WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of December last, I issued a Proclamation for the apprehending and bringing to Justice a number of Persons, who, in violation of the Public Faith, and in Defiance of all Law, had inhumanly killed six of the Indians, who had lived on Conestogoe Manor for the Course of Many years, peacefully and inoffensively, under the Protection of this Government, on lands assigned to them for their habitation. Notwithstanding which, I have received Information on the 27th of the same month, a large party of armed men again assembled and met together in a riotous and tumultuous manner in the county of Lancaster and preceded to the Town of Lancaster, where they violently broke open the work House, and butchered and put to death fourteen of the said Conestogoe Indians. Men, Women and Children, who had been taken under the immediate care of the Magistrates of the said County, and lodged for their better security in the Work House, till they should be more effectually provided for by order of the Government· AND WHEREAS, common Justice loudly demands, (upon the preservation of which not only the Liberty and Security of every individual, but the

being of the Government itself depend, require that the above offenders should be brought to condigne Punishment; I have, therefore, by and with the advice of the Council, published this Proclamation and do hereby strictly charge and command all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Constables, Officers Civil and Military, and all other his Majesty's faithful and liege subjects with this Province, to make diligent search and enquiry after the Authors and Perpetrators of the said last mentioned Offence, their Abettors and accomplices; and that they use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the Publick Gaols of this Province, to be dealt with according to Law. And I do hereby further promise and engage, that any persons or person who shall apprehend and secure, or cause to be appehended and secured, and three of the Ringleaders of the said party, and prosecute them to conviction, shall have and receive for each the Publick Reward of Two Hundred Pounds; and any accomplice, not concerned in the immediate shedding of the Blood of the said Indians, who shall make discovery of any or either of the said Ringleaders and apprehend and prosecute them to conviction, shall, over and above the said reward, have all the weight and influence of the Government of obtaining his Majesty's Pardon for his Offence.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia the second day of January, in the fourth Year of his Majesty's reign, and in the Year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. JOHN PENN.

By his Honour's Command.

Joseph Shippen, Junior, Secretary,

GOD SAVE THE KING."

1764—The Governor Writes a Letter To the Governor of New York About This Killing.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 112, we find a similar letter by Governor Penn on the killing of these defenceless Indians, to Governor of N. Y. And on p. 113 a similar letter to Governor Franklin on the same subject is found.

1764—The Colony of New York Enraged at the Conestoga Killing.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 121, appear the proceedings that the Governor of New York held upon the killing of these Indians at Conestoga. This meeting was more necessary from the fact that these Conestogas were the subjects of the Five Nations and some of those killed actually belonged to the Five Nations.

1764—Benjamin Kendal of Lancaster Reports the Particulars of the Conestoga Killing to the Council.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 126, appears the following narration upon oath by Benjamin Kendal of the killing of the Conestoga Indians:

"CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, SS:

Benjamin Kendall, of the City of Phialdelphia, Merchant, being one of the People called Quakers on this solemn affirmation declareth and saith, That on Thursday, the 25th day of this Instant, January, he, this deponent, being on his return from the Borough of Lancaster, to the City of Philadelphia about two miles on this side the sign of the inhabitant of the said Borrough of Lancaster, who, this affirmant understood, had been, the day before, in the Township of Pequea, or its Neighborhood; that this affirmant, being acquainted with the said Robert Fulton, stopped, and entered into some conversation with

him, in the course of which the said Fulton acquainted this affirmant that he understood Captain Coultas, had been appointed to raise and command Five Hundred men to guard and protect the Indians in the said City of Philadelphia, and that he was very sorry for it, and that in ten days fifteen hundred men would come down in order to kill the said Indians, and that if Fifteen Hundred Men were not enough Five Thousand were ready to join them, and desired this affirmant to tell Captain Coultas, from the said Robert, to make his Peace with Heaven, for that he (the said Coultas) would not live about two weeks longer. This affirmant answered, that he was very sorry to hear him, the said Fulton talk in that manner, and as he understood that he, the said Fulton, had a great deal of influence with those people who intended to come down on the above purpose, he, this affirmant requested the said Fulton to exert himself in persuading them to desist from their crime or design. The said Fulton then said, if Gabriel, was to come down from Heaven and tell us or them (but which of the words this affirmant can not be sensible of) we or they were wrong, they would not desist for it, for that they were of the same spirit with the blood ran, blood-thirst Presbyterians, who cut off King Charles his head. This affirmant then said to the said Fulton, 'I hear you are going to kill the Quakers.' Fulton answered, No, God forbid, but they or any others who should oppose them they would kill.' That he (the said Fulton) had heard the Indians were put in small numbers into different families in the City of Philadelphia, for Protection, but that such families must tell where they (the Indians, were, and deliver them up, or their Houses would be fired over their heads. The said Fulton further informed this affirmant, that some time ago, when he heard the said Indians were sent out of this Province, he, the said Fulton sent a letter to a number of people who were then preparing to come down and cut the Indians off, to acquaint them of it, and stop them from coming. This affirmant further saith, that a certain William Way was in Company with the said Fulton during this whole conversation, and from what little he said that he seemed to join in sentiment with the said Fulton and among other things asserted that he was lately in a store in that Neighbourhood where there was a magazine of three barrels of Gun Powder, and One Hundred small arms. ready for the above expedition, and that he verily believed a number of men would come down to Philadelphia to kill the Indians and further this affirmant saith not.

BENJAMIN KENDALL.

Taken and Affirmed in the presence of the Governor and Council, at Philadelphia, January 28, 1764.

Before JOHN PENN."

1761—The Murderers of the Conestogoa Indians Put Up Flimsy Justification.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., 142, appears what is meant to be a justification for killing of the Conestoga Indians. This justification is in the nature of a petition signed by many people who favored the killing and it was laid before the Assembly on the 17th of February, 1764, it is as follows:

"The Declaration of the Injured Frontier Inhabitants, together with a brief sketch of Grievances the good Inhabitants of the Province Labour under.

Inasmuch as the killing of those Indians at Conestogoe Manor and Lancaster has been, and may be, the subject of much conversation, and by invidious representations of it, which some, we doubt will not, will industriously spread, many acquainted with the true state of affairs may be lead to pass a severe censure on the Authors of those Facts, and any others of the like Nature, which may hereafter happen, they we are persuaded they would if matters were duly understood and deliberated. We think it therefore proper thus openly to declare ourselves, and render some brief hints of the reasons of our Conduct, which we must, and frankly do, confess, nothing but necessity itself could induce us to, or justify us in, as it bears the appearance of flying in the face of Authority, and is attended with much labour, fatigue and expense.

Ourselves, then, to a man, we profess to be loyal subjects to the best of Kings, our rightful Sovereign George the third, firmly attached to his royal person, Interest and Government, and of consequence equally opposite to the enemies of his throne and dignity, whether openly avowed or more dangerously concealed under a mask or falsely pretended Friendship, and chearfully willing to offer our Substance and Lives in his Cause.

These Indians, known to be firmly connected in Friendship with our openly avowed embittered enemies, and some of whom have, by several oaths, been proved to be murderers, and who, by their better acquaintance with the situation and state of our Frontiers, were more capable of doing us mischief, we saw, with indignation caressed and cherished as dearest Friends; but, this, alas; is but a part, a small part, of that excessive regard manifested to Indians, beyond his Majesty's loyal subjects, whereof we complain, and which together with various other Grievances, have not only enflamed with resentment the Breasts of a number, and urged them to the disagreeable evidence of it they have been constrained to give, but have heavily displeased by far the greatest part of the good Inhabitants of this Province.

Should we here reflect to former Treaties, the exorbitant presents and great Servility therein paid to the Indians, have long been oppressive Grievances we have groaned under; and when at the last Indian treaty held at Lancaster, not only was the blood of our many murdered Brethren tamely covered, but our poor unhappy captivated friends abandoned to slavery among the Savages, by concluding a Friendship with the Indians, and allowing them a plentious trade of all kinds of Commodities, without those being restored, or any properly spirited requisition made of them; how general dissatisfaction those letters made and the Measures gave the Murmurs of all good people (loud as they dare to utter them) to this day declare and had here infatuated steps of conduct, and a manifest partiality in favour of Indians, made a final pause, happy had it been; We perhaps had greived in silence for our abandoned, enslaved Brethren among the Heathen; but matters of a later date are of still more flagrant Reasons of Complaint. When last Summer his Majesty's forces, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, marched through this province, and demand was made by his Excellecy General Amherst, of Assistance to escort Provisions, etc., to relieve that important Post, Fort Pitt, yet not one man was granted, al-

though never anything appeared more reasonable or necessary, as the Interests of the Province lay so much at stake and the Standing of the Frontier Settlements, in any manner, evidently depending under God, on the almost despaired of success of his Majesty's little army, whose valor the whole Frontier with gratitude acknowledge, and as the happy means of having saved from ruin a great part of the Province; but when a number of Indians falsely pretended Friends, and having among them some proved an oath to have been guilty of Murder since the War began, when they together with others, known to be his Majesty's enemies, and who had been in the battle against Col. Bouquet reduced to distress by the destruction of their Corn at the Great Island, and up the East Branch of Sasquehannah, pretend themselves Friends and desire subsistance, they are openly caressed, and the Publick, that could not be indulged the liberty of contributing to his Majesty's assistance, obliged, as tributaries to Savages to support these Villains, these enemies to our Great King and our Country, nor only so the hands that were closely shut, nor would grant his Majesty's general a single farthing against a Savage Foe, have been liberally opened, and the publick money basely prosituted to hire, at an exhorbitant rate, a mercernary Guard to protect his Majesty's worst of Enemies, those falsely pretended Indian Friends, while, at the same time, Hundreds of Poor Distressed Families of his Majesty's subjects obliged to abandon their Possessions and fly for their lives at least, are left, except a small relief at first, in the most distressing circumstances, to starve neglected, save what the friendly hand of private Donations has contributed to their Support, wherein they who are most profuse towards savages, have carefully avoided having any part. When last Summer troops were raised for the defence of the Province were limited to certain Bounds, nor suffering to any attempt of annoying our Indians in their Habitations, and a number of brave volunteers, equipped at their own expense in September, up the Sasquehanna, met and defeated their Enemy, with the loss of some of their number and having others dangerously wounded, not the least thanks or acknowledgment was made by the Legislature to them for the Confessed service they had done; nor only the least Notice or Care taken of their wounded; Whereas, when a Seneca, who, by the Information of many, as his own confessions, had been, through the last War, our inveterate Enemy, had got a cut in his Head, last Summr in a Quarrel with his Own Cousin, and it was reported in Philadelphia that his wound was dangerous, a Doctor was immedately employed and sent to Fort Augusta to take care of him and cure him if possible. To these may be added that though it was impossible to obtain through the Summer, or even yet, any premium for Indian Scalps, or encouragement to excite volunteers to go forth against them; Yet, when a few of them known to be the fast friends of our enemies, and some of them murderers themselves, when these have been struck with a distressed, bereft, injured frontier, a liberal reward is offered for apprehending the perpetrtators of that horrible crime of killing his Majesty's Cloaked Enemies, and their conduct painted in the most atrocious Colours, while the horrid ravages, cruel murders, and most shocking barbarities, committed

by Indians on His Majesty's subpects, are covered over and excused under the charitable term of this being their method of making war. But to recount the many repeated grievances whereof we might justly complain, and instances of a most violent attachment to Indians were tedious beyond the patience of the Job, to endure more, and better be expected; nor need we be surpried at Indians insolnce and Villainy, when it is considered, and which can be proved from the public records of a certain county that some time before Conrad Weiser died, some Indians belonging to the Great Island or Wighalousing, assured him that Israel Pemberton (an incient leader of that Faction, which for so long a time have found means to enslave the province to Indians), together with others of the Friends, had given them a rod to scourge the white people that were settled on the Purchased lands, for that Onas had cheated them out of a great deal of land, or had not given near sufficient price for what he had bought; and that the traders ought also, to be scourged, for that they defrauded the Indians, by selling goods to them at too dear a rate; and that this relation is a matter of fact, can easily be proved in the County of Berks. Such is the unhappy situation, uder the Villainy, Infatuation and Influence of a certain Faction, that have got the Political reigns in hand, and tmely tyrannize over the other good subjects of the Province. And can it be thought strange that a scene of such treatment as this, and the now adding, in this critical juncture, to all our former distresses, that disagreeable burden of supporting in the very heart of the Province, at so great an expense, between one and two hundred Indians to the Great disquietude of the Majority of the Good Inhabitants of this Province, should awaken the resentment of the People grossly abused, unrighteously burdened and made dupes and Slaves to the Indians? And must not all well disposed people entertain a Charitable sentiment of those who, at their own Great Expence and trouble have attempted or shall attempt, rescuing a laboring land from a weight so oppressive, unreasonable and unjust? It is this we design, it is this we are resolved to prosecute, though it is with great reluctance we are obliged to adopt a Measure not so agreeable as could be desired, and to which extent alone compels.

1764—Benjamin Franklin's View of This Killing on the Conestoga.

As nearly all readers of History know the most intelligence and the severest denunciations of the dastardly killing of these Conestogas appeared in the form of a pamphlet by Benjamin Franklin. It may be found in the Historical Society at Philadelphia. A great many other pamphlets were written upon the subject and numerous articles in the Pennsylvania Gazette and other papers of the time. It caused a great excitement throughout all Eastern Pennsylvania.

1764—The Last Two Indians in Lancaster County.

In the New Era of September 11, 1907 among the proceedings of the Hershey family reunion appears the following item:

"In a lonely spot in one of the back pasture fields of this Homestead (The Old Hershey Homestead) the visitors found four stone markers set securely in the ground within whose enclosure lie the remains of 'Michael and Mary', the last two Indians of Lancaster County. These Indians

were friendly and during their declining years were cared for by Christian Hershey, who then owned the homestead. The following document was read by Mr. Hershey at this spot, after prayer over the remains of these last Children of the Forest, by Rev. Hershey.

'Protection for Two Friendly Indians

In Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.
By Ho'ble John Penn, Esq., &c.,

To Whom It May Concern:

Greeting: Whereas, I am given to understand that the Bearers Michael and Mary his wife are friendly Indians who formerly resided with other Indians in the Conestoga Manor, and have for upwards of fifteen months last past lived with Christian Hershey, at his plantation in Warwick Township, Lancaster Co., Pa., during which time they have constantly behaved in the most friendly and peaceable manner to all his Majesty's subjects, I do hereby grant the said Michael and Mary my protection and do enjoin and require all officers, civil and Military, as well as all other persons whatsoever within this Government to suffer to pass and repass on their lawful business without the least molestation or interruption, and they are hereby also desired to treat the said Indians with Civility and to afford them all necessary assistance.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Philadelphia, the 17th Aug., 1764.' JOHN PENN.

'By his Honour's Command

JOHN SHIPPEN, Secretary.

Thus it will be noticed that the Hershey family is honored with deently burying the last Indians of Lancaster County, and suitably marking their graves."

1768—A Reference to the Conestoga Killing.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 409, the Assembly sent a message to the Governor, referring to General Gage's and William Johnson's views of the killing, and recalled to the mind of the Governor the fact that we did not pay sufficient attention to the point hat we were occupying the Indians' lands without their consent. And they also say that they can never forget the horrid murder committed in 1763 on the remnant of the Conestoga Indians at Lancaster.

1770—The Murder of the Conestoga Indians Still Lingers in the Minds of the People.

In Vol. 9 of the Col. Rec., p. 683, under the date of 1770, there is a deposition by John Philip DeHoos of the Tonnship of Lebanon in Lancaster County, in which he says that it is understood that 200 Pounds were still offered as a premium for the persons who were concerned in murdering the Indians in the Lancaster jail.

1775—Descendants of the Cayugas Claim the Old Indian Town in Manor Township.

In Mombert's History of Lancaster County at p. 280 we find the following:

"At a Council held at Philadelphia, on Tuesday 16th May, 1775.

PRESENT:

The Honourable John Penn. Esquire, Governor.

James Tilghman, Andrew Allen, Esquires.

The Governor acquainted the Board that eight Cayuga Indians came to Town on Saturday last from Conestogoe, on the Cayuga Branch of the Susquehanna, on some Business with this Government, and that he now proposed to hear what they had to say. Whereupon the Board agreed that they should be immediately sent for, and they were accordingly introduced.

The Governor then acquainting them that he was ready to hear them, addressing himself to the Governor, first went through some short usual ceremonies of clearing the Throat and Heart, and opening the Ears, etc., and then producing a belt of wampum, spoke as follows, viz: That three of their Company, who were present as the nearest surviving relations of the old Seneca Sohaes, who lived for many years with his family and connections on a tract of land within the Manor of Conestogo, in Lacaster County; that the old man with his family and relations were several years ago murdered there by some wicked men belonging to this Government; and that the said Tract of Land containing about 500 acres, now became the property of his three relations now present, one of whom is Sohaes' Brother; that they had come down at this time to see their Brother Onos, and make sale of the said land to him; that the land is very rich and worth a great deal of money, but as their brother Onas was himself well acquainted with its value, they desired he would purchase it from them at such a price as he thought reasonable, and they would be entirely satisfied. He then delivered the belt of Wampum to the Governor, and told him that he had finished what he had to say.

The Governor thereupon acquainted the Indians that he and his Council would take their speech into consideration, and give them an answer on Thursday morning.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, on Thursday, 18th May, 1775.

PRESENT:

The Honourable John Penn, Esquire, Governor.

William Logan, Andrew Allen, Benjamin Chew, Edward Shippen, Junr., Esquires.

The eight Cayuga Indians being sent for, attended at a Board in order to receive the Governor's answer to their Speech on Tuesday last, which the Governor in part delivered to them; but as it appeared to the Board that the Indians did not clearly and fully comprehend his meaning, the person who undertook to interpret to them not being sufficiently acquainted with their Language, and the Indians expressing great dissatisfaction on being informed that this land had already been purchased and paid for, it was agreed that Isaac Still, a Delaware Indian Interpreter, should be immediately sent for, to interpret the Governor's answer to the Indians in Council, on Saturday morning next.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, on Saturday 20th May, 1775.

PRESENT:

William Logan, Andrew Allen, James Tilghman, Edward Shippen, Junr., Esquires.

The eight Cayuga Indians, by desire of the Governor, again attended the Board, with the Indian Interpreter Isaac Still, and having taken their seats, the Speaker repeated over the speech he had delivered to the Governor on Tuesday last, which was the same in substance as entered on the minutes of that day and the Governor returned them his answer, which was fully explained by them by Isaac Still, and is as follows, viz:

BRETHREN: The tract of land you mention, consisting of 500 acres, part of the Conestoga Manor, wnere old Sohes dwelt, was included in a purchase long since made from the Indians, notwithstanding which, I agree that Sohaes and his Family had the Proprietaries' permission to live thereon as long as they chose to remain in the inhabitant part of the country. Some time after the death

of Sohaes, and all his Family that resided there in the year 1768, there was a Treaty held at Fort Stanwix, to which I was invited by Sir William Johnson,, in order to treat with the Indians, concerning the purchase of a large tract of land, part of which lay in the King's Governments and part in the Province of Pennsylvania; at this treaty the last great Indians purchase was made, for which I then paid the Indians ten Thousand Dollars. But before the treaty was finished, Sir William Johnson informed me that the Indians expected to be paid for the 500 acres of land, part of the Conestogo Manor, where Sohaes dwelt; I accordingly agreed to pay them for it. The price agreed on was two hundred Pounds, York money, or $500, the value of which was then delivered in goods to Togaiato, the Cayuga Chief, to be distributed as he thought proper, and the deed I now show you, for the land of the Indians I bought of the Indians at that treaty, signed by he Chiefs of the Six Nations, expressly includes ths 500 acres of land.

Having therefore, already purchased the land twice, it can not reasonably be expected that I should pay it again. However, as you have come from a great distance, under the expectation of selling this land, and perhaps did not receive as great a proportion of the goods I delivered at Fort Stanwix, as should have been paid to the relations of Sohaes, and to show you the desire I have to preserve peace and friendship with the Indians, and that when they pay me a visit they should not go away dissatisfied; I am willing to make you a present, which I hope you will think a generous one; I, therefore, desire you will except of these $300.

The Indians, accordingly very gladly accepted the $300, and signed a receipt for the same on the back of the deed executed at Fort Stanwix, expressing it to be in full satisfaction of all claims of Sohaes' Family to the said 500 acres of land."

From this we see that the Indians were very willing to give up anything they might lay hold to about the Conestoga creek.

Indian Children's Sport with the German Children.

The subject of this item is put at the end of these annals because it is not practical to affix to it any date but inasmuch as it has to do with the children ancients, I have put it at the close. It is as follows:

In Vol. 7 of Hazard's Register, p. 163 it is found the following relative to the above. It is a narrative of an old time Mennonite or Amishman concerning the early doings about Conestoga.

"An aged member of the Amish or Ommish faith relates, that he often heard his grandfather say, that his family was one of the first of the Europeans who settled west of the Conestoga. That the Indians lived near them; and that the German and Indian children would frequetly play together in the neighborhing wigwam. Sometimes you would see them engaged in contests of foot race; in which the Indian lads would excel although the German boys would discard their clothes to put them on an equality with the naked savages. Sometimes with the bow and arrow, but here the little Indians would all show their superiority in skill, and accuracy of aim. In wrestling, and most of their exercises, the Indian boys excelled; but in the mechanical arts the little emigrants had the advantage. I have often seen the Chiefs reclining on the ground, leaning on the arm, looking at the diversions

and amusements of the children; and when the little Indian would excel they would laugh very heartily.

It would not infrequently happen, that the little German boys would show some degree of anger, when they were unsuccessful, by giving a blow, or taking up a stone and unceremoniously hurl it at the head of a competitor, which the little Indians would receive with the utmost complacency. I was one day amused by seeing a struggle between an Indian and a German; the former was younger but more active than the latter, and the little son of the forest was evidently playing with the strength of his adversary; the German became heated, and exerting all his strength endeavored to throw his companion on the ground; but the wily Indian gave a sudden trip, which caused the German to fall beneath; who, rising angrily, seized a stone and levelled his opponent to the earth. The chiefs who were near laughed very heartily, but the little white faces did not wait to see the result but ran hastily homewards, dreading a severe castigation. In all and every transaction we had with the Indians, we found them mild and peaceable; and, as just related, not disposed to revenge, when the act appeared to be a momentary burst of passion: I have often seen the little Breneman's, children of a Mennonite emigrant, playing in the most sportive and innocent manner with the little red faces, and I ever know or heard of one little white face receiving an injury from their red brethren; that is, no intentional injury.

I remember the hickory tree which once stood in the centre of Lancaster. It was customary for the Indians, when about to form a treaty, to select a tree which had an appearance of vigor, health and strength, and, I may add, beauty; then surrounding it, they would say, 'by this chain thus linked together, may it remain unbroken as this tree has survived the storm'. Again, 'if any of us shall violate this pledge, may the lightning shiver such to pieces as a lofty pine in a thunder storm.'

It was not until the introduction of spirituous liquor, that the neighborhood of the Indians proved dangerous to the whites, but not to us, for we gave them no liquor, and neither did we trade with them, for our religion forbade it.

It may be not unnecessary to add, that the Indians had the most implicit confidence in William Penn; whom they were always inclined to respect as a superior being; and the great confidence was frequently referred to by them, in their several talks at Lancaster and at Conestoga."

"The Brennemans' settled west of Conestoga in the year 1719."

We have now traced the history of the Indians that inhabited the section of the Country, which afterwards became Lancaster County, from the earliest date upon which any authentic information could be found down to the date of the disappearance of the last of them. These annals therefore extend over a period of two centuries and a half. The Indians who inhabited this neighborhood were at one time the mightiest tribe in the Central Atlantic States. They frightened all the Virginia and Maryland Indians into subjection, including Powhatan's mighty tribe. They conquered all the tribes around them North and South and during the period from 1600 to 1660 were in the height of their glory and power. They were during that period known as the "Giant Susquehannocks." They met their first conqueror after the

Five Nations of New York began a confederacy, and the mastery of the Five Nations, even in their confederated strength and only determined after a 20 years' war beginning in 1655 and ending in 1675. From that date the Susquehannock Tribe was divided, and one branch after marching through Maryland and Virginia and inciting the Bacon Rebellion, came back to their old location on the Susquehanna. The other portion was taken by the Five Nations to live with them in New York, The coming of civilization was their death knell. Only a small portion of them staid in what is now Lancaster County and faded away before the white man. The Major portion of them went west as the Frontier moved Westward and met their Waterloo after Braddock's defeat on the extreme branches of the Susquehanna and the head waters of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers.

The last remnant of those who remained here were cruelly butchered as we have just shown in December, 1763. After the outrageous slaughter their bodies were tenderly taken charge of and buried in the cemetery, in the rear of what is known as Martin's Hall on East Chestnut Street, which I understand was a Mennonite or Quaker cemetery or both. When the Pennsylvania railroad was cut through Lancaster, which now lies in a deep cut, passing back of the cemetery, the bones of these poor old Indians rolled down the slopes of the cut from their graves where they had lain or reposed over three-fourth of a century. And this concludes the annals of the "Susquehannocks and Other Indian Tribes of Lancaster County."

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.,
January 21, 1909

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